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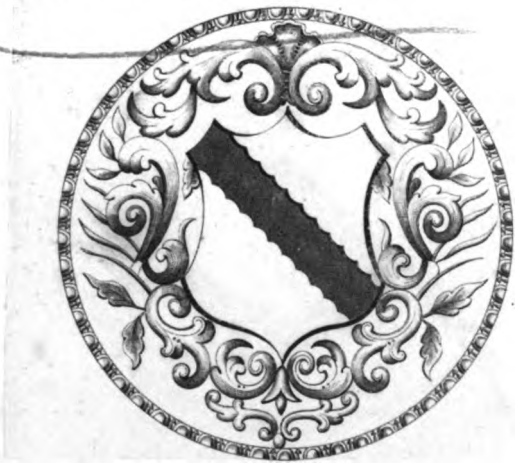

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CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

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Chronological History

OF THE

West Indies.

BY

CAPTAIN THOMAS SOUTHEY,

COMMANDER, ROYAL NAVY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1827.

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ERRATA.

The candid Reader is requested to excuse many evident oversights which, in consequence of the Author's residing so far from the Press, have unavoidably remained. At page 49, vol. ii., the sense is entirely altered; for "Colonel Lynch succeeded Sir Thomas Modyford," read, "When Sir Thomas Modyford succeeded Colonel Lynch." And in the quotation, p. 230, vol. iii., between the second and third, and the fifth and sixth lines, a line of asterisks ought to have been placed; and in the third line of the same quotation, instead of "in the," read "in that."

Gimingham House, Norfolk,
11th April, 1827.

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A

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES.

1655.

Upon the appearance of Admiral Penn off Santo Domingo, with the fleet under his orders, the Spaniards, to increase their force, recalled their troops from Tortuga, of which island they had been in possession about 18 months. In compliance with his orders, the commander of the garrison, before he left the island, blew up the fort, burnt the church and all the houses and magazines, and laid the plantations waste!

Not long afterwards, an English refugee of considerable property, named Elias Ward (Elyazoüard), came from Jamaica, with his wife and family and a dozen soldiers, and with a commission from the general, settled upon Tortuga: he was soon joined by several English and French, and at the head of 120 adventurers.[1]

Du Tertre, tom. iii. p. 127.

[1] "About the time of Elias Ward's establishing himself upon the island of Tortuga, some Frenchmen returned from Cuba to that island, and reported an occurrence sufficiently remarkable to occupy a place in this book: for they said that the great want of provisions which they suffered made ten or twelve of their brave adventurers land in Cuba, to take some pigs from two "corayls," which are the pens where the Spaniards breed a great quantity of these animals. That passing through a small marsh, a league from the first "corail," they fell in with the most horrible snake they had ever heard of in America: at first they thought that it was a monstrous crocodile; but having fired all at the same time at the monster's head and killed it, they went to it, and found that it was a snake: that it was almost as big round the belly as a "miud," (a measure that holds more than five quarters of corn), and was fifty-five feet long.

"They pursued their route; and having surprised the owner of the first corail, they asked him 'if he did not know that there was a prodigious large snake in the marsh a league off?' He replied, 'no; but that for a long time he and his neigh-

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The first cacao-tree which is mentioned as being in the French West India islands was discovered by some Caribs at Capsterre, Martinico, and was pointed out to M. du Parquet. From this tree the island was stocked with plants.

On the 1st of February, the expedition under the command of his Excellency Robert Venables, and the Right Honourable William Penn, consisting of about 3000 men, in thirty sail of vessels, one half of whom were victuallers, were collected at Barbadoes. The Great and Little Charity, two vessels, the one laden with artillery stores, the other with horses and equipments for the cavalry, were left behind, to the great injury of the service. The soldiers were immediately landed, and the ship's carpenters employed in putting together the shallops, the frames of which were brought out by the fleet.

March 31st, the whole being ready, and a troop of horse (raised in the island at the expence of the inhabitants) embarked, the expedition sailed from Barbadoes, and anchored, April 2d, off St. Lucia. It passed close by Guadaloupe, to the great alarm of the inhabitants. On the 6th they were off St. Christopher's, where they were joined by about 1300 men, making, with those from Barbadoes, 5000 volunteers, exclusive of women and children, many of whom accompanied the volunteers. Admiral Penn was splendidly entertained by M. de Poincy, at his hotel on the mountain, before he went to the English quarters to settle the government.

April 13th, the fleet were off the city of St. Domingo, and the next day 7000 infantry and one troop of horse, with three days' provisions, were landed ten leagues to the westward of the town [1].

Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 184.—tom. i. pp. 472. 479. Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 377. Edition, 1810. Journal by J. S. an eye witness, printed London, 1655.

bour every day lost their pigs, and that the suspicion they had, that one robbed the other, had set them to law with each other.' At daylight our adventurers carried him to the marsh, where the poor farmer was near dying with fear at the sight of such a frightful beast. But he was much consoled when they opened the snake, and he found two of his largest pigs in his belly! Quite delighted to find that the cause of his dispute with his neighbour was discovered, he begged our adventurers to give him their word not to do his neighbour any injury, and to permit him to go and look for him. He obtained it, and brought him; and after having seen the beast, they were reconciled, and gave to the adventurers all that they asked from them. The farmers skinned the snake, and the skin was carried to the Havannah, and placed in the cathedral, where all the inhabitants saw it with astonishment. M. d'Artigny, a man of honour, now living, and major of Tortuga, was one of those that fired at the snake, and has several times repeated this story to M. d'Ojeron, governor of the island of Tortuga, who gave me what I have written."—*Du Tertre*, tom. iii. p. 129.

[1] "M. de Poincy, after the alliance between the two nations was renewed by the treaty, permitted Admiral Penn to pass through his territory. The general passed through the middle of the French inhabitants, who were under arms, and so arranged, that after one company of infantry there was one of cavalry; and they have assured me (Du Tertre says), that M. de Poincy, to make his troops appear more numerous, had given orders to 120 "cavaliers" to proceed by the back roads, and get beyond the admiral, so

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Orders were then given, "that when they should enter into the town, they should not plunder any money, plate, or jewels, neither kill any tame cattle, upon pain of death." This order produced some discontent among those who had volunteered principally for the hope of plundering the Spaniards! The march was through thick woods, where the want of water was severely felt.

Two days afterwards, the 15th, three regiments, under Colonel Bullard, were landed two leagues to the westward of the town, near a river which was appointed the place of rendezvous. Colonel Bullard, without waiting for the rest, marched towards the town, but soon retreated without doing any thing. The main body of the army coming up, after some short refreshment at the river, proceeded towards the town, about three miles from which the advanced guard, consisting of 500 men, were attacked and forced to retreat: some regiments sent to their assistance were also repulsed, and the general himself escaped with difficulty. More troops coming up, the Spaniards retreated into a fort near the sea side, which commanded the passage from the wood to the town.

The exceeding distress for water, and the fatigue and losses of the army, induced the general to retreat to the river, where preparations were made to advance again.

April 24th, the army moved forward again, the guides promising to direct them a way which led to a river about two miles on the north side of the town: they mistook the path, the soldiers by turns drawing the "mortar pieces and small drakes," as they were without horses. The day following, by noon, they approached the fort again, with worse success than before: the Spaniards charged the "forlorn hope," beat them back to the general's regiment, and routed those also. Major-General Haines, in the van, was shamefully deserted by his soldiers: he begged, for God's sake, but ten men to stay by him, but not one would do it! He therefore died like a gallant commander, selling his life as dear as possible.

The Spaniards followed up their victory, destroying the fugitives, who made no resistance, near half of the army flying before them, to the amazement of the rest, who were not up. Tired with slaughter, the Spaniards returned to St. Domingo with seven English colours as sure trophies of victory. Six hundred English were slain outright, and 200 more, that fled into the woods, and

Journal by J. S. an eye witness, printed London, 1655.

that he might pass them again: at five or six different places he saw always the same men, but differently arranged. Not recognizing them, he supposed that there were a great many more French in the island than he had been informed there were." — *Du Tertre*, vol. i. p. 479.

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were left behind, were killed by the Negroes. There were also 300 wounded, "most of them all receiving their hurts in the backs!"

"The Spaniards exceeded not in all fifty men," exclusive of Negroes and Mulattoes.

Adjutant-General Jackson was cashiered for a coward, and the ceremony performed of breaking his sword over his head!

"The army lying in the bay, as formerly, had not that supply of victuals from the ships as before, but were necessitated to go abroad in parties through the woods to seek for cattle, and oftentimes meeting with some few Negroes, were by them put to the rout, and divers slain: others, casting away their arms, betook themselves to their heels and so escaped the fury of these naked pagans; and at some times, when neither men nor beasts were near, only the leaves of trees making some little noise, and *crabs stirring in the woods*, possessed them with such eminent fear, that leaving their weapons behind, they ran over clifts into the sea!"

Venables, in his Narrative, says, "our planters we found most fearful, being only bold to do mischief; not to be commanded as soldiers, not to be kept in any civil order, being the most prophane, debauched persons that we ever saw, scorners of religion, and indeed so loose as not to be kept under discipline, and so cowardly as not to be made to fight; so that, had we known what they would have proved, we should rather have chosen to have gone ourselves as we came from England, than to have such for our assistants, who, we fear, with some others put upon us in England, have drawn heavy afflictions upon us, dishonour upon our nation and religion!"

May the 3d, the army re-embarked 1700 men short of the number landed, which was 9700. The Spaniards, content with what they had done, did not attempt to molest them. The next day, the fleet made sail for Jamaica.

May the 7th was ordered as a day of humiliation; and, in consequence of the great cowardice which had lately been shewn, it was proclaimed to the whole army, "That whosoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy, and run away, the next officer that brought up the rear of that division should immediately run him through, which if he failed to perform, himself was to suffer death without mercy."

May the 9th, the fleet made sail for Jamaica; and having sailed about sixteen leagues along the south side thereof, the day following, came to an anchor in a spacious harbour, "called also Jamaica." The troops were soon landed, without the loss of a man. The Spaniards, after a few shot, retreated to Oristano, an unfortified town about six miles off, from whence they sent their

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 617. Ven Nar. Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 383.

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families and their valuables farther into the country. The English advanced towards the town, which they entered the following morning, and found it empty: here the general fixed his head-quarters, and opened a negociation with some of the principal Spaniards, who came into the town to treat. The governor, an old decrepid man, was brought in by two men in his hammock to sign the articles, by which it was agreed that the Spaniards should evacuate the island. The inhabitants, however, did not consider themselves bound by the treaty, and many of them escaped through the woods, with their moveable property, to other parts of the island. Colonel Bullard, with 2000 men, was sent after them, who returned with his party on the first of June, bringing with him some cattle, and giving notice of the great abundance that there were of them in the remote parts of the island.[1]

The Discovery, one of the largest vessels in the fleet, was set on fire by filling brandy-wine in the steward's room, by the flame of the candle, and entirely destroyed. Some of the frigates that were ordered to cruize off Española sent in some prizes: so that the importance of the conquest was immediately felt, and grants of land were made to the officers and men.

June the 25th, the fleet bound for England set sail from Jamaica. Vice-Admiral Goodson, in the Torrington frigate, was left commander-in-chief in the Indies, with the frigates and best sailing Flemish ships, making twelve sail, exclusive of victuallers and prizes.

The homeward-bound fleet passed through the Gulf of Florida, and on the 8th of July lost the Paragon Navy, a second-rate: she was destroyed by fire, supposed to have taken place by some neglect in the steward's room.

August the 30th, the fleet made the Lizard, and anchored the following day at Spithead.

Venables was soon afterwards sent to the Tower.

Major-General Fortescue was left at Jamaica, with the command of the army.

Major Sedgewicke was sent out to Jamaica as a commissioner, in the place of Butler, who had returned to England with Venables. Sedgewicke arrived there in October; but finding the other commissioners were dead, he, with the principal officers, framed an instrument of government, constituting themselves a

Rapin, tom. ii. p. 595. Edwards, vol i. p. 202.

[1] "It was supposed by Sedgewicke, that the soldiers had killed 20,000 (cattle) in the course of the first four months after their arrival; and as to horses, they were in such plenty, says Goodson, that we accounted them the vermin of the country. — *B. Edwards*, vol. i. p. 195.

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Supreme Executive Council for governing the island. General Fortescue was declared president, and dying soon afterwards, Colonel Edward D'Oyley, the next in command, was chosen to preside in his room.[1]

At this time not a single descendant of the aboriginal Indians existed on the island. When the Spaniards first settled upon it, there were 60,000 at least!

"Articles and agreements concluded and settled between the two nations residents and inhabitants of the Island of St. Christopher, between Brother Philippes de Longvilliers, Bailly de Poincy, Counsellor to his Majesty of France, in his Councils of State and Private Councils, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty in the American Islands, Territory, and Confines dependant upon the French Government, and the Honourable Colonel Edward Ewrard (Everard), Governor of the English in the said island, by the authority of His Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, assisted on each part by the undersigned officers, commissioners:—

"In the first place, the articles settled between the governors, Captains d'Enambuc and Du Rossey and Mr. Thomas Warner, the 28th of April, 1627; those of the 3d of October 1638, between M. de la Grange Fromenteau and the said Mr. Warner; those between the said Lords de Poincy and Warner, of the 14th September, 1644: as also, those between the said Lords De Poincy and the Honourable Rowland Rich, governor, of the 18th October, 1649 — shall keep their full force and power, according to their contents, except such as are here altered.

"To maintain the union between the two nations, it is agreed that the articles which follow shall be faithfully observed:—

"1. That nothing disrespectful shall be spoken by any of the English, relative to the respect and honor of his Majesty of France — of his government and governors; neither shall any of the French say any thing disrespectful of the respect and honour of His Highness of England, the Lord Protector of England, of his Government, nor of his governors, neither of the nations in general.

"2. That the old marks, separations, and divisions of the lands shall be replaced.

"3. That the frontiers of the anchorage of Sandy Point shall be marked by a right line, drawn from the fig-tree straight to the

Edwards, vol. i. p. 169. Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 476.

[1] Three commissioners were sent out to superintend and direct the operations, Winslow, Serle, and Buller: — *Edwards*, vol. i. p. 201., the commanders disagreed in their views, and the commissioners could not controul them. Edward Winslow, the principal commissioner, died on the passage from Hispaniola to Jamaica. — *Hutchinson*, vol. i. p. 187. a. a.

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sea, between which fig-tree and the sea shall be raised a pillar in a right line, and the limits of high lands shall be taken, SE. by E. straight upon the top of the mountain.

"4. That no vessel, either French or English, or freighted by any one of either nation, shall remain more than twenty-four hours at anchor in the road off Sandy Point, without permission from the English governor; neither shall the English governor suffer any vessel to anchor, above all, an enemy to the French nation, without permission of the French governor.

"5. That the French nation has a just title to the half of the mines and sulphur pits; as the English have also a just title to the half of the salt-ponds, of which, and of the adjacent lands, an equal separation, division, or partition shall be made, when it shall be found convenient to do so.

"6. That the liberty of cutting wood and of hunting shall no longer be general: each shall take and hunt upon their own lands.

"7. That if any servant or slave runs away from his master, and withdraws himself into the territories of the other nation, and it shall be sufficiently proved that he has been employed more than twenty-four hours by any inhabitant, or sent off the island, the said inhabitant shall be obliged to repay his master the full damages and interests which the governor of his nation shall judge proper to condemn him to pay — exclusive of 2000 pounds of tobacco for the benefit of the master for whom he should have kept the servant or slave. The governors of the two nations bind themselves to constrain, by force, such as shall contravene this convention.

"8. That no man of either nation, although he be free, shall be retained to work for any inhabitant of the other without a passport from the governor of the nation where he resides, under the penalty of 1000 pounds of tobacco from the offender, payable each to his own nation.

"9. The great roads in the lands of either nation, whether they lead to the salt-ponds, mines, or sulphur pits, shall be common for the passing of the subjects of both nations, either on foot, or horseback, or in a carriage, as the occasion may require.

"10. If the subjects of either nation, Christians or slaves, commit any theft or unjust act, or assault any person, he shall be referred to four honourable persons of each nation to prove the fact, and then sent before twelve persons, that is to say, six of each nation, by whom the delinquent shall be tried; and if convicted, he shall receive the punishment on the lands of his own nation, upon the lines and frontiers of the two nations.

"11. That the merchants shall not refuse their merchandize,

Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 477.

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either in the French territory or in the English, at the same price which they sell to the nation where they reside, under the penalty, for disobedience, of 2000 pounds of tobacco, to be paid by the merchant who shall sell at a higher price, and of 1000 pounds by the inhabitant who shall have paid more than the price — payable to the nation where the fault shall be committed.

" 12. That a publication or order shall be issued, for returning the servants or slaves which may be found in the one territory belonging to the other, because eight days afterwards, if they are seen, the delinquents shall be punished according to article the seventh.

" 13. That all the articles that are not comprised in the present agreement and ratification shall be held as null. And the present shall be published, as they have been concluded for the friendship of the two nations, to be inviolably observed on both sides, as acts of agreement made without constraint.

" That the said Lords de Poincy and Everard, with the undersigned commissioners, have promised and sworn to maintain and observe, upon their faith and honour, each for his nation."

A treaty of peace, between France and the Republic of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was signed at Westminster, upon the 3d of November, 1655; and by an additional article, the United Provinces of the Low Countries were included in the treaty: — "Comme aussi tous les alliez et confédérés des deux Etats, qui dans l'espace de trois mois prochains en suivant la date de ces presentes desireront estre compris audit Traité."

This additional article is dated the 23d of November, 1655.

An accident happened at Mariegalante, which threatened to occasion a war with the Caribs. Captain Baron, the Carib, friend of M. Houel, was at Mariegalante with a piragua full of his countrymen, and invited by the commandant into the fort, and made very drunk. Baron having had occasion to go out, upon his return was refused admittance by the sentry: upon this Baron made some disturbance, and was put in irons. The commander of the fort sent an exaggerated account to Guadaloupe of Baron's conduct, and received an order to send him immediately to Guadaloupe, which was done.

Baron's relatives at Dominica, uneasy at his long absence, went to Mariegalante to inquire for him: three of them were immediately put to the sword, and one of the three was Baron's youngest and favourite boy, Marivet. When the news reached Guadaloupe, Baron became frantic with rage and grief, and made all possible exertions to escape, that he might rouse his countrymen to revenge. To appease him, the commandant of Mariegalante

Du Mont, tom. vi. partie 2. p. 121. Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 472, 473.

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was put in irons in Baron's presence, to whom a promise was given, that the murderer of his son should be punished with death. In expectation of seeing the sentence executed, Baron staid at Guadaloupe; the governor deferring the execution from time to time, till at last he persuaded Baron that it was necessary it should be put off until the arrival of his brother!

The Carib chief returned to Dominica; but on coming back to Guadaloupe, and discovering that the offender was at liberty, nothing could pacify him. The governor, therefore, applied to his countrymen, pointed out the disadvantages that must result from their making war against the French, and contrived to soothe them, so that they refused to recommence the war.

The Spaniards in Jamaica had little intercourse with the midland and northern districts, except to their old town of Seville. Their trade consisted chiefly in supplying the Spanish homeward-bound ships with fresh provisions, which the island produced in great abundance. They killed 80,000 hogs every year for their lard, which they sold at Carthagena.

With the English, the first objects of military rage were the religious edifices. Parties were sent in quest of the Spaniards: twenty-four were taken, and fifty surrendered; the rest skulked in small bodies. Having driven their cattle into the mountains, and ruined their provision-grounds, the English troops were suddenly in want of food, their allowance being half a biscuit a day to each man. In less than one month after their landing, only five field officers were in health. Many officers and men had died: 2000 were sick, and the rest mutinous!

Oliver Cromwell issued a proclamation relative to Jamaica, in which he states, "That the island, being well stored with horses and other cattle, *healthful* and fertile, and generally fit to be planted; and that divers merchants being desirous to undertake settlements upon the island — he had, by the advice of his council, taken care, not only for strengthening the island, but for settling a civil government, by such laws as have been exercised in colonies of the like nature. And for the encouragement of such persons, he had given orders that every adventurer to that island should be exempt from paying any excise or duty on any goods which he or they should transport there for seven years to come, from the Michaelmas following:

"Also, that no tax should be levied upon any commodity, the produce of the island, imported into the dominions belonging to the commonwealth, for the space of ten years, to be accounted from the Michaelmas following:

"Also, that no embargo, or other hindrance, upon any pretence whatsoever, be laid upon any ships or adventurers bound to the island:

Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 474. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 213. 238, 239.

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And, "That whatsoever other favour or immunity or protection shall or may conduce to the welfare, strength, and improvement of the said island, shall from time to time be continued and applied thereunto.

(Signed) "OLIVER, *Protector.*"

1656.

M. Houel, unable to persuade M. Boisseret to sell his part of the island of Guadaloupe, returned to that island with a determination to be master of the whole; and soon after his landing, he sent his brother, the Chevalier Houel, off the island, and he returned to France. Houel then proceeded to sell all the effects of his brother-in-law Boisseret, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his son: these effects sold for a million five hundred and twenty-nine thousand pounds of tobacco, and were purchased by M. Houel's partizans. Some of his nephew's menaces, for unjustly selling his father's property, being reported to M. Houel, he sent the young man off the island.

The population of Grenada, this year, amounted to 300 persons, under the command of M. Vauminier: every house almost was a little fort, capable of resisting the incursions of the savages.

The 15th of June, M. de la Vigne sailed from Nantz, with an expedition to establish a colony near the river Oürabiche: they arrived at Martinico the 19th of July, where they remained until the 23d of October, and then sailed, without any person on board that knew the coast. They at last determined to land and build a fort at the entrance of the river Oüanatigo, upon a hill on a peninsula: they named the fort St. Anne: it was surrounded with palisades, and defended by four guns and two peterardes. De Vigne, having left his colonists upon good terms with the natives, returned to St. Christopher's in December.

The colonists were soon afterwards attacked by the Spaniards, and deserted by the natives; and though they succeeded in defending themselves, they resolved to abandon the country—some got to Tobago and others to St. Domingo; and thus ended the attempt of the Company of Terra Firma to make a settlement on the main land!

There was a remarkable mortality, this year, among the Gosiers or Pelicans: all the shores of the islands of St. Lucie, St. Vincent's, Bequia, and all the Grenadines, were edged with their bodies.

Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 549. 482. tom. ii. pp. 41. 273.

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The use of money was not yet introduced into the French islands: all the commerce was carried on by exchange, and the produce of the country was given to the merchants in lieu of what they imported. When a vessel arrived, the captain waited upon the governor for permission to dispose of his cargo, who immediately sent the judge, the officer of the guard, and some other officers, on board to set a tax upon all the articles; a list of which, and of the prices of the different articles was affixed to the door of the warehouse; and the price, thus once settled, could not afterwards be altered.

The Dutch were the principal traders to the French islands.

The army at Jamaica gained some trifling success against the Spanish Negroes in the interior; but towards the close of the year forty soldiers were cut off, as they were rambling near their quarters.

The Council of State in England voted that 1000 girls, and as many young men, should be listed in Ireland, and sent over to Jamaica.

In November, Cromwell ordered the Scotch government to apprehend all known, idle, masterless robbers and vagabonds, male and female, and transport them to that island: he promised Fortescue eight more ships of war, from thirty to forty guns, a reinforcement of soldiers, and twelve months' provisions for the army. He dispatched Mr. Gookin to New England, with proffers of great encouragement to all who would settle in Jamaica; and he appointed Major-General Sedgewicke to take the command of the island, in conjunction with Goodson and Serle.

Sedgewicke arrived about the end of the year, and says, "For the army I found them in as sad, as deplorable and distracted a condition, as can be thought of. As to the commanders, some have quitted the island, some have died, some are sick, and others in indifferent health. Of the soldiers many are dead, and their carcases lying unburied every where in the highways and among the bushes! Many that are alive appear like ghosts; and as I went through the town, they lay groaning and crying out, 'Bread for the Lord's sake!' The truth is, I saw nothing but symptoms of necessity and desolation."

He found the shore strewed with stores, "exposed to ruin;" and says a small number of men might in a few days have erected a house sufficient to have secured the whole. In a subsequent letter to Thurlow, he says, "Should I give you a character of the dispositions and qualifications of our army in general (some few particulars excepted), I profess my heart would grieve to write, as it doth to think of them. I believe they are not to be paralleled in the whole world; a people so lazy and idle, as it cannot enter

Du Tertre, tom. ii. pp. 460, 461. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 338. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 244. 254.

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into the heart of any Englishman that such blood should run in the veins of any born in England — so unworthy, slothful, and basely secure; and have, out of a strange kind of spirit, desired rather to die than live! A round tower of stone was intended to be built within the fortification at Port Royal, but it is difficult to get either masons or materials, except stone; the army protesting they could not spare thirty men to make a little lime! The work, therefore, such as it is, was wholly performed by the seamen. As for planting, there is little done; and the truth is, I believe nothing more will be done in it, though they have had all the intreaties and encouragement that were possibly in our power. The commanders and officers allege that the soldiers will not plant, but still stand gaping to go off the island as after a gaol delivery, and you may be confident there will be little done in that way by this sort of people."

A party of men sent in quest of horses, thirty miles inland, caught forty horses and four women: the men escaped.

Cromwell wrote to the commander-in-chief, and strongly recommended him to form a good body of horse. "As we have cause (he said) to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our sins, as well as others so truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, prophaneness and wickedness, commonly practised among the army, we cannot only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so, and that a very special regard may be had so to govern in time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced and severely punished; and that such a frame of government may be exercised, that virtue and goodness may receive due encouragement. And whereas it is too apparent, that a want of due discipline in the army, and timely and orderly taking care in providing food and refreshment for it, of such flesh and other things as are upon the island itself, hath been a great occasion of the sickness and other distempers which have fallen among them, we direct you to put the same in an orderly way, as well for the taking, killing, preserving, and dressing of flesh, as for sowing and planting of such seeds and other things as will produce bread and other food, which will be a means of restoring and preserving the health of the soldiers, and lay a good foundation for easing the extraordinary charge which the commonwealth is at, of sending provisions from home to a place which abounds in all things."

Twenty of Colonel Buller's regiment, when their ration was reduced to half a pound of bread a-day, revolted, and left their quarters: they were pursued and taken prisoners. Three of the leaders were executed, and the rest pardoned.

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 255, 256, 257.

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Major-General Sedgewicke died upon the 24th of June, just after receiving the Protector's order to take upon him the sole and supreme command.

Major-General Boteler, in a letter to Secretary Thurlow, makes humble motion, "that he would please to help him to a vent for those idle rogues he had secured for the present, some in one country, some in another, being not able to find security for their peaceable demeanour, not fit to live on this side some or other of our plantations." He adds, that he could help Thurlow to two or three hundred at twenty-four hours' warning, and the countries would think themselves well rid of them.

Mr. Long says, "considering, therefore, the several events attending the first settlement of Jamaica, it may be reckoned a fortunate circumstance, that when, by the licentious and refractory proceedings of many in the army, the affairs of the colony wore no very promising aspect, and that the business of planting *did not proceed* with that rapidity so conspicuous in other islands, the privateering trade at length opened a channel by which these disorderly spirits were driven into an occupation perfectly well suited to them. In the acquisition of wealth to themselves, which they dissipated in riot and debauchery, they contributed more largely than they were aware, to the prosperity of that island, and the emolument of the mother country."

Cromwell sent instructions to the commissioners at Jamaica, stating, that he had granted, by patent under the Great Seal, to Martin Noell, merchant of London, twenty thousand acres of land, parcel of the said island, with several privileges, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs; and authorizing the commissioners to admit any other people of the commonwealth, or the dominions thereof, *who were Protestants*, to inhabit any part of the island upon the same terms granted to Mr. Noel.

And to cause the terms and conditions to be published in the islands and plantations of the English in America, and to use such other means as were necessary for inciting people to come and plant upon the island.

The conditions granted to Mr. Noel, Mr. Long says, are not to be found among the records in the island, the oldest of them not reaching so far back by many years.

Governor Searle, in his return of the military establishment at Barbadoes, taken the 6th November, 1656, and sent to Secretary Thurlow, states,

Four regiments of foot, consisting of -	4500	men.
Eight troops of horse - - - -	800	
Total -	5300	

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 286. 214, 215. 262.

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Colonel Brayne arrived in December at Jamaica, as commander-in-chief, with 1000 recruits. Eight hundred and thirty, under Colonel Humphreys, landed a short time before, and 1500 collected in the Windward Islands, under the command of Stokes, the governor of Nevis. Brayne found every thing in the utmost confusion: the soldiers had destroyed all sorts of provisions and cattle — nothing but ruin attended them wheresoever they went; they would neither dig nor plant, and were determined rather to starve than work![1] Misery and disease had made dreadful havoc: for some time 140 men died each week, and forty soldiers who were rambling from their quarters were cut off by the Negroes, who had fled to the woods!

Jeremie Deschamps, Sieur de Moussac et Du Rausset, was appointed governor and lieutenant-general for the King in Tortuga and its dependencies, in December, 1656.

The island of Guadaloupe was desolated by a tremendous hurricane — most of the houses destroyed — all the domestic animals killed — and all the plantations laid waste: every vessel at anchor in the roads was wrecked, and most of their crews drowned!

A general insurrection took place among the Negroes at Capsterre, Guadaloupe: they were headed by two Angola Blacks, named Pedre and Jean le Blanc. Their plan was to massacre all the male Whites, and to elect two kings from any among themselves, one to rule in Capsterre, and the other in Basse Terre. The Negroes at Basse Terre were to have joined; but coming from a different part of Africa, they were hostile to the Angolians, and failed to keep the appointment. The Angola Negroes began without them, fled to the woods, and for fifteen days continued their depredations, until M. Despinay, a Walloon gentleman, with twenty chosen men, and some Brazilian slaves, pursued them, and having killed the King of Capsterre, Jean le Blanc, and taken from them eight women and three children, they separated; and the other white inhabitants, encouraged by this success, joined in the pursuit, and captured almost the

Edwards, vol. i. pp. 206. 523. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 46. Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 497. 500.

[1] Pendant le sejour que j'ay fait autrefois dans les isles de St. Eustache et d'Antigoa, on me dit que les Holandois et les Anglois, tenoient pour maxime dans leur reformation pretendue, de n'avoir point d'esclaves Chrestiens; croyant faire injure au sang et à la loy de Jesus Christ, de tenir en servitude ceux que sa grace affranchit de la captivité; et l'on m'asseura qu'ils ne baptizoient jamais leurs Negres, que quand ils les voyoient à l'article de la mort; et que s'ils rechapoient de leurs maladies, ils estoient libres et n'etoient plus obligez à servir leur maistres, que comme les autres serviteurs qui gagnant de bons gages, ceux qui me firent ce report me dirent aussy, que la pluspart des habitans les laissoient assez souvent mourir sans baptesme de peur de les perdre s'ils venoient à guerir." — *Du Tertre*, tom. ii. p. 503.

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whole. The two kings were quartered, several were torn to pieces alive, others hung, and the children flogged, and their ears cut off! The sense of smelling was so acute in one of the Brasilians who followed Despinay, that he could tell, by smelling the ground, whether it was a Negro or a Frenchman that had gone that way![1]

"Barbadoes, which is inhabited only by the English, may boast of having two regular cities, in each of which more than a hundred taverns may be reckoned, as well furnished as in Europe. In the greater part of the islands inhabited by the Spaniards, there are regular cities, well built, surrounded by walls, fortified with good bastions; which are so populous, that there are cathedral churches, and convents of monks of different orders, the same as in Europe. It is to be hoped, that when the number of inhabitants is increased in the islands, that they will build cities and villages as in the others; but at present there are none, not even among the English at St. Christopher's, Antigua, Nevis, or Monserrat, although they are incomparably better peopled than ours."

So says Du Tertre, who left the West Indies this year: he adds,

"The vanity which reigns in the dresses of the inhabitants has not as yet extended itself to their furniture; for some chests, a table, a bed, and some benches, compose the furniture of the houses. Married persons have beds as in France, but the others have only hanging cotton beds, in which they sleep like the savages; and, besides that the custom is very convenient, it is not expensive, because no pillows, sheets, or quilts are necessary: so that a good cotton bed lasts a man for his life!"

The Caribs, at the instigation of an old savage who had belonged to Mademoiselle de la Montagne, attacked the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's, killed sixteen, and wounded several others. From this island the Caribs went to Anguilla, where they killed almost all the men, plundered and burnt the houses, but kept the women and children for slaves.

"We were not dreaming of this enterprise of the savages,"

Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 450, 451. — tom. i. p. 508.

[1] "Les enfans de nos isles ne sont pas elèves avec tant de delicatesse que les enfans de l'Europe: car on ne les emmaillotte jamais, à cause de la trop grande chaleur qui les corromperoit dans leurs ordures. On les nourrit de laict, de palates, et de fruicts, et il y en a peu qui mangent de la bouillie. Il s'en trouve fort peu de contre faits, et ils marchent bien plustost que dans la France. Ils viennent à merveille jusqu'a l'age de sept ou huit ans, mais j'ay remarqué qu'a cet age la pluspart semble estre arrestez tout court, le teint leur pallit, et ils deviennent languissans si bien que plusiers y meurent. Je crois que cela vient de la nourriture qui leur engendre des vers; car en ayant fait ouvrir quelquesuns j'ay trouvé dans leur estomach de gros pelotons de vers enterlassez les uns dans les autres, qui leur piquotoient cette partie d'ou vient qu'avant leur mort ils ne faisoient que vomir." — *Du Tertre*, tom. ii. p. 459.

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Du Tertre says, "nor of meeting with them, when we embarked in M. du Parquet's bark to go to St. Christopher's, in the hope of finding some ship ready to sail for France or Holland. Besides the crew of the bark, whose sailors were all good soldiers, we had on board the Sieur de la Fontaine Heron, captain of his guards, and the Father Boulongne, who had business at St. Christopher's. The bark had two guns mounted, and two peteraroes; but she was so lumbered with the quantity of refreshments which the generosity of M. du Parquet had put on board, that she was but in a bad state for action: we scarcely dreamt of preparing her, for besides that we were ignorant of the outrage of the savages, there was but little to apprehend from them close to St. Christopher's, in the middle between three islands full of English, their greatest enemies, and in the track of all their ships: so that I do not believe that for twenty years there had been any savages seen in the state in which we found them.

"We sailed, then, from Martinico the 16th of November, and the 18th, at day-break, we had, as it were, a sort of presage of what was going to happen: it was a meteor, which, taking fire towards the stern of our bark, passed with a great noise over our mast-head, like a fiery dragon, went, and was dissipated, and we lost sight of it towards the place where the savages appeared a quarter of an hour afterwards! I saw them first, to the number of nine piraguas, which looked at a distance only like pieces of timber floating on the water, and shewed them to Captain la Bourlotte, who said after he had looked at them, 'Father, if we were in any other place, I should think that it was an army of savages going upon some expedition.' But a moment afterwards, seeing them tack, he cried out, 'Get ready! get ready! they are the savages!' As they were still a full league from us, we had time to prepare for action, and to say some short and fervent prayers.

"The largest piragua, leaving the eight others, came boldly to reconnoitre us. Our captain did what he could to run her on board athwart ships, and sail over her; but the Caribs adroitly avoided the shock, and always kept her head towards us.

"We had pointed the gun to rake the piragua from one end to the other, and it was loaded with a large ball, an iron chain, and two bags of old nails and musket-balls. Half the savages on board the piragua rowed; all the others, held each of them two arrows on their bow-string, ready to let fly. When they were about twenty paces from us, they made great cries and hootings on coming to attack us; but as we went to them before the wind, the fore-sail covered us, and they could not see to fire at us: our gunner seeing them close, chose his time so well, and let off his

Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 509.

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gun so à propos, that the discharge knocked down more than half the savages, and if the stern of the piragua had not pitched, not one of them would have escaped. There were more than twenty killed by this discharge, so that the sea all round our bark became bloody, and the piragua was stove and full of water: they did not for that cease to close with us; and those that had escaped, seeing us clear of the sail, shot a number of arrows, and wounded two of our soldiers, one in the finger, which was cut off the next day, and the other in the thigh, who died a few days afterwards, at Martinico.

"Our two captains and our soldiers fired their pieces, and because they were so close, there was scarcely one shot that did not kill a savage. While both sides were fighting valiantly, an old captain of the savages, seeing M. de Maubray upon the poop, shot an arrow at him with such violence, that it broke the vessel's bell, without which he would have been killed: but he did not endure that long; M. de Maubray immediately shot him in the side. The ball passed through him, and M. de Maubray would have finished him with his pistol, but the savage avoided him, and threw himself into the sea, with his bow and arrows, where all the others, even the wounded, followed him!

"As soon as they were all in the water, we tried to save some prisoners that were in the piragua, and easily got out two young Frenchmen: but as we were trying to get an English girl out, an old female savage bit her in the shoulder, and tore out as much flesh as her mouth could hold! But at the same time a Christian Carib that we had on board, and a sworn enemy to others of his nation, struck her a blow with a half-pike in the neck, which made her drop her prize. This wound, nevertheless, did not prevent her from throwing herself upon the girl and biting her a second time, before we could get her out of the piragua! A Negro, who had lost both his legs by our shot, refused the hand which was held out to save him: after being lifted up on the side of the piragua, he threw himself head foremost into the sea; but his feet not being quite separated from his legs, he hung by the bones, and drowned himself!

"We also tried to save a young English lady, the mistress of the girl we had taken on board. The piragua being separated from the bark, we saw her for some time upon a chest, holding out her hands to us; but as we went to her, the chest upset, and we never saw her again!

"While we were occupied in saving these poor miserable creatures, our old savage captain, all wounded as he was, came towards us, and raising his body half out of the water, like a Triton, holding two arrows on the string of his bow, fired them

Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 510.

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into the bark, and dived immediately under the water: he returned thus bravely five times to the charge; and his strength failing him before his courage, we saw him fall backwards and sink to the bottom! Another old man, who had remained on the bark's rudder, having lost his hold, began to cry out, and implore us not to kill him. I instantly begged Captain Bourlote, who, to satisfy me, threw a rope's end to him, but he could not catch it; and seeing that he used all his efforts to regain the bark, Bourlote shot him in the face, and he sunk to the bottom. In the beginning of the action, I had seen a young savage in the water, that could not be more than two years old, moving his little hands; but it was impossible to save him.

"If the eight piraguas had come to us with the same courage, we should certainly have been taken; but having seen the fire that we kept up upon the first, and perceiving that we stood towards them with all sail set, they took fright, and having gained the weather-gage by rowing, they saved themselves on a small island called Redonda."

The French, who escaped from St. Bartholomew's, retired to St. Martin's and St. Christopher's: it was not until 1659 that any attempt was again made to colonize that island.

The expence of the colony established in Grenada had so greatly injured Du Parquet's fortune, that he sold the island this year, to the Count de Cerillac, for 30,000 crowns. M. de Miromenil and Father Du Tertre made the agreement for the Count, who appointed a rapacious man governor, whose exactions obliged the colonists to take the administration of justice into their own hands: they seized the governor, brought him to a public trial, and condemned him to be hanged. The criminal pleaded noble birth, and demanded the honour of being beheaded, but as no executioner could be found, the judges compounded the matter with his excellency, by consenting that he should be shot: and he suffered, in that mode, with great composure.[1]

M. Haquet, governor of St. Lucie, was enticed from his fort by the Caribs under pretence of shewing him a large quantity of turtle[2] on a neighbouring hill; he went with only three followers,

Labat, tom. v. p. 144. Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 416. 516. 436. B. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 357, 358.

[1] "De toute la cour de justice que fit le procés à cet infortune gouverneur il n'y avoit que le nommé Archangeli, qui sçut ecrire. Celui qui fit les informations et que instruisit le procés etoit un marêchal ferrant dont on voit encore la marqué dans le Registre du Greffe, qui est un fer à cheval autour duquel le Greffier Archangeli a ecrit, 'Marque de Monsieur la Brie, Conseiller Rapporteur.'"—*Labat*, tom. vi. p. 222.

[2] "J'ay cru fort long-temps que les tortués de ces quartiers avoient trois cours, car au-dessus du cœur (qu'elles ont gros comme celuy d'un homme), soit un gros trone d'arteres aux deux costes duquel

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was seized by the Caribs, and thrown from the hill into the sea: Haquet was stunned, but not hurt by the fall, and was on his road to the fort, when they mortally wounded him by an arrow, of which he died in three days. He was succeeded as governor by M. Breton, who would have been assassinated by the garrison, for ill usage, had he not escaped into the woods. They despised him because he had been Madame du Parquet's footman. The garrison then stript the fort, and seizing an English ship in the road, escaped to the Spaniards, by whom they were protected. About ten days after this, a French ship, commanded by Captain Burlotte, passing by from Grenada, left four seamen, with proper supplies in the fort, as its artillery was good, and took on board Breton. Du Parquet, understanding what had passed, sent a reinforcement of thirty-eight men from Martinico, and appointed Le Sieur du Coutis governor, and afterwards Mr. Aygremont to supersede him, during whose administration the English made an unsuccessful attack upon the island.

1657.

M. de Poincy had forbidden the colony of Santa Cruz to trade with strangers. The consequence was, that the inhabitants, reduced to distress, when the Chevalier de la Mothe arrived to take the government of the island, seized his vessel, and leaving him tobacco and cotton to the value of the vessel and her cargo, they, to the number of 200, embarked in her, and proceeded to Brazil. M. de Poincy, finding the vessel did not return, sent a bark to know what was become of her: this vessel found the governor overwhelmed with affliction, and the rest of the inhabitants only waiting for an opportunity to desert. La Mothe returned to St. Christopher's. To induce other colonists to repair to the island, De Poincy altered his regulations, and permitted them to trade the same as the other islands.

At this time the French colonies had four proprietors: — The Knights of Malta had Sir Christopher's, Santa Cruz, part of

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 210, 211. Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 437. 454, 455. Labat, tom. vi. p. 249. — tom. v. pp. 119, 120. 165.

sont attachez deux autres façons de cœurs, gros comme des œufs de poule et de la mesme forme et substance que le premier; mais j'ay depuis changé d'opinion, et crois fermement que ce ne sont que les oreilles du cœur. Quoy qu'il en soit, il est certain que cela bien ajuste sur une table, composé une fleur-de-lys, d'ou on peut tirer une conjecture assez avantageuse de progrez de nos colonies Françoises dans l'Amerique, puisque la providence de Dieu, qui ne fait rien en vain, a plante la fleur-de-lys au cœur de l'animal qui est le hieroglyphe du pays." — *Du Tertre*, tom. ii. p. 228.

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St. Martin's, and St. Bartholomew's; Messieurs Boisseret and Houel, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Desirada, and the Saints; Madame du Parquet, Martinico and St. Lucie; and M. de Cerillac, Grenada and the Grenadines. Each lord was a sovereign in his own island: the three first had the quality of lieutenant-general for the King. Orders from the court were addressed to each in particular, and they paid all expences for the militia and government. Their judges could condemn to death, and the proprietor had the power of pardoning.

The Order of Malta sent out the Chevaliers St. Juré and De Salles to succeed M. de Poincy; but no civilities which the former shewed M. de Poincy were satisfactory, and not being able to accommodate himself to De Poincy's humour, St. Juré returned to France — De Salles staid out, and succeeded De Poincy.

M. Houel, the governor of Guadaloupe, under the pretext that the inhabitants were to be exempted from mounting guard, doubled the seignorial droits, making them two hundred and eighteen pounds of tobacco: all the inhabitants took arms to oppose the imposition, and would have driven M. Houel off the island, had he not abolished all the seignorial droits, and published a general amnesty, to which, however, he paid no attention, for he afterwards banished upwards of one hundred heads of families. Having thus disembarrassed himself of his principal opponents, he proposed to change the capitation tax into a tenth, to be levied upon all property in the island; and having persuaded fifteen or sixteen of his chief friends, by promising them an exemption from the tax, to make a request to him that the alteration might be made, and they having induced their friends, by a similar promise, to sign, M. Houel got possession of the document, and levied the tax upon the whole, because it was established at their request.

A violent earthquake was felt at Martinico this year.

In October, the Caribs at Martinico sent to make peace with the French: their envoy was one of their principal men, named Nicholas. Du Parquet was brought out to the fort in his bed, to conclude the desirable treaty: they promised not to harbour any more run-away Negroes, and left a child as their hostage, taking a French child with them, which they returned in the course of the day.

Upon the 14th of September, M. d'Ogeron arrived at Martinico, in a vessel called the Pelagie, with the intention of joining the colonists upon the banks of the river Oüanarigo. Finding, upon his arrival, that that attempt had entirely failed, he resolved to establish himself in Martinico, and obtained from M. du Par-

Edwards, vol. i. pp. 206. 208. 523. Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 447. 498. 504. 552.

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quet a grant of all the Cul de Sac quarter: he, however, offended Madame du Parquet, and the grant was recalled. After this disappointment, he, with a party of engagées, embarked in a small vessel to join the buccaneers in St. Domingo: his vessel was wrecked in the grand Cul de Sac of that island[1], and only part of his property saved: he then liberated his engagées, and joined the buccaneers.

After staying some time among them, he returned to France by the way of Martinico, where he found that a vessel which had been sent out to him with supplies from France, was sold, with her cargo, by a M. Vigné, from whom he received to the value of 500 livres in merchandize, which was all M. d'Ogeron had remaining of 17,000 livres he had expended in the expedition. He afterwards made another unsuccessful trading voyage to Jamaica, and returned again to France a considerable loser.

There was a woman burnt at Martinico for witchcraft this year. Du Tertre says, "That it was almost impossible to doubt of her guilt; for they proved, that the moment she touched infants, they became languid, and died in that state! That she sent a sort of unknown caterpillar to the houses of those with whom she quarrelled, which destroyed the best of every thing they had, while none of the neighbouring houses suffered any injury from these insects, and other similar things! The judge having put her in irons, to get the truth from her, had her examined, to see if she had any mark, such as they say that the devil puts upon all sorcerers, but not finding any he resolved to try if the remark which, he said, he had read in several authors worthy of credit, was true: it was, that sorcerers never cry while they are in the hands of justice! He therefore begged one of our fathers, without discovering his design to him, to go and see this

Du Tertre, tom. iii. p. 139, 140. 143. — tom. ii. p. 447.

[1] "Un jeune homme Normand, qui ayant fait naufrage à la coste de S. Domingue, aima mieux aller chercher sa vie dans les bois, que de s'aller rendre aux Espagnols comme firent ses compagnons. Il estoit nud, et n'avoit pour toutes choses que deux petits couteaux. Le premier jour il fut assez heureux pour prendre à la course deux petits cochons. Il en tua un, et se reput de sa chair crue, et fit boire le sang à l'autre, qui, estant pressé de la faim, l'avalla comme du laict. Il avoit envie de le tuer le landemain pour se nourrir, mais ayant remarque qu'il le suivoit par tout, et qu'il estoit devenu friand du sang des autres petits cochons, jusques à chasser avec lui, pour les prendre, et attendre qu'il les eust egorgez pour en boire le sang, il se resolut de le conserver. Peu de jours apres, il mangeoit la viande crue, et à mesure qu'il croissoit, il arrestoit de plus grands porcs, les tenant toujours saisis par les oreilles, jusques à ce que le sang en ruisslait; et alors il beuvoit le sang, et en suite mangeoit la chair avec son maistre. Le Normand et le porc vecurent ainsi 14 mois, partageant leur chasse et se faisant fidelle compagnie, et l'homme et le porc devinrent si grands, et si gros, qu'ils sembloient deux géans, ou deux monstres."—*Du Tertre*, tom. iii. p. 146.

Du Tertre says d'Ogeron told him this story.

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poor unfortunate, and say every thing the most touching that he could, to make her sensible, and weep for her fault.

"This good priest did not fail to go, and in the guard-room, which served her for a prison, he said every thing he could to affect her, but in vain. The judge, having now this further proof, had her conducted to a magazine, where he requested the same priest to speak to her again; but scarcely had he opened his mouth, when she began to cry, and shed so many tears, that she made all those who saw her cry likewise. The judge, not satisfied with this proof, followed the counsel of a Mr. Jacques, a surgeon, an Italian by birth, and called the Roman, who told him that he had seen the trial by water practised in Germany and in Italy, and he was allowed to use it. This 'good man,' without taking the advice of the Jesuit fathers, or ours, condemned this poor wretch!

"The next day, they carried her to a tolerably deep river near the 'Carbet,' where they stripped her. M. Jean, who upon this occasion acted more like an executioner than a surgeon, tied her two thumbs to her two great toes, and having fastened a great rope round her waist, which was across the river, she was pushed into the water, and hauled to the deepest part, where she floated like a balloon, without their being able to sink her, although she herself made several efforts to go to the bottom! More than 200 persons were present at this sight, and would have gone away sufficiently convinced; but this Roman sent a little boy to swim to her, who, having fastened a sewing needle in her hair, she sunk, like a piece of lead, to the bottom: in the space of a good 'miserere,' they saw her motionless: and when they had taken her out of the water, were obliged to give her something to quench her thirst! These three circumstances, of not being able to sink her without a little morsel of iron — of her being under water without breathing, and without having swallowed any water, determined the judge to condemn her to death the next day!

"But while he was preparing the sentence, this Roman thought proper, during the evening, to give her the trial according to his plan; and he burnt her so severely upon the sides and flanks, that she died the same night, without having confessed the crime of which she was accused!"

Upon the 9th of May, 1657, a treaty between Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, and Oliver Cromwell, Protector of England, was signed at Paris. The articles were to be kept secret, "afin que les desseins du Roy T. C. et du Seigneur Protecteur ne soient revelez en aucune maniere." Part of their design was "la ruine et destruction de l'orgueilleuse et tirannique monarchie d'Espagne."

Du Tertre, tom. ii p. 448.

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Colonel Moore arrived at Jamaica with a regiment of soldiers, and several planters soon afterwards came from New England and Bermudas.

Colonel Brayne, the governor, died in October, and left Colonel d'Oyley to succeed him.

Juan de Bolas, a Negro, who commanded the main body of the fugitive blacks, or Maroons, in Jamaica, surrendered to the English, upon terms of pardon and freedom: he was afterwards made colonel of a black regiment.

1658.

D'Oyley embarked 300 soldiers, burnt two galleons, bound from Carthagena to Porto Bello, and destroyed the town of Tolu, situated on the coast of the Spanish Main. Their settlements at Santa Martha and other parts had suffered greatly, some time before, from the attack of Admiral Goodson.

Two hundred and fifty settlers came to Jamaica from Bermudas, and several quakers, who had been driven out of Barbadoes. D'Oyley gave them a friendly reception, and they dispersed godly books among the soldiers.

The frigates, by cruizing off the Havannah, so obstructed the intercourse with that place, that the Spaniards sent home their treasure by the way of Buenos Ayres, "a track disused ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth."

The population of Jamaica was estimated at "4500 Whites, and 1400 Negroes; but little or no progress was made in planting or furnishing articles for an exportation to the mother country, until about the year 1665."

Upon the 8th of May, thirty companies of Spanish infantry, under Don Christopher Sasi Arnoldo, the former governor of Jamaica, landed upon that island, at Rio Nuevo, a small harbour on the north side, and entrenched themselves. Twelve days elapsed before the governor, Colonel d'Oyley, knew of their landing, and six weeks more before he could approach them by sea: at the end of that time, he, with 750 picked men, attacked them in their entrenchments—carried by assault a strong fortress which they had erected on an eminence over the harbour—and compelled Arnoldo to retreat to Cuba, leaving all his stores, &c. behind him: he lost 300 killed, 106 prisoners, the royal standard, and sixteen colours. After this, the Spaniards made no effort of consequence to reclaim Jamaica. Arnoldo returned to share the fortunes of some wanderers who lurked in the woods, but they

Du Mont, tom. vi. partie ii. p. 178. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 277, 278. 375.
Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 281. Edwards, vol. i. p. 210.

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were betrayed by run-away slaves, and entirely routed: a few of them escaped to Cuba.

Upon the 3rd of January, at one in the morning, M. du Parquet, the governor of Martinico, died upon that island: his death was accelerated by the disobedience of his colonists, who refused to pay some duties that he had laid on for enabling him to maintain a force to attack the Caribs. Upon his death, he recalled from Mr. Foppe, a Dutch merchant and Calvinist, the permission he had given him to purchase a house on the island. Mr. Foppe might thank the father confessor for this.

Soon after M. du Parquet's death, a mutiny broke out at Martinico, for which various reasons are assigned: one was, that Madame du Parquet was too partial to her countrymen the Parisians, and obtained from her husband all the lucrative offices in the island for them. M. du Parquet was from Normandy, and his countrymen and the Parisians vied with each other in processions and extraordinary rejoicings, upon New-year's day and Madame's birth-day: this competition led to scoffings and quarrellings. M. de Maubray arrived at the island soon after M. du Parquet's death, and was by his widow intrusted with the direction of all public business: this incensed M. de Courcelas, who had been Du Parquet's lieutenant-general, and murmurs were circulated against the interference of a stranger, and scandalous reports propagated of his intimacy with Madame du Parquet.

But what occasioned the inhabitants to proceed to open violence was M. de Maubray's enforcing an old ordinance of M. du Parquet's, for marking all the rolls of tobacco that were exported. They assembled tumultuously, and demanded that De Maubray should be driven from the island as a disturber of the public peace, and they were only pacified by his agreeing to retire to another part of the island, the "Case Pilote," four leagues from Madame du Parquet's house, for two months, after which time he was to leave the island. From this place De Maubray wrote to Madame du Parquet, but his letters were intercepted and opened by the discontented, who pretended that they contained information that De Maubray was treating with the English at Barbadoes for succours to support Madame du Parquet and himself in the government of the island, to the exclusion of the royal authority. The insurgents proceeded to Madame du Parquet's house, and forced her to sign an order for the immediate embarkation of De Maubray, and his sister and nephew: they were sent off the island, and went to Antigua, from which island De Maubray continued to correspond with Madame du Parquet: his letters were again intercepted, and the insurgents, headed by

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 276. Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 523. 535. 537.

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Plainville and Sigaly, publicly renounced their oath of fidelity to Madame du Parquet, and appointed their own officer; they then sent an order for her to attend their council, and upon her arrival, one of them took off a mask which he had on, saying the mask was now off: upon this, as a signal, she was seized, and sent prisoner to another part of the island, where she suffered all the insults they could inflict; and having found a copy of Machiavel among her books, they requested the council to order it might be burnt by the hands of the common hangman!

While she was in confinement, they made her sign a paper, by which she renounced the government of the island into the hands of M. de Gourselas, and consented that all those guilty of a design to murder the inhabitants should be tried; promising, at the same time, to procure from the King a pardon for all that had passed, contenting herself with being restored to her house and honours. Upon getting possession of this paper, tranquillity was restored, until one of her servants declared publicly that his mistress had been forced to sign the paper, and that she would complain to the King, and would be justified. The insurgents again flew to arms — seized and banished ten or twelve of the principal officers — and were upon the point of doing the same to Madame du Parquet herself; but, fearful of the consequences, they contented themselves with placing her under the care of the Jesuits.

M. de Gourselas, however, after having removed every person from the island likely to interfere with him as governor, found it more convenient to liberate Madame du Parquet, and replace her in her former authority and right, reserving to himself the executive power.

Soon afterwards, a party of eighteen Caribs, with one of their principal captains, named Nicholas, upon the promise given them by the inhabitants of Martinico, that all past aggressions were forgiven, landed at St. Pierre's, and proceeded to the store of M. le Maistre, and were drinking brandy with some Frenchmen, when Beau Soleil, one of the leading insurgents in the late disturbances, collected sixty or eighty followers, and, under pretence of revenging the death of some of their countrymen, attacked the unsuspicious Caribs, and killed thirteen of them; three others they arrested, and sent prisoners to the guard-house. Nicholas lived to reach the sea, where he defended himself for some time, diving for stones, and throwing them at his murderers, till they shot him through the head: two, however, escaped, to carry the news of the massacre to their countrymen.

Open war was now determined upon by Gourselas and his council, and 600 of the principal men of the island were selected

Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 538. 541. 543.

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to proceed and attack the Caribs in their huts. Two hundred men were embarked in five vessels, to go by water; while the other 400, who were to go by land, were divided into two parties: one party had orders to go by the mountain Pelée, and the other by the mountain Des Gommiers.[1] Bonin, the superior of the Jesuits, went with the party by water, and Boulogne, the superior of the Dominicans, went with La Loubiere and those by land. The Caribs, by their spies, discovered the approach of the French, and guessing the road they would take, they dug a great number of holes in the ground, in which they placed poisoned arrows, with their points upwards, and covered them over with leaves and a little earth: after a slight skirmish, the Caribs retreated, in order to draw the French after them over the arrows; but night approaching, one of the Frenchmen, suspecting some design, advised his countrymen to change their route, and march all night to attack the Caribs in their huts: his advice was followed; the Caribs, seeing them descend by another road, supposed it was another party, and their look out man, by throwing a quantity of sand upon his head, had given them to understand that the French were very numerous: they fled towards their huts, where their bravest men made a stand, to allow time for the women and children to get off in their piraguas: they were, however, soon put to flight, and the French, instead of pursuing them, ran to their huts, which they set on fire, and massacred the women and children without mercy: some few, however, escaped to the boats, and retired to St. Vincent's and Dominica[2], leaving the French complete masters of the island of Martinico. Among the smoking ruins the cross was

Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 544. — tom. iii. errata, p. 545. — tom. i. p. 545.

[1] "Quelques habitans, que la curiosité a porté sur le sommet de ces hautes montagnes, m'ont asseuré que la pluspart des arbres qu'y croissent sont semblables à nos bouleaux de France, et qu'il y a des eaux chaudes et des montagnes d'alun; c'est, sans doute, avec cet alun, que feu Monsieur le General de Poincy faisoit accommoder et corroyer ses cuirs, faute de tan; car j'ay appris de quelques tanneurs fort habiles, que l'alun y est presque aussi bon que le tan." — *De Tertre*, tom. ii. p. 6.

[2] "In the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, there are some Caribbeans who have many Negro slaves: some of them they got from the English plantations, and some from some Spanish ships wrecked upon their coasts; they call them Tamons, that is, slaves, and the Negroes serve them with as much obedience, readiness, and respect, as if they were the most civilized people in the world." — *Davis's Hist. of the Caribby Islands*, p. 295.

"They have at St. Vincent's some English boys and girls, who, being carried away very young, have forgot their parents: they are pleased with the Caribbeans, who, for their part, treat them as mildly as though they were of their own nation: they are known only by the fairness and flaxenness of their hair, whereas the Caribbeans are generally black hair'd." — *Ibid.* p. 324.

"The Caribbeans have tasted of all the nations that frequented them, and affirm that the French are the most delicate, and the Spaniards the hardest of digestion!" — *Ibid.* p. 326.

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erected by Father Boulogne, and the arms of France fastened on it; after which, Te Deum was chaunted for the victory!

Until this year, the Court of Rome had always avoided acknowledging any other sovereign of the West India Islands than the Spanish King, for fear of contradicting the grant of Pope Alexander the Sixth, in 1493, to that sovereign; but Alexander the Seventh, in the brief he sent to Father Fontaine, Apostolic Prefect of the Dominican missionaries, dated the 25th July, 1658, acknowledged the King of France as sovereign of the conquests and colonies which his subjects had made in the American islands; and in all subsequent briefs, this formal acknowledgment was always expressed.

James, Duke of Courland, being taken prisoner by Charles Gustavus of Sweden, the Dutch, at Tobago, upon hearing the news, immediately attacked his colony in Fort James, which was surrendered by the garrison, then in a state of mutiny, upon being promised, that when the duke recovered his liberty, the fort should be restored to them.

France, without alleging any claim, inserted Tobago among the islands granted to their West India Company.

1659.

M. de Bois embarked from St. Christopher's in April to take the government of Santa Cruz. Upon his arrival at that island he found only fifty men capable of bearing arms, and those in a wretched condition. He had obtained from M. de Poincy, before he would accept the government, permission for the inhabitants to enjoy a free trade, and a promise of 400 men to defend the island from the attacks of the Spaniards. He shifted the colony to a more healthy part of the island; and through the mediation of Father Le Clerc, of the Dominican order, he established an intercourse with the island of Puerto Rico, which, added to the exemption from all duties but the capitation tax, and his own judicious regulations, soon changed the state of the colony, and it began to flourish.

Madame du Parquet, the governess of Martinico, had from her sufferings become paralytic, and too unwell to remain upon the island until her brother-in-law M. de Vanderoque arrived, who was to command during her son's minority; she therefore embarked with two infant daughters, her cousin, and some officers

Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 579. 455. 547. — tom. iii. p. 116. Sir W. Young's Common Place Book, p. 82.

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of her household, for France, intending to try the Bourbon waters for relief. But she died upon the passage; and her officers were obliged to throw the body overboard, because the Portuguese sailors said it was the cause of a gale of wind they had, which lasted for three days.

M. de Vanderoque sailed from Dieppe in October, and arrived at Martinico after a six weeks' passage. He soon afterwards obliged M. de Gourselas to quit the island. That officer returned to Paris.

In July, M. le Chevalier Houel, with his two nephews, M. de Temericourt and D'Herblay, with one hundred soldiers, arrived at Mariegalante from Somme in Picardy, for the purpose of claiming their mother's rights in Guadaloupe from their uncle the governor. As soon as the vessel was at an anchor, Temericourt wrote to the commandant that he was arrived, and very unwell and in want of refreshments. The commandant immediately came on board to pay his respects, with a boat full of the best things he had. The Chevalier Houel and his nephews then explained to him their intentions; and being secure of his person, they landed with him, and made the garrison ground their arms, and after reading to them a manifesto which had been written in France, a new oath of fidelity was administered to them, which they took, and twenty of them volunteered going to Guadaloupe with the Chevalier. At nine the next morning they arrived at Grand Anse, Guadaloupe. The Chevalier and M. de Temericourt landed at his own house, from whence he sent to the fort of Santa Marie, of which, as every person in that district was in his interest, he obtained immediate possession. The Superior of the Prescheurs (or Dominicans) was fixed upon to be the bearer of the Chevalier's letter to his brother. They then landed their soldiers, and marched with colours flying and drums beating, and took post in an advantageous situation, sending off in all directions at the same time to acquaint their friends of their arrival. So large a proportion of the inhabitants soon joined them, that they no longer doubted of success.

The governor was astonished when he heard of his brother and nephews' arrival with a force to claim their rights, and that the inhabitants in general had joined them; he however ordered the people to arm, assembled the council, declared his brother and nephews guilty of high treason, and forbade all persons to join them, or even to quit their houses.

The Chevalier had not come from France to be frightened by an edict; and the inhabitants sent word to the governor that they had neither powder or ball to use against their lords. By the mediation of Fathers Beaumont and Fontaine bloodshed was

Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 548. 560. 564.

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avoided; and upon the eighth day after the Chevalier landed, both sides agreed to an arbitration, each side to select four arbitrators, and those eight to chose a ninth, which ninth was the Chevalier de Salles, then at St. Christopher's. After seven weeks' consultation the island was divided between the claimants, each having the same rights in their respective districts, but M. Houel to keep the title of governor of Guadaloupe; and in the event of the force of the island being collected to repel invasion, the command of the whole to be with him. This was signed the 18th of August, 1659.

Upon Palm Sunday, 400 French, under the command of De l'Isle, landed at Puerto di Plata from Tortuga, and marched twenty leagues to attack the city of St. Jago, for the purpose of revenging the death of ten of their nation who had been taken and shot by the Spaniards from on board a Flemish vessel, on their passage to St. Christopher's. De l'Isle surprised the city, and caught the governor in bed; his life was promised him, upon condition of paying 60,000 crowns ransom, part of which he paid immediately in hides, but the city was pillaged for twenty-four hours, and the pirates carried away all the ornaments from the altars, and the clocks from the churches. Upon their march back to the coast they were attacked by 1,000 men who lay in ambush for them, and would have been more severely handled had not the French produced the governor of St. Jago and their other prisoners, and threatened to put them to death if they were not allowed to retreat without molestation. This menace produced the desired effect, and upon their arrival at the coast they liberated their prisoners. De l'Isle was furnished for this expedition with a commission from Elias Ward, the English governor of Tortuga; and when the Spanish ambassador in France claimed justice upon the plunderers of St. Jago because they were Frenchmen, that government referred him to England, assuring him that they had a commission from an English governor.

M. de Poincy sent a colony of thirty men to St. Bartholomew's.

Du Rausset, having obtained his commission as governor of Tortuga, repaired to England, and there had interest enough to obtain an order from parliament to the governor of Jamaica, by which that officer was enjoined to acknowledge him as governor of Tortuga, upon condition that all the English were to remain independent as at St. Christopher's. With this order Du Rausset repaired to Jamaica. Intelligence was soon carried to Ward, the English governor, that the governor of Jamaica had issued an order, which directed all the English in Tortuga

Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. *565*. 416. — tom. iii. pp. 130. 132. 135.

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to acknowledge Du Rausset as their governor, or quit the island. Determined not to acknowledge a Frenchman for his master, Ward, with his family, embarked for New England in a vessel belonging to a man named La Ronde. Soon after this Du Rausset arrived, and having taken possession of the island, hoisted the French flag; but, in consequence of ill health, was obliged to repair to the Cul de Sac in St. Domingo for change of air, and left his nephew, le Sieur de le Place, governor during his absence. A relative of Ward the English governor made an unsuccessful attempt to regain the island from the French; but failing, he was made prisoner by Le Place, and banished, with all his adherents, to Jamaica.

The French repaired the old fortress of Le Vasseur, and put the island in a state of defence, expecting the English would attack them again; but, instead of sending troops, the governor of Jamaica contented himself with sending Colonel Barry with directions not to use force, but to declare to the inhabitants it was only their voluntary submission he would receive. As might have been expected, Barry's proposal was heard with contempt, and he returned to Jamaica, mortified with his reception.

Du Rausset's ill health obliged him to quit the country and return to France. He had contrived to get an order from both the English and French governments to command in Tortuga. Of the English order he availed himself, to prevent any opposition from the governor of Jamaica; and when he landed at Tortuga he used his French commission. Du Rausset had been with La Vasseur when he took possession of Tortuga.[1]

It was enacted by the English commonwealth, "that no goods shall be imported into or exported from the plantations but in British-built ships, and wholly owned by British subjects, and navigated by three-fourths sailors of the same."

By the 12 Car. II. c. 18., "all that are appointed governors of the plantations shall, before their entrance into their govern-

Jacob's Law Dict.

[1] Labat denies the whole of this statement of Du Tertre, and says, "Du Rossey (instead of Du Rausset,) conquered the island by surprise from the Spaniards; having landed, in canoes unobserved by them, 600 well-armed buccaneers, part of whom succeeded in climbing the precipices, and getting possession of the high fort before daylight." — *Labat*, tom. vii. p. 84.

I suppose both are in part true, and that it was the English who were in possession of the island, and were surprised by the French, instead of the Spaniards, as Labat states. It was not at all unlikely that the Spaniards should have abandoned Tortuga after they had driven the French out: they did so at St. Christopher's, and the reason was, all their forces were wanted for their more important conquest on the continent; besides, they expected terror would prevent others from risking settling there again. Charlevoix, however, decisively proves that it was Du Rausset, and not the man Labat supposes, who must have been then upwards of ninety.

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ment, take an oath to do their utmost to put the laws in force in the said plantations; and upon complaint to the King, or such as he shall appoint, that such governors have been wittingly negligent therein, the governors so offending shall be removed;" and "governors of the plantations are not to suffer any foreign-built ship or vessel to load or unload goods, till a certificate is produced that the owner or owners are not aliens, and examination is made; and no sugars, tobacco, ginger, indigo, &c. of the growth of any English plantation in America, shall be transported to any place but to some English plantation, or to England, Ireland, &c. on pain of forfeiture and the ship; one moiety to the King, and the other to him that will seize and sue for the same."

And "for every vessel which sets out from England or Ireland for any of the said plantations, bond shall be given, with one surety, to the chief officers of the custom-house of the place whence she sails, of £1000 if the ship be under one hundred tons, and of £2000 penalty if of greater burden; that if the said vessel load any of the said commodities at such plantations, it shall bring them to some port of England, Ireland, &c. And for all ships coming from any other port to those plantations, the governors, before the ship be permitted to load, shall take such bond that it shall carry the merchandize to some other English plantation, or to England or Ireland; and every ship taking on board any of the aforesaid goods before such bond given, or certificate thereof, &c. shall be forfeited; and the said governors shall, twice in every year, return true copies of such bonds to the chief officers of the customs in London," &c.

Upon the 7th of May, 1659, a truce for two months between France and Spain was signed at Paris; and upon the 21st of June following, the truce was prolonged for an unlimited time, and until another order from one of the kings should revoke it, after which revocation eight days were to elapse before hostilities could be recommenced.

Upon the 7th of November, 1659, a treaty of peace, called, of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain, was concluded in "l'Isle de Faisans, située dans la rivière de Bidassoa, dans la maison batie en ladite isle pour la présent traitté."

In this treaty there is not any thing which relates to the West Indies in particular.

"The charge to the commonwealth of England for the forces maintained in Jamaica, according to an account rendered before the House of Commons, 26th March, 1659, amounted to £110,228 11*s.* 3*d.* The annual issues afterwards till the Restoration about £54,000."

Du Mont, tom. vi. partie ii. pp. 249. 264. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 160.

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1660.

Colonel D'Oyley being informed by the Negroes, that the Spaniards, under their old governor, Don Christopher, were concealed on the north side of Jamaica, sent Colonel Tyson, with eighty men, and twenty Spanish Blacks, across the mountains to attack him. Tyson found the Spaniards posted in a swamp with 133 men; at the first onset their lieutenant-general received a mortal wound by a lance. Don Christopher escaped; about sixty were slain; several made prisoners; and the Blacks shewed great dexterity in catching the fugitives.

The English gained the victory without any loss, and proceeded to Chereiras Bay, where Colonel Tyson, by placing his men in ambuscade, took all the Spanish scouts one after the other, and seized their vessel, on board of which he found twenty soldiers.

Port Royal became abundantly stocked by privateers, who, from very small beginnings, mustered at last 3000 fighting men, and thirty sail of stout vessels, well furnished with every necessary.

Captain Gregory Butler, one of the commissioners sent with Penn and Venables, after pleading his losses in the service, requests "a commission for the government of Tortuga, on the north-west part of Española, with authority to depute and grant commissions to men of war against the enemies of the State."

The Spanish Negroes who had sought refuge in the woods in Jamaica, intimidated the whites from venturing far from the coast. Captain Ballard was sent with a detachment against a party called the Vesmaholis Negroes, and took several of them prisoners.

In the first private audience which the Spanish ambassador, the Baron de Batteville, had with Charles the Second, he delivered a memorial to his Majesty, in which he required, "the delivery of the island of Jamaica to his master, it having been taken by his rebel subjects, contrary to the treaty of peace between the two crowns."

Permanent peace was by no means established in Guadaloupe by the arbitration. The governor's servants forbade those of the other parties from using the roads which had been declared common, disarming those they met upon them; and M. Hinsselin, the governor's brother-in-law, challenged the Chevalier Houel to single combat, and fought him. M. de Poincy, as the King's

Long's Jamaica, vol i. pp. 279. 282. 310. — vol. ii. p. 390. Life of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 159. Du Tertre, tom. i. p 569.

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lieutenant-general in the islands, interfered and forbade any further proceedings between the parties. The inhabitants took part with their different lords, and perpetual disturbances occurred.

The governor went to France, and was followed by his brother the chevalier, to answer any charges that might be brought against him. The affair of the arbitration was again discussed, by the Duke de Bournonville, governor of Paris, three counsellors of state, and the master of the requests; and their award, which was issued the 18th of October, satisfied both parties.

M. Houel returned to Guadaloupe, and appeared to be upon very good terms with his nephews; but in less than two months after his arrival, he published an order, declaring that his nephews intended to assassinate him, and directing that if either of them, or any of their adherents, were seen upon the lands under his jurisdiction with arms, the alarm-bell was to be rung, and they were to be seized and carried to prison; and, that no person might pretend ignorance of the cause, he directed that this order should be published, and affixed to all the public places in the island. The evils which followed were innumerable. Many lives were lost on both sides.

Upon the 31st of March, the treaty for a general peace between the Caribs, English, and French, was signed at Guadaloupe, by M. Houel and the Fathers Beaumont and Fontaine, in the name of the English and French, and agreed to by fifteen of the principal Caribs. The treaty consisted of four articles.

By the first, all the acts of hostility were to cease, and all prisoners to be restored.

By the second, the Caribs promised to do all in their power to preserve peace, and to punish any of their countrymen who should break it, provided they were allowed the undisturbed possession of the islands of St. Vincent's and Dominica, which were their only places of retreat. Governor Houel promised, with the King's leave, to do all in his power to prevent their being disturbed.

By the third, the Caribs declared themselves content to allow Father Beaumont to reside among them, and that he should return to that island within eight days. Father Beaumont told the assembly, that while he sojourned upon that island he had seen some of the principal savages, all of whom had requested that the Christians would not inhabit those islands, and that the French might be their protectors against any who attempted to obtain possession of them.[1]

Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 571. 577, 578.

[1] The insertion of this observation of Father Beaumont's in the body of the treaty is remarkable.

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By the fourth article, Baba demanded and obtained, in consideration of the trouble he had given himself, that his two nephews should be given up to him by Baillarde of Martinico, who had taken them. An apparently unnecessary article, as it seems provided for in the first.

Father Fontaine, prefect and vicar-general of the brothers Prescheurs, was drowned soon afterwards, in a canoe going from Capsterre to Basse Terre, Guadaloupe.

D'Aigremont, the governor of St. Lucia, as he was hunting, was stabbed in the breast by some Caribs, and killed: he was succeeded by Le Lande, who died in six months, and was succeeded by Bonnard, Madame du Parquet's brother.

The population of Santa Cruz this year was about six hundred persons, besides slaves.

At this time there was no garrison in any of the French islands, but all the inhabitants were obliged to mount guard in their turns: they did it for eight days successively in Guadaloupe, but in the other islands, only for twenty-four hours: there was only one officer to each brigade, and one serjeant; so that one company was fifteen days or three weeks at rest. The eight days' guard was very inconvenient to the inhabitants of Guadaloupe, particularly to those who had no servant to send; for their lands suffered considerably by such a long absence. The masters of houses might send one of their men, but not one of their slaves. It was customary to have a general exercise once every month.

No person was permitted to marry in any of these islands, without permission from the governor! This occasioned great disorders, especially as the Council of Trent anathematized those lords who deprived their subjects of the liberty of marrying.

Upon New-year's day, all the companies under arms were in the habit of saluting the governor.

No person could leave any of these islands without a written permission from the governor, sealed with his arms; and if the captain of any vessel carried any person away without leave, he was fined severely, and forfeited every thing he left upon the island.

Upon the 11th of April, M. de Poincy died at St. Christopher's, aged seventy-seven. He was Bailiff and Grand Cross of the Order of Malta, "Commandeur Doisemont et de Couleurs," and Chef d'Escadre of his Majesty's vessels in Bretagne. He had commanded in the West Indies twenty-one years; six years as lieutenant-general of all the islands; two years during his dispute with M. de Thoisy Patrocle, as lieutenant-general of

Du Tertre, tom. i. pp. 579. 581. — tom. ii. pp. 39. 442, 443.
Labat, tom. vi. p. 254.

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St. Christopher's; near three years by an order of council re-establishing him a governor for one year; and the rest of the time by the authority of his Eminence of Malta. He governed St. Christopher's, Santa Cruz, St. Martin, and St. Bartholomew's. A short time before his death, he changed the seignorial droits from 100 pounds of tobacco to 110 pounds of sugar, and occasioned general murmurings; but the inhabitants expecting his death, did not at that time oppose it. He was buried at Basse Terre, St. Christopher's.

Every Sunday morning, all the officers at Basse Terre used to pay their respects to him at his château, where he had a table with forty covers for breakfast; and whenever any of the inhabitants went to call upon him, he generally detained them to dine: his table was always open to respectable persons, and particularly to officers.

Once every week, when his health permitted, he administered justice from under the great fig-tree at Basse Terre.[1] M. du Parquet did the same at Martinico, under his calabash-tree at Fort St. Pierre: and the parties were never dismissed until they had come to an agreement, and embraced each other!

The Chevalier de Sales succeeded him, and assumed the title of Administrator of the Lordship of St. Christopher's, and Chief of the French established by his Majesty for his Eminence of Malta.

Soon afterwards the inhabitants waited upon him, to request that he would abolish the new droits, and re-establish the old ones, of which he promised to consider as soon as he had time. But Du Bisson afterwards, with about forty others, were openly opposing the new droits, when De Sales proceeded to his house, attended by his principal officers, and was received at the door with so little respect, that he ordered Du Bisson to be arrested. Bisson immediately retired into his house for a pistol, and shot at M. de Sales, who was on horseback: his horse reared up, and the ball which was intended for the body passed through and through his thigh. Bisson was immediately shot through the body by Guarigue, and carried to prison. He was condemned

Du Tertre, tom. ii. pp. 441. 446. — tom. i. p. 582.

[1] "On les y attachoit (les Negres) autrefois par l'oreille avec un clou, et apres y avoir demeure quelque espace de temps, l'on la leur coupoit. Il me souvient à ce sujet qu'un pauvre Negre de St. Christophe, ayant desia perdu l'une de ses oreilles, par ce supplice comme il fut condamne à perdre l'autre, il ne voulut jamais permettre qu'on la luy coupast, qu'il n'eut parle à M. le General de Poincy, ce qui luy ayant este accorde, il se jetta à ses pieds, le pria d'avoir pitié de luy, et de ne pas permettre qu'on luy coupast l'oreille, parce qu'il ne sçauroit plus ou mettre son bout de petun si on la luy ostoit (car c'est une coutume aux Negres d'avoir tousiours un bout de petun sur chaque oreille, pour fumer en travaillant): ce simplicité ayant touché M. de Poincy, il luy fit misericorde." — *Du Tertre*, tom. ii. p. 531.

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to be hung and quartered: his quarters were exposed upon trees, and his head upon a stake in the market-place! Two of his partisans, named Bœuf, were banished, and the rest quietly submitted to the new droits.

De Sales recalled several persons whom his predecessor had banished, and reinstated them in their property.

Upon the restoration of King Charles the Second, Lord Willoughby, who had several years of his private contract with the Earl of Carlisle unexpired, was re-appointed governor of Barbadoes. When he arrived at that island, the inhabitants saw, with astonishment and regret, that they were still viewed as under the dominion of a patent, which they considered void in law! They therefore implored the royal interference and protection; fully convinced, that without this they could produce no title to their plantations. The King instituted an inquiry into the opposite claims of the contending parties, reserving to himself the right of deciding the cause.

1661.

Colonel d'Oyley, who had the chief command in Jamaica, under a commission from the lord protector, was confirmed in that command by a commission from King Charles, dated the 13th of February, 1661: this may be considered as the first establishment of a regular civil government in that island. The instructions consisted of fifteen articles: the third, regulates the manner of electing the council, eleven of which were to be chosen indifferently, by as many of the officers of the army, planters, and inhabitants, as could be conveniently admitted to such election, either at one or more places; which said persons, with the secretary of the island, who was thereby appointed always to be one, were established a council, to advise and assist the governor in the execution of his trust, and five were to be a quorum. The sixth directs the governor to encourage ministers, that Christianity and the Protestant religion, according to the Church of England, might have due reverence and exercise amongst them. The other articles are of minor importance.

"In the year 1661, King Charles the Second created on the same day thirteen baronets in Barbadoes, none of them having less than £1000, and some of them £10,000 a-year. At this time their trade actually maintained 400 sail of ships; and it was computed that the running cash of the island might be about

Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 584. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100.
Edwards, vol. iii. pp. 287, 288. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 256.

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£200,000, and their annual exportation to Great Britain, in sugar, indigo, ginger, and other commodities, at least £350,000.

About this year, a native of Dieppe, commonly called Pierre le Grand, sailed from Tortuga, in a boat with twenty-eight men, upon a piratical cruize: he is said to have been the first that did so from that island, and his success induced others to follow his example. He had been a long time at sea, without meeting with any thing, and was in danger of starving from want of provisions, when a large Spanish ship hove in sight off Cape Tiburon. The whole crew now swore to stand by Pierre le Grand to the last; and he, before they engaged, ordered the surgeon to bore holes in the sides of the boat, that she sinking under them, they might have no hopes of life but in conquering! This was accordingly done; and at dusk in the evening, they ran alongside the Spaniard, and boarded her, each man armed with a sword and pistol: they made immediately for the cabin, where the captain was playing at cards; and securing him, and killing a few that made resistance, they won the prize. Le Grand kept on board as many of the men as sufficed to navigate her, and sent the rest on shore. With these he made the best of his way to France.

1662.

Charles the Second granted, by letters patent, an exclusive right of trade to Africa, to Queen Catharine; Mary, the Queen Dowager; the Duke of York, and several others, as a company of royal adventurers! They undertook to supply the West India planters with 3000 slaves annually. This company was so reduced by war, misconduct, and interloping traders, that they surrendered their charter in 1672, and in consideration of £34,000, gave up their effects to a new company!

Adrian Lampsius, a Flushing merchant, procured letters patent from Louis the Fourteenth, creating him Baron of Tobago, and also a resignation from the Dutch West India Company of their right to the island; and thus becoming proprietor of the island under the crown of France, he sent over M. Hubert de Beveren as governor: under his administration, the colony flourished, and the island was strengthened with new fortifications.

M. de Vanderoque, governor of Martinico, died upon that island, the 24th of October. After his death, the inhabitants petitioned the King of France, that the government might be

Esquemeling's Hist. Buc. chap. vi. Report of the Committee upon the Slave Trade, 1789. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 281, 282. Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 548.

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preserved for M. d'Enambuc du Parquet; and M. de Clermont, as being nearly related to the children, was appointed governor during M. d'Enambuc's minority.

Lord Windsor superseded Colonel d'Oyley as governor of Jamaica, and on his arrival published a proclamation of King Charles the Second, dated the 14th of December, 1661, declaring, "that thirty acres of improveable land shall be granted to every person, male or female, being twelve years old or upwards, then residing, or who, within two years next ensuing, should reside upon the island; and that the same should be assigned and set out by the governor and council, within six weeks after it was applied for; but in case they did not go thither within six months, the allotment to be void, and free to be assigned to any other planter. Also, "that all the children of our natural-born subjects of England, to be born in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births, be reputed to be, and shall be, free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as our free-born subjects of England." He brought out a great seal and mace, and Sir Charles Lyttleton accompanied him as chancellor.

His Lordship's commission directed, that in case of his death, or leaving the island, the government should devolve upon the council, or any seven of them, and appointed £2000 a-year as their salary.

His instructions consisted of twenty-two articles. By the second, he was directed to appoint a council, according to his commission and the instructions. But no directions whatever were given, either in the commission which refers to the instructions, or in the instructions themselves, as to the mode in which the council should be appointed. But it appears that the governor named them himself.

The 9th article directs 100,000 acres of land to be set apart, in each of the four quarters of the island, as a royal demesne.

The 20th empowers the governor, with the advice of the council, to call assemblies to make laws, and upon imminent necessity to levy money: such laws to be in force two years and no longer, unless approved of by the crown.

By Lord Windsor's proclamation, the setting out the 400,000 acres as a royal demesne was suspended.

Soon after Lord Windsor assumed the government of Jamaica, he ordered one thousand picked men from the army to be embarked in twelve vessels belonging to the island, and to sail directly for Cuba. They made that island the 1st of October; but the land-breeze preventing their entering the harbour of

Edwards, vol. i. p. 215.—iii pp. 290, 291. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 194. 217. 293.

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St. Jago, the plan of attack was changed, and the army landed two miles to leeward: they marched immediately in the night, their guides carrying torches, and at day-light were six miles from the landing-place, and three from the town. Upon their approach, Don Pedro Moralin, and the late governor of Jamaica, at the head of 800 Spaniards, had barricaded all the avenues, and brought down their artillery. The English received one discharge, then rushed forward, drove all before them, gained the town and six vessels which were at anchor before it. They then attacked the castle and block-houses; and the fleet having entered the harbour, and brought their guns to bear, the Spaniards retreated, first from the ramparts, and then from the inner works. The conquerors immediately demolished the fortifications and the town, which consisted of 2000 houses, and laid waste the country for some miles round. They took 1000 barrels of powder and thirty-four pieces of cannon, some of which were sent to London. The fort had been reputed impregnable: the wall, on the land side, was sixty feet high, and thick in proportion, and had cost £100,000 sterling building. The loss of the Spaniards was estimated at one million sterling.

Richard Povey, Esq. secretary of Jamaica, in his letter, dated the 27th October, 1662, speaking of Lord Windsor, says, "He most nobly withstood any possession of a disease, until he had fairly dismissed the old governor (Colonel d'Oyley), satisfied the late army with his Majesty's royal gift (a donation in money to the four regiments), chose a new militia, found employ for our fleet abroad, and had well settled the present government of this his Majesty's island."

Lord Windsor remained but a few months in Jamaica, and left the island in November. Sir Charles Lyttleton, chancellor of the island, succeeded to the government, and called the first assembly, which consisted of thirty persons: they enacted a body of laws, with an act for raising money for the public use, 'wherein the collection, disposal, and accounting were appointed by the assembly.'

Sir C. Lyttleton issued a proclamation, offering twenty acres of land per head, and their freedom, to all the Vermaholis Negroes who would come in.

The English first began to cut down log-wood trees on the coast of Yucatan, "and made a settlement at Campeache, which at first was near Cape Catoche, but afterwards removed to the Laguna de Terminos."

Upon the 14th of September, 1662, a treaty of peace, between Charles the Second, King of England, and the States-General

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 216. 13.

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of the United Provinces, was signed at Whitehall. There is not any thing in this treaty relating to the West Indies.

The Dutch attacked the island of Margarita, burnt the town, and destroyed the fort built for its defence.

1663.

The inhabitants of Barbadoes had sent Mr. Kendall as their delegate to King Charles, to plead against the claims of Lord Carlisle and Lord Willoughby. Mr. Kendall, in his zeal to get rid of the obnoxious patent, offered, in the name of the inhabitants, "That if his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take the island immediately into his hands, extending towards it his royal protection and care, the produce of all the estates should from henceforth be subject to an impost, to be levied on its real value, at a certain percentage, which, after supporting a governor, whom his Majesty should nominate and establish, should be at his Majesty's disposal." This offer was accepted, as an outline of the settlement.

The inhabitants of Barbadoes refused to ratify what their delegate had proposed, and contended that he had gone beyond the boundaries of his delegated authority. The government was inexorable, and refused to relinquish the proposition, and finally prevailed upon the negociating planters to use their influence with their constituents to settle upon the crown such an impost as the condition of the island would allow, subject to the determination of the colonial assembly. The friends, creditors, and inheritors of the Carlisle interest in the island did all they could to prevent the closing of a negociation which would ruin their hopes for ever. The English government fixed that the impost should be four and a half per centum, to be paid in specie, on all such commodities as the island should hereafter produce, to be estimated prior to their being shipped.

As a compensation to the inhabitants, they were given to understand that they were now fully placed under the royal protection; that they were from henceforward freed from all individual claims, through any former patent; and that they were to be fully confirmed in the possession of their respective estates, without having their titles called in question.

To carry these plans into execution, Lord Willoughby repaired to Barbadoes. He was received with evident marks of dislike: the inhabitants were clamorous against the proposed arrangement.

The assembly was called upon to pass the act to levy four and

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 340. Du Mont, tom. vi. partie ii. p. 422. Depon's South America, vol. ii. p. 270. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 100, 101, 103, 104.

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a half per cent. The opposition to the measure was formidable and violent. Colonel Farmer, the leading man of that party, was arrested for treason, and sent prisoner to England. The act was finally passed upon the 12th of September, 1663.

So terminated the proprietary government of Barbadoes.

The following account of the settlement of the claims of the Earls of Marlborough and Carlisle, and Lord Willoughby, upon the island of Barbadoes, is extracted from Lord Clarendon's invaluable history:—

"As soon as the King returned, the Lord Willoughby (who had then eight or nine years to come of his lease, formerly granted to him by the Earl of Carlisle, who was then likewise living, and ready to do any other act to the Lord Willoughby's advantage) resolved to return himself to the Barbadoes, and desired the King to renew his commission to him for the government; which his Majesty was very willing to do, as to a person he esteemed very much, and who had spent very much of his own fortune, as was notoriously known, in that service. But the Barbadoes itself was (by that confluence and resort thither, as was mentioned before) so fully planted, that there was no room for new comers, and they had sent very many of their people to the other islands to plant. Many citizens of London had raised very great estates there, and every year received a very great revenue from thence, and the King's customs from that one island came to a very great sum of money yearly.

"All those men who had entered upon that plantation as a waste place, and had, with great charge, brought it to that perfection, and with great trouble, began now to apprehend that they must depend upon the good-will of the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Willoughby for the enjoyment of their estates there, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own. All these men joined together in an appeal to the King, and humbly prayed his protection, and that they might not be oppressed by those two lords. They pleaded, 'That they were the King's subjects; that they had repaired thither as to a desolate place, and had by their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England. That if they should be now left to those lords, to ransom themselves, and compound for their estates, they must leave the country, and the plantation would be destroyed, which yielded his Majesty so good a revenue. That they could defend themselves by law against the Earl of Carlisle's title, if his Majesty did not countenance it by a new grant of the government to the Lord Willoughby; and therefore they were suitors to his Majesty, that he would not destroy them by that countenance.'

Life of Edw. Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 933. 3d Edit. 1791. Written by himself.

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"At the same time, the creditors of the late Earl of Carlisle (whose debts were to be satisfied by the profits of that plantation, by the will and settlement of the said earl) petitioned the King, 'That they might be in the first place provided for: their principal money, due to them at the death of the earl, amounted to no less than fifty thousand pounds, of which they had never yet received one penny; and, therefore, that the profits which should arise ought, in the first place, to be applied to them, there having been many families utterly ruined for want of their monies so due to them.'

"The King appointed to hear all their several pretences at the council-board, where they all attended, with their counsel: and after his Majesty had spent three or four days himself in hearing the several allegations, finding new pretences and difficulties every day to arise (which shall be mentioned anon), the King appointed several lords of the council 'to consider of the whole matter, and to confer with the several parties, and, if it were possible, to make an end between them by their own consent; otherwise to report the several titles to his Majesty, with such expedients as, in their judgments, they thought most like to produce a general satisfaction, without endangering the plantation,' the preservation whereof his Majesty took to heart.

"The chancellor was one of the committee, and took very much pains in reading the charters, grants, leases, and many other papers and dispatches which concerned that affair, and conferred with several of the persons interested; to the end that he might the better discern what could be done, having never understood or heard any thing of the matter, or that concerned the plantation, otherwise than what he hath before set down upon the dispatch of the Lord Willoughby to Holland; nor had he the least inclination or bias to any party. Upon hearing all the allegations before the lords, the several pretences and titles appeared to them to be those which they afterwards reported to the King.

"The Lord Willoughby demanded nothing from the King but his commission to be governor for the remainder of the years which had been granted to him by the Earl of Carlisle; to the end that he might receive one moiety of those profits which should arise to the earl, and which had been assigned to him with the consent and approbation of the late King, and of his Majesty that now is; upon which he had undertaken that voyage, and spent so much of his estate.

"The Earl of Carlisle, whilst this contention was depending, died, and by his will devised his interest in the Barbadoes to the Earl of Kinnoul, who likewise petitioned the King for the pre-

Life of Edw. Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 933. 3d Edit. 1791. Written by himself.

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servation of his right; but neither he, nor the person under whom he claimed, had any pretence till all the debts should be satisfied: nor did the Earl of Kinnoul demand any thing till then, but believed the profit would arise yearly to so much that the debts would quickly be satisfied, and then the whole was to come to him.

"There was another title that preceded the Earl of Carlisle's, which was that of the Earl of Marlborough, who alleged, and proved it to be true, 'That the Barbadoes, and those adjacent islands, were first granted by the King to his grandfather the Earl of Marlborough, who was then lord high treasurer of England, before the Earl of Carlisle had any pretence thereunto; and that the lord treasurer had afterwards consented that the same should be granted to the Earl of Carlisle, upon a full contract, *that he should first receive for ever the sum of three hundred pounds by the year out of the first profits of the plantations*; which sum of three hundred pounds had never yet been paid. And therefore the Earl of Marlborough desired, as heir to his grandfather, to have satisfaction for the arrears, and that the growing rent might be secured to him.'

"The creditors were of two kinds. The first, and who had petitioned the King, as was said before, had an assignment made to them by the executors and trustees of the Earl of Carlisle upon his will, and who, at his death, owed them the full sum of fifty thousand pounds, or thereabouts. The other creditors consisted of several tradesmen and artificers, to whom the said earl was indebted for wares and goods which they had delivered for his use, and of several servants for their arrears of wages; and all those had, during the late troubles, exhibited their bill in Chancery against the executors and overseers of the late earl, and had obtained a decree in that court for their satisfaction out of the profits of those plantations (which decree stood confirmed by the late act of judicial proceedings); and, as he remembered, their debts amounted to thirty thousand pounds, or thereabouts. None of the creditors in general, of one or the other sort, had ever received one shilling, from the time that the earl had first assigned it.

"The planters insisted positively, 'That the charter granted to the Earl of Carlisle by the King was void in point of law,' for which their counsel alleged many reasons; and having spent much time in argumentation, they concluded with two humble propositions to the King:—

"1. 'That his Majesty would give them leave to prosecute, in his name, in the exchequer, and at their own charge to repeal, that grant to the Earl of Carlisle, by which they would be freed

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from the arbitrary power and oppression which would be exercised upon them under the colour of that charter, and his Majesty might receive a great benefit to himself, by taking the sovereignty into his own hands, to which it belonged. And in that case they offered, in their own names, and for the rest of the planters who were in the island, to consent to an imposition of so much in the hundred, which, they confidently averred, would amount, in the year, to ten thousand pounds at the least, out of which his Majesty's governor might be well supported, and his Majesty dispose of the overplus as he should think fit.

"2. 'If his Majesty would not suffer the charter to be repealed, that he would leave those who claimed under the Earl of Carlisle's patent to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence, which they hoped, in justice, would not be denied to them, since they alone had been at the charge to settle the plantation which brought every year so great a revenue to the crown, when the earl had not been at the least expence thereupon; and if his Majesty should not assist their pretences with his royal authority, they must all quit the plantation.'

"These being the several pretences of the several persons, and nothing being to be done by agreement between themselves, their interests being so distinct and inconsistent with each other, his Majesty thought fit, in the first place, to refer the consideration of the validity and legality of the patent to his council at law; who, upon full deliberation, and after the hearing of all parties, returned their opinion, 'That their patent was void, and that his Majesty might take the same into his own power.' This report was no sooner made to his Majesty, but that he very graciously declared, 'That he would not receive from hence any benefit or advantage to himself, until all their pretences had received satisfaction; and, therefore, that the Lord Willoughby should proceed in his voyage to the Barbadoes, and should receive, according to his bargain, a moiety of the profits; and that the other part should be disposed of for the satisfaction of the debts and other incumbrances.' In order to which, his Majesty appointed the same committee of the lords to meet again, and to adjust the several proportions.

"When they met again, they had all the persons concerned with them ready to be called in upon any occasion; and they all appeared very glad that the King had taken the care and protection of the plantation upon himself, which was all the security the planters had or could desire. And the lords' first care was, to make some computation that might be depended upon as to the yearly revenue that would arise upon the imposition within the island. But the planters would not be drawn to any parti-

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cular agreement in that point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every hundred; but, on the contrary, declared, 'That too much had been undertaken in that kind by one of their own number, Mr. Kendall, in his discourse before the King in the council;' and declared, 'That the plantation could not bear the imposition he had mentioned: That whatsoever was to be done of that nature was to be transacted by an assembly in that island: And that all that they could promise for themselves was, that they would use their utmost endeavours with their friends in the island, that when the Lord Willoughby should arrive there, and call an assembly, they would consent to as great an imposition as the plantation would bear; by which,' they said, 'a good revenue would arise to the King for the purposes aforesaid.'

"The creditors had great reason to be glad of the resolution his Majesty had taken; for though it would be a long time before they could be fully satisfied out of a moiety of the profits, though it should arise to the highest computation, yet in time they should receive all, and should every year receive some; which would lessen their debt, and relieve those who were in the highest necessities, of which there was a great number. Whereas they had hitherto in so many years received not one penny; and it was evident that without his Majesty's authority they never should, since the planters were resolved never to submit to any imposition, nor submit to any authority that should be exercised under the Earl of Carlisle's patent, without a due course of law; the way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And they understood well enough, that, without his Majesty's grace and bounty to them, the repeal or avoiding the Earl of Carlisle's patent would put a quick end to all their pretences.

"The greatest difficulty that did arise was from the Earl of Kinnoul, to whom the last Earl of Carlisle had devised those islands by his will; and he had a great mind to go thither himself, and take possession of his right; and his council had persuaded him, 'That the King's charter, granted to the first Earl of Carlisle, was good and valid in law, and that they believed they could defend and maintain it in any court of justice.' Then his own estate in Scotland was so totally lost by the iniquity of the time, and his father's having so frankly declared himself for the King, when very few of that nation lost any thing for their loyalty, that he had very little left to support himself, and therefore was willing to retire into any place abroad, where he might find but a bare subsistence. But when he considered again, that he could have no pretence to any thing, till after the creditors were fully satisfied, and how long it was like

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to be before they could be satisfied, there remaining still due to the creditors of both kinds no less than fourscore thousand pounds, principal money; he did not believe that his insisting upon the patent would be worth the charge and hazard he must inevitably be put to: and, therefore, upon further deliberation with his friends, he willingly referred himself, and all his interest, to the King's gracious determination, as all the rest of the pretenders and interested persons had done.

"The case being thus fully stated to the lords, and every man's interest and pretences clearly appearing before them, they considered seriously amongst themselves what they might reasonably propose to the several persons, in order to their agreement amongst themselves; or, that proving ineffectual, what advice they might reasonably give his Majesty. They were unanimously of opinion, 'not to advise his Majesty to cause the patent to be called in question; for though they doubted not, upon the opinion of his learned council, that the same would be judged void and illegal, yet they did not think it a seasonable time, when the nation was so active and industrious in foreign plantations, that they should see a charter or patent questioned and avoided, after it had been so many years allowed and countenanced, and under which it hath so long flourished, and was almost grown to perfection. And that since his Majesty had declared, 'That, notwithstanding any right of his own, all possible care should be taken for the satisfaction of the creditors, as well as for the preservation and support of the plantation,' it would be equally equitable and honourable in his Majesty, not to leave the Earl of Kinnoul, the only person unconsidered, and bereaved of all his pretence; but that they would humbly move his Majesty, that he would graciously vouchsafe to assign some present maintenance to the said earl, which his unhappy condition required, out of the revenue that should be there settled, and until the debts should be paid: and that after that time, such an augmentation might be made to him, as his Majesty, in his royal bounty, should think fit: in consideration whereof, the earl should procure the patent to be brought in and surrendered,' which he promised should be done accordingly, as soon as the settlement should be made of that proportion which should be assigned to him.

"That the Lord Willoughby should enjoy the benefit of his former contract with the Earl of Carlisle, and approved by his Majesty, during the remainder of those years which are not yet expired; that he should make what haste he could thither, and call an assembly; to the end that such an imposition might be agreed upon to be paid to his Majesty as should be reasonable,

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in consideration of the great benefit they had already and should still enjoy, in being continued and secured in their several plantations, in which, as yet, they were, as it were, but tenants at will, having no other pretence of right but the possession: and therefore, that those merchants and planters who had petitioned the King should, according to their obligation and promise made by them to his Majesty, use all their credit with those in the island, that the imposition might arise to such a proportion, that the revenue might answer the ends proposed; and that one moiety of that revenue should be enjoyed by the Lord Willoughby for his term.

"That the annuity of three hundred pounds by the year should be paid to the Earl of Marlborough, according to the original contract mentioned before, and that the assignment that his Majesty would likewise be pleased to make to the Earl of Kinnoul should be first paid, and then that the remainder of that moiety should be received to the use of the creditors. And that when the Lord Willoughby's term should be expired, his Majesty should be desired, after the reservation of so much as he should think fit for the support of his governor, that all the remainder might be continued towards the creditors, until their just debts should be paid.

"These particulars appearing reasonable to the lords, all persons concerned were called, and the same communicated to them, who appeared all well contented: and thereupon the lords resolved to present the same to his Majesty, which they did accordingly at the board; and his Majesty, with a full approbation and advice of the whole council, ratified the same."

The French government had determined to take the West India islands from their different possessors, and place them all under the direction of a new company, which was to be called "The West India Company," who were also to have the government and commerce of all the French possessions on the continent of America, and in Africa and Newfoundland. The views of the government were very much forwarded by the conduct of the governors themselves. M. Houel sent his wife to Europe, to complain of the conduct of his nephews, the other governors of Guadaloupe, and her complaints were answered by their mother recriminating. The government, therefore, gladly availed themselves of these complaints, to order M. Houel and his nephews home to France; and to prevent them from arming the inhabitants to resist the intentions of the court, they were directed to be kept secret.

Lord Willoughby obtained a grant of the island of Antigua from King Charles the Second.

Life of Edw. Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 933. 3d Edit. 1793. Written by himself.

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Lord Willoughby sent Mr. Henry Willoughby to Antigua as governor, with orders to oblige the French settlers either to swear allegiance to the English government, or quit the island: in consequence of which, most of them retired to Guadaloupe and Martinico, and persuaded the governors of those islands to attack Antigua; they did so, and had taken the governor prisoner, and obliged the forts to surrender; but before the capitulation could be carried into effect, a reinforcement arrived, which prevented its taking place.

Sir Charles Lyttleton succeeded Lord Windsor as governor of Jamaica.

The white inhabitants in Jamaica were estimated at 18,000.

1664.

"Sir Charles Lyttleton left the government of Jamaica under the care and direction of the council, who chose Colonel Thomas Lynch president. Two thousand five hundred inhabitants were then regimented besides four or five hundred more dispersed in the country, and their provisions, as he asserted, greatly increased."

Sir Thomas Modiford was removed from Barbadoes to Jamaica: his commission under the great seal was dated 15th of November, 1664. He succeeded Colonel Lynch, and issued writs for an assembly, which, in the course of the session, left the King's name out of the revenue bill in the enacting part, and inserted the governor's, who, by his warrant, seized the clerk of the house, and committed him to gaol, till after the dissolution of the Assembly.

If the Assembly had carried their point in this instance, they would have established their principle, "That the governor, being the representative of the crown, his act should bind the crown, and the operation of their laws, thus passed, not be impeded or suspended by waiting for the King's determination upon them."

In March, Captain Colbeck, of the White militia, went by sea to the north side of Jamaica, and gained some advantages over the Spanish Negroes: he returned with one, who pretended to treat for the rest. This embassy was only to gain time: they soon renewed their hostilities.

Juan de Bolas, the Negro who was made colonel of a Black regiment at Jamaica, in an expedition against his old partizans, the Maroons, fell into an ambuscade, and was cut to pieces.

Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 37, 38. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 279. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 268. 302. Atkins's Voyage to West Indies, p. 248. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 19. 196. — vol. ii. p. 339. Edwards, vol. i. p. 524.

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All the stores of the Dutch merchants at Basse Terre, St. Christopher's, with the merchandize they contained, to the value of two millions of livres, were destroyed by fire!

Colonel Lynch succeeded Sir Thomas Modyford as governor of Jamaica: he issued writs for electing two assembly-men for each parish. The Assembly met in October, and were dissolved after a session of a month or two, during which time they passed a body of laws, which, not being confirmed by the crown, would have expired at the end of two years; but the governor, by an order of council, continued them in force to the end of his administration. No other assembly was called during Sir Thomas Modyford's administration.

Sir Thomas Modyford introduced into the island the art of making sugar.

Sir William Beeston, in his journal, says, "1664, December the 4th. About this day appeared first the comet, which was the forerunner of the blasting of the cocoa-trees, and after which time they generally failed in Jamaica, Cuba, and Española."

The number of Whites regimented in Jamaica was 3000, and 800 more were employed in privateering.

Upon the 17th of April, an order in council was issued by the French government to the Company of the American islands, and the different proprietors then in France, to surrender their rights in the said islands, and send in their letters of concession, within fifteen days, to three councillors of state appointed to receive them — that the whole might be placed in the hands of a more powerful company, who would be better able to supply the wants of the colonists, and prevent the state from losing its commerce.

The different proprietors were to be indemnified for the money they had paid for their possessions; but the sum was not to be fixed until M. de Tracy had estimated their value upon the spot.

The agreement with the new company consisted of forty-three articles, and was signed at Paris in May. The first directors of this "Illustrious Company" were Messrs. Bechamel, Bertelot, Houel, Jacquier, Thomas, Bibaut, Landis, Dalibert, Poclain, and La Sabliere!

Upon the 26th of February, M. Tracy sailed from Rochelle, with seven sail, and 1200 picked men: he proceeded first to Cayenne, which was surrendered to him without opposition by the Dutch Governor, Guerin Spranger, on the 15th of May[1]; and

Du Tertre, tom. i. p. 586.—tom. iii. p. 40. Edwards, vol. iii. p. 294.
Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 248. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 302.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 601.—vol. ii. p. 317.

[1] "Articles and conditions, according to which the director, Guerin Spranger, and the counsellors resident in the island of Cayenne, shall deliver to his Excellency

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after landing Lieutenant-General Barre and his garrison, M. Tracy made sail for the West Indies, and arrived at Martinico, June the 2d: he landed in great state, with all his guards and officers, under a salute from all the forts and vessels. After receiving the submissions of the governor and principal inhabitants, he proceeded to church, and after the Te Deum, another salute was fired. He would not take up his abode at the governor's house, but lodged at a merchant's in the town.

He re-appointed M. de Clermont governor of the island, and

Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 24. 35. 66, 67.

Alexandre Pronville de Tracy, and M. de la Barre, the island of Cayenne, with its adjoining lands: the whole agreed upon and signed by both parties, March 15, 1664: —

"That the States General, and the licensed Company of the West Indies, shall retain, and have in full force, all their shares, claims, and interests in the island of Cayenne, and places adjoining. — Good (bon). TRACY.

"That all the effects belonging to the Company, guns, ammunition, and merchandize, as well as provisions, with their appurtenances, shall be carried and conducted, free of all expense, to the place to which they may belong. — Good. TRACY.

"That all military persons may march out, the drums beating, with their baggage and arms, for his Excellency shall give them, as well as all the inhabitants, of whatever nation they may be, one or more vessels, to transport their goods and slaves to the islands or country where they may be bound, with the condition that his Excellency shall provide them with provisions and drink necessary for the voyage, according to the custom observed on board the ships. — Good. TRACY.

"But for the vessels and provisions, they must apply to M. de Barre. TRACY.

"Be it enacted, that there shall be given us the free and public exercise of religion; and that the undersigned lords shall protect us in it. — Referred to M. de la Barre. TRACY.

"The Jews demand also the free exercise of their religion, as in the preceding article. — Referred to M. de la Barre. TRACY.

"That one month, or more, shall be granted us for holding the ordinary days of audience, for the purpose of liquidating all debts, those of the Company, as well as those of individuals; and the undernamed gentlemen shall assist us, and protect us in so doing. — It is M. de la Barre who must give security for this article. TRACY.

"That all the inhabitants who remain here shall have full possession of their goods, lands, and slaves, and it shall be allowed them either to alienate or sell them. When they wish to go away, it shall be lawful for them to carry their goods, moveables, and slaves where they please, without any impediment; and that the governors shall always assist them in so doing. That the inhabitants shall equally enjoy the same freedom for ten years, and then they shall not in any manner be more harshly treated than the subjects of his Majesty. — M. de la Barre will give the security for this article. TRACY.

"That the vessels here, or that shall arrive after, on the part of the United States, or the licensed Company of the West Indies, and all other traders under their orders, may, without any hindrance, come to an anchor, or sail, as they please, free, without any injury. — Good. TRACY.

"But for the vessels which are here at present, and may come for the future, it is M. de la Barre that must give them security. TRACY.

"That the expenses incurred by the patron and individuals of the Hebrew colony shall be repaid them. — It is M. de la Barre that must decide this article. TRACY.

"All that is mentioned above, the parties on both sides accept; that is to say, his Excellency de Tracy, for what concerns his most Christian Majesty, and M. de la Barre, for what relates to his government, on one side; and the directors and counsellors, residents at present in the isle of Cayenne, on the other part: promising to hold them inviolable, without any hindrance — being signed below by the said seigneurs, this day, the 15th of May, 1664."—*Du Tertre*, tom. iii. p. 31.

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issued a new set of orders, containing twenty-six regulations, one of which ordered members of the "pretended" reformed religion to keep out of the way when they saw the Host coming!

All tobacco was declared confiscated if not weighed by the proper officers before it was exported.

No person was to carry arms, except for his Majesty's service.

French and Spanish money was ordered to pass current, at the same value as in Europe.

M. Houel, the governor of Guadaloupe, sent to make his peace with the general, and among other things contrived to let him know that there were Negroes and cattle waiting his acceptance at Guadaloupe, to the amount of seven or eight thousand livres. M. de Tracy rejected the present with indignation, and sent to tell M. Houel, that there were so many accusations against him, that he had orders from the King to send him to France to answer for himself, and that the best thing he could do was to save appearances, and quit the island as if by his own free will, and not wait for the receipt of the royal letter.

Messrs. Herblay and De Temericour, the other governors of Guadaloupe, sent to M. Tracy, and received for answer, that they also must quit the island, and return to France.

June the 23d, M. Tracy anchored at Guadaloupe, and M. Houel immediately went on board to pay his respects, and afterwards received M. Tracy, when he landed with the same honours as had been paid him at Martinico. M. Tracy refused the offer of his house, and lodged in Basse Terre, for the same reasons that he had done so at Martinico; and had his authority registered, and the same ceremonies performed as in that island.

Upon the fourth day after his landing, to the great surprise of all the inhabitants, M. Houel embarked in a Dutch vessel for France, and the next day the duties were lowered to a capitation-tax of fifty pounds of tobacco or sugar, instead of the ten per cent. on all merchandizes, and some other minor alterations made in favour of the inhabitants.

Eight days after M. Houel's departure, M. d'Herblay and Temericour sailed for France, in the Terron, a king's ship. Before her departure, M. de Tracy published an order in council he had just received from France, forbidding all commerce with the Dutch or Flushingers for six months: the order extended to all the islands held of the religion of Malta, as well as those dependant upon the crown of France; and the reason assigned for issuing the order was, that the plague raged at Amsterdam, and had occasioned great mortality in all that country. This order was carried to the governor of St. Christo-

Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 76. 78. 91.

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pher's, by Chaumont, De Tracy's captain of the guard, and read and registered in that island, without any opposition.

M. de Lion was appointed by M. Tracy governor of Guadaloupe, and commander of the royal troops in the island.

M. Houel's brother-in-law, Hincelin, was allowed to remain in the fort at Basse Terre, to look after his relative's affairs.

The English, having purchased St. Lucia from the Caribs, sent 1400 men, in five ships of war, to that island, attended by Mr. Thomas Warner (son of Sir Thomas Warner, the first governor of St. Christopher's, by a Carib woman) [1] and 600 Caribs, in seventeen piraguas, who were to deliver up the island to the English: they landed in June; and the French garrison, which consisted of fourteen men, commanded by M. Bonnard, surrendered, upon condition of being all sent, with their arms and baggage, to Martinico. Mr. Cook was left governor of the island.

The taking possession of this island from the French occasioned a correspondence between Lord Willoughby, the governor of Barbadoes, and M. Tracy, which ended by the latter referring the affair to his government. The English had before been in possession of the island, but the colonists were attacked by the savages, many of them massacred, and the rest driven off the island: this misfortune, it was alleged, could not give any right to the French to possess the island; added to which, for more than a year, the English had bought it of the Caribs, who were the true lords of it.[2]

Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 81. 86. 93. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 211.

[1] This Mr. T. Warner was by Lord Willoughby appointed Governor of Dominica, which island was only inhabited by Caribs.

[2] "Le General Waernard, contemporain de M. le General de Poincy, eu un fils d'une esclave sauvage de l'Isle de la Dominique; il le réconnut pour son fils, luy fit porter son nom, et le fit elever dans sa maison avec ses autres enfans. Mais bien que ce batard fust nay d'une femme sauvage et esclave, il ne paroissoit rien en luy de sauvage que la couleur du cuir et du poil, et quoyqu'il eut les cheveux fort noirs, il les avoit deliez, annelez et bouclez, contre l'ordinaire des autres sauvages; sa taille estoit mediocre, mais il estoit parfaitement proportionné de tous ses membres: il avoit le visage longuet, un grand front, et le nez aquilin, les yeux clairs, longs, et ouverts; et l'on remarquoit une certaine gravité sur son visage, qui faisoit connoistre la grandeur de son courage et de son esprit. Il perdit son père en l'adolescence, et Madame Waernard, qui ne l'aimoit pas, et ne l'avoit considère qu'a cause de son père, commenca à le persecuter, et à le traiter avec tant d'inhumanité, qu'elle le faisoit travailler à la terre avec les esclaves de sa maison.

"Waernard, qui, avec les belles qualitez de son esprit et de son corps, estoit un homme fier et entreprenant, crevoit de depit de se voir reduit à une condition si malheureuse et si abjecte, il se rendit Marom avec d'autres esclaves fugitifs; mais ayant este repris, Madame Waernard le fit enchainer, et luy fit mettre une épouvantable paire de fers aux pieds, et mesme l'obligeoit de travailler en cet equipage. Sa captivité dura jusques à ce que M. Waernard, fils legitime du General Waernard, et qui commandoit dans l'isle de Mont-Sara, vint à S. Christophe, ou l'ayant trouvé en cet estat, en eut compassion, le delivra des fers, et pria Madame Waernard, de luy donner quelque

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The English colonists at St. Lucie were attacked by sickness: in less than three months, more than 600 men died.

It was not long before M. Tracy had an opportunity, at Guadaloupe, of shewing his antipathy to the Huguenots. A French priest had embarked at Nantes in a state of intoxication, on board a vessel belonging to Messrs. Cheneau and Peroneau, who brought him to Guadaloupe, and sold him for three years, to pay the expense of his passage out. M. Tracy imprisoned Cheneau, and said that he intended sending him prisoner to France to answer for his crime; but gave his friends to understand, at the same time, if thirty or forty of the principal Huguenots would sign a request for his liberation, it should be granted: they did so, and presented it to M. Tracy, who condemned them to pay fifteen thousand pounds weight of sugar, one thousand of which was to be given the priest, to pay his passage back to France.

The total cessation of all trade with the Dutch, and the want of provisions and necessaries in the islands, which was the immediate consequence, were beginning to be severely felt — when a violent hurricane at Guadaloupe destroyed their potatoes, and added to their distresses. An earthquake at St. Christopher's also did considerable damage.

During M. Tracy's stay at Guadaloupe, he had frequent complaints, from the inhabitants of Grenada, against their governor, the Count de Cerillac, and his son. The detail of them, Du Tertre says, is too odious to repeat. M. de Tracy was affected even to tears by the recital; and he left Guadaloupe the 15th of November, to go to their relief. Upon his passage he stopped at Martinico, and published an ordinance respecting

Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 95, 96. 98, 99. 101, 102, 103.

commandement sur les autres domestiques.

"Ce pauvre malheureux affranchy n'eut presque de bonheur que la presence de son frère, car aussi tost qu'il fut party, le rage de cette femme redoubla, et elle le pousa avec tant de cruauté, qu'il fut contrainté de suivre le conseil que sa propre mère lui avoit inspiré, qui estoit de se retirer parmy les sauvages de la Dominique.

"Il y fut bien receu à cause de sa mère; et comme il avoit de l'esprit, il gagna incontinent les cœurs des sauvages de son quartier, qui estoit la bas terre de la Dominique, qui jusques à son arrivée avoient eu aussi bien que les autres une grosse guerre avec les Anglois. Ce Waernard entreprit de les reconcilier, et y reüssit si heureusement, qu'il les mit bien ensemble et se fit admirer des sauvages, sur lesquels il prit un tel ascendant, qu'il les engageoit, avec une facilité merveilleuse, à entreprendre les choses les plus difficiles, et à exercer des cruautez conformes à son natural, qui n'avoit presque rien d'humain, leur donnant en tout rencontre des preuves de sa valeur et de sa conduite."

* * * * *

"Le Milord Willoughby, connoissant ce dont il estoit capable, luy fit faire un voyage en Angleterre, le fit paroistre à la cour, ou il vescut en Chrestien avec les Anglois, et s'habilloit comme eux: mais estant de retour, il quitta ses vestemens, et vescut en infidelle avec les sauvages, et marchoit nud, et roucotie comme eux; mais il ne prit qu'une seule femme."—*Du Tertre*, tom. iii. p. 82.

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the Caribs, forbidding their executing justice one upon another in that island, and ordering them to refer all complaints to his Majesty's governor. Before this, their duels with arrows were a source of amusement to the governors!

Upon the 22d of November, M. de Tracy arrived at Grenada, which he found in the greatest distress. Of 500 inhabitants that the Count de Cerillac had found upon the island, only 150 were living! De Tracy was welcomed with great joy, and received the oaths of allegiance from the inhabitants. He obliged their governor, M. de Cerillac, to pay the inhabitants eighty thousand pounds weight of tobacco which he owed them, and distributed the unoccupied lands among the inhabitants of the other islands which he had brought with him, the greater part of whom were sufficiently wealthy to import labourers to cultivate it.

M. Tracy appointed M. Vincent governor of the island, and obliged the Chevalier de Cerillac to quit the fort, and live as a private gentleman upon the island; and two months afterwards, M. Tracy sent him to France.

An order was published the 28th of November, by M. Tracy, forbidding all persons of the pretended reformed religion to assemble in any place, under any pretence of praying together, or to speak in any manner of the mysteries of the faith, upon pain of being condemned to pay one hundred pounds of tobacco, to be applied to the use of the church, and of being punished according to the rigour of the ordonnances!

On the following day, M. Tracy left Grenada.

M. Vincent, the new governor, immediately gave free permission to the inhabitants to hunt and fish in the Grenadines, as well as in Grenada, which had been forbidden by M. de Cerillac. This considerably improved the comforts of the colonists.

By an act of parliament, passed the 11th of July this year, in France, the apothecaries, surgeons, barbers, goldsmiths, and some others, were exempted from the privileges granted by the edict in 1642, by which any who, for six successive years, had carried on their trades in the West Indies, might keep shops in any of the cities in France, except Paris.

The Duke of Courland, restored to his liberty by the treaty of Oliva, demanded of the States-General his establishment at Tobago, which was refused. The duke then applied to Charles the Second of England, who granted him the island in propriety, upon condition that none should inhabit it except the subjects of the King of England and the Duke of Courland, their heirs and successors. Notification of this grant was sent to the Dutch, but it only served to increase their exertions for defending the island.

Du Tertre, tom. ii. p. 468.—iii. pp. 104, 105, 106. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 282.

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The Dutch admiral De Ruyter appeared off Barbadoes, apparently with the intention of landing; but after reconnoitring, and receiving a few shot, he abandoned the attempt: his own ship got on shore under the batteries, and received considerable damage. His fleet consisted of twelve line-of-battle ships, two fire-ships, and several small craft, and 2500 men. They had destroyed the English settlements upon the coasts of Africa on their passage out.

1665.

In order to make themselves masters of all the French islands, the West India Company purchased of the Order of Malta the islands of St. Christopher, Santa Cruz, and St. Bartholomew, for the sum of 500,000 livres tournois, which was not half their value. The contract was executed in Paris the 10th of August, 1665, and in December they were all under the direction of the Company's governors.

Martinico, which belonged to the children of M. du Parquet, was ceded to the Company by their tutor, for 40,000 crowns.

To the Count du Cerillac they gave 100,000 for Grenada and the Grenadines; and to Madame Champigny, and her children by her first husband, for their half of Guadaloupe and the adjacent islands, 120,000 livres: so that M. Houel, the lord of the other half of the same islands, was the only proprietor they had to settle with. They obtained an order from the King in council, that he should have 280,000 livres, besides the lands and establishments which he had reserved to himself in the islands, which were very considerable: thus obliging him to take, not what he valued his own property at, but what they chose to give him for it. The order for this was not settled till April the 18th, 1680.

The Company of Cayenne, which was called the Company of Equinoctial France, was united to the West India Company, and the two companies made into one.

The French West India Company confirmed M. le Chevalier de Sales as governor of St. Christopher's, and M. Dubois as governor of Santa Cruz, and appointed M. Beauplan to St. Bartholemew's, and Du Clinet to St. Martin's.

Two of the vessels first sent out by the Royal West India Company arrived at Martinico in February, and one at Guadaloupe, one of these, called the St. Sebastian, brought out M. de Clodore as governor of Martinico. M. Tracy arrived

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 196. Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 199. 247. 266. Labat, tom. v. pp. 223. 230, 231, 232, 233.

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soon afterwards from Guadaloupe, on the 19th of February, and proceeded in state, with the governor, attended by all the officers, civil and military, to the Hall of Justice, where the royal orders for placing the island in the possession of the Royal West India Company, and for appointing M. Clodore governor, were read and registered, and the oath of allegiance administered to all the functionaries. In March M. Tracy returned to Guadaloupe, when M. du Lion was received as governor for the Company — murmurs and symptoms of revolt manifested themselves in both these islands: in Martinico one man was hung and four condemned to the galleys, which, for a time, quieted the discontented in that island; in the other the presence of the lieutenant-general prevented their breaking out.

M. Themericour arrived as the Company's governor of Mariegalante: he found the island in a bad state, with a garrison of only ten men and about 150 inhabitants capable of bearing arms.

After the execution of Rodomon, the mutineer, at Martinico, M. Tracy ordered the young Du Parquet to be sent to France in the first vessel, that the discontented might not have him to set up in opposition to the newly established authorities.

Soon afterwards, M. Tracy returned to Guadaloupe, and from thence proceeded to St. Domingo.

Other disturbances soon after took place at Martinico. The few vessels which the Company sent out neglected to bring many articles of considerable importance to the comfort of the inhabitants, among these were shoes — for want of which, the ladies were obliged to go to mass bare-footed. This, in a country where the feet are attacked by a minute and troublesome insect, which insinuates itself under the skin, and there burrows and breeds, occasioned constant vexation. The produce of the island also, for want of ships to carry it off, was rotting in the storehouses.

The murmurs were general, but the discontented were without experienced leaders. Rosselan, and two others who had made themselves most conspicuous, were seized and hung.

In May, M. de Tracy anchored in port François, St. Domingo, and held several conferences with M. d'Ogeron, who had in the beginning of this year established himself at Port Margot. M. de Tracy, after remaining ten days, proceeded to Canada; and upon the 6th of June M. d'Ogeron landed at Tortuga, and superseded the Sieur de la Place as governor of that island, by order of the West India Company, who had purchased it from Du Rausset for 16,000 livres; he himself being kept in the Bastille, to prevent his making any opposition to their taking possession. La Place submitted to M. d'Ogeron without any

Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 146. 168. 191. 216. 230. 233. Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 42. 48.

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opposition, who immediately issued several ordonnances for the regulation of the colonists. By one, no inhabitant was allowed to have more slaves upon his land than he had Frenchmen; by another, no trader was allowed to buy or sell in Tortuga, except those who, within six months after the publication of the order, should be housekeepers upon the island. By another, each housekeeper was obliged to rear live stock in proportion to the number of inmates in his house.

Upon the 13th of December, M. de Chambre, agent-general for the affairs of the Company, took possession of the island of St. Christopher for the Company, with the following ceremonies, which he himself has described: — "Having received the key, I opened and shut the doors. I entered and came out again. I went down to the officers, where I had a fire made, and smoked. I drank and I eat. I went into the chapel and had mass performed after the clock struck. I went into the guard-house, and I made the garrison go out, and I made them re-enter, under the authority of the West India Company. I raked the ground, and took up the stones. I cut down the trees by the root, and pulled up the herbs and replanted others; and at last I went upon the terrace, where I had the guns fired, and cried out 'God save the King and the Company!'"

In consequence of the depredations of Pierre François, Evinet, Bartholomew Portugues, Roche Brasiliano, Michael de Basco, Vauclin, Granmont, and other pirates from Jamaica and Tortuga, who, in open boats carrying between twenty and thirty men and three or four swivels, committed terrible havoc among their merchant vessels, the Spaniards lessened the number of their traders; and the pirates not finding their usual success, and having increased in numbers, adopted more extensive plans for annoying them. Lewis Scot is said to have been the first that invaded the main land: he sacked and almost destroyed, about this time, the city of Campechy. After him, Mansfield invaded Grenada, and penetrated to the South Sea.

John Davis also, with eighty men in three canoes, surprised the city of Nicaragua in the night, plundered the houses and churches, and escaped with the booty: they were three nights in getting up the river to attack the place. In the day-time they concealed themselves under the trees, and in the night passed as fishermen: their booty amounted to 50,000 pieces of eight. After this, Davis plundered the city of St. Augustine in Florida.

L'Olonnois, another pirate, about this time, committed his depredations. La Place, the governor of Tortuga, gave him a vessel. La Place was governor of Tortuga only from 1659 till the 6th of June, 1665. This ship L'Olonnois lost in a gale of wind on the

Du Tertre, tom. iii. p. 152. 252. Esquemeling's Hist. Buc. chap. vii.

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coast of Campechy, and escaped himself the fate of the greatest part of his companions, by smearing himself with blood, and lying among the dead till the Spaniards quitted the field; he then disguised himself in a Spanish habit, enticed some slaves to accompany him in a canoe, and returned to Tortuga. He afterwards, with two canoes, and twenty-one followers, went off Cuba, and attacked a vessel with ten guns and ninety men, which was sent to capture him, boarded her by surprise, and put the whole of her crew to death: among these was a Negro, who had been sent on board to act as hangman, when they should catch L'Olonois and his companions; this man confessed what his office was to have been.

In this prize L'Olonnois proceeded off Maracaibo, and captured a ship laden with plate and merchandize. With her he returned to Tortuga, where he soon raised above 400 men, to accompany him in an expedition against Maracaibo. Three hundred he put on board the ship he took off that place, and the rest went in five small vessels: they proceeded first to Bayaha, in Española, to lay in a stock of provisions, and then went to Matamana, on the south side of Cuba, to seize as many fishing canoes as they could. Having got provisions and boats, they stood across to Cape Gracias a Dios, but were drifted by the currents in a calm to the river of Xagua, where they plundered the Indian huts to re-victual their ships. After considerable delays they got to Puerto Cavallo, and carried, by boarding, a Spanish vessel of forty guns: they then landed, and burnt the store-houses and town.

L'Olonnois is said to have had a mortal hatred to all Spaniards, and upon this occasion to have gratified it by putting all his prisoners to cruel deaths, except two whom he kept as guides to shew him the road to San Pedro, for which place he set off with 300 men, leaving his lieutenant, Moses Van Vin, to command his vessels with the rest. After marching about three leagues, he fell into an ambuscade, from which he succeeded in driving the Spaniards, though with considerable loss of his own men. From the wounded prisoners he forced a confession, that more of their countrymen were in ambush further on; and being unable to find any other way to San Pedro than by passing them, L'Olonnois in his rage is said to have torn the living heart from one of the Spaniard's breasts, and gnawed it with his teeth, declaring he would serve them all in the same manner unless they showed him another road: this they promised to do, but it proved impassable, and he was obliged to return, and vowed vengeance against the Spaniards.

Next day he forced the Spaniards from two ambuscades, by throwing fire-balls amongst them. There was but one path to

Esquemeling's History of the Buccaneers, chaps. ix and x.

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San Pedro's and that was barricaded with thorny shrubs, and defended with great guns, the pirates stooping down when they observed them about to fire, and then picking the men off while they were re-loading. This continued till night, when the Spaniards sent a flag of truce, desiring two hours' time to quit the place: this was granted, and the pirates entered, and staid till the two hours were expired without committing any act of hostility. Directly that the term was passed, L'Olonnois dispatched parties in pursuit of the fugitives: the pirates remained some days at San Pedro's, then burnt the town, and returned to their vessels, and stood over to some islands, on the other side of the Gulf, for turtle. They soon afterwards separated, some returning to Tortuga, disliking a proposal of L'Olonnois to attack Guatemala.

L'Olonnois was left in a ship which he was unable to work to windward against the currents: he suffered great distress in her from hunger, and at last lost her upon a sand-bank near Las Pertas, to windward of Cape Gracias à Dios. Out of the wreck they built a boat, which cost them six months' labour. They supplied themselves with food, planting French beans, which ripened in six weeks, and other grain. This boat would only hold half the men, and they drew lots which half were to stay till their companions should return for them. L'Olonnois' lot was to go, and he made sail for Nicaragua. Landing upon the coast, they were attacked by a large party of Spaniards and Indians, and most of them killed.

Those who were left upon Las Pertas, after remaining upon the island ten months, were taken off by a vessel from Jamaica.

Mansvelt the buccaneer, with Henry Morgan as second in command, with fifteen sail and 500 men, Walloons and French, sailed from Jamaica, and captured the island of St. Catharine's, upon May the 2d. Mansvelt left a garrison of 100 men, under the command of Le Sieur Simon, a Frenchman, upon the islands, and returned to Jamaica for recruits; but not succeeding, he went to Tortuga, and there died.

Upon the 13th of August, the islands were re-taken by Don Joseph Sanchez Ximenez, commanding a force of 521 men. The garrison, then amounting to seventy men, surrendered themselves prisoners.

Four young men were whipped though the streets of Edinburgh by the common hangman, and then transported to Barbadoes, for interrupting and abusing Mr. James Scot, minister of Ancram, when preaching!

John Yeamans, a respectable planter of Barbadoes, sailed from that island with a party of emigrants, to establish a colony on the south side of Cape Fear, in America.

Malcolm's Miscellaneous Anecdotes, p. 2. Chalmers, vol. i. p. 520. A a. Esquemeling's History of the Buccaneers, chap. xi.

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1666.

Upon the 20th of January, a treaty was signed at St. Christopher's between the English and French governors, and the agent for the French India Company, by which the former treaties, made between the English and French in that island were declared to be in force, and neither nation was to commence hostilities upon the other, except by express orders from their respective sovereigns, and then not without giving three times twenty-four hours' notice.

In February, M. Clodore, the governor of Martinico, sent M. du Blanc to Barbadoes, to complain to Lord Willoughby of the depredations committed upon the French by James Walker, the master of an English merchant vessel, and to know if his lordship had ratified the treaty which had been renewed between the governors of St. Christopher's. Du Blanc was received in form, and appears to have been surprized at the splendour of his lordship's establishment, and the wealth of the island; he estimated its force at from eighteen to 20,000 infantry, and near 3000 cavalry, and the slaves at upwards of 40,000: he says the Town of the Bridge could turn out 4000 horses, mounted by the merchants, who are expert horsemen, and exercised occasionally by able captains. After remaining some days, Du Blanc returned with Lord Willoughby's answer: it reprobated the conduct of Walker, and promised to punish him, if he could not justify himself. With respect to the renewal of the treaty at St. Christopher's, as yet no information had reached him upon the subject; but as soon as it did, he should ratify the treaty, and do every thing in his power to preserve the good understanding subsisting at present between the subjects of the two nations.

The English attacked the Dutch settlements upon the banks of the river Pomaroon. Middleburg and Harlipyak were plundered and abandoned, and Fort Zealand was destroyed.

Upon the 26th of January, Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, declared war against England, in favour of the Dutch.

Commodore Creissen, with four men of war and 300 men, sailed from Zealand in January — arrived at Cayenne in March — went from thence to Surinam and sailed up the river under English colours; at Fort Paramaribo, he was discovered for want of signals. From his ships he returned the fire from the fort, and landed his troops at the same time. The fort was weak on the

Du Tertre, tom. iii. p. 260. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 202.
Du Mont, tom. vi. partie iii. p. 82. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 253.
Du Tertre, tom. iii. pp. 244, 245.

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land side, and could only be succoured by water, where the Zealanders were masters. It surrendered upon terms, which included the inhabitants on the banks of the river Surinam, and those of Kamomioque, stipulating that all those who should take the oath of fidelity to the States of Zealand should enjoy their estates: the habitations of absentees, and those belonging to Lord Willoughby, to be forfeited to the States. All foreigners who had no estates there to be prisoners of war, and all the English to deliver up their arms. Creissen repaired the fort — placed 150 men in it, under the command of De Rome, and sailed with his booty and prisoners for the islands.

About this time, the island of Tobago was taken from the Dutch by an expedition fitted out at the expense of some private individuals. Du Tertre says, "par sept adventuriers Anglois:" it consisted of four sail. The island was taken after a slight resistance, and the commandant and his garrison, consisting of 150 men, made prisoners of war.

The island of St. Eustatia also was taken from the Dutch early in this year, by Colonel Morgan, at the head of two hundred buccaneers from Jamaica. This was a valuable prize, obtained without much loss: the garrison was considered sufficiently numerous to have defended the island against an army. Besides the great quantity of merchandize and cattle, the captors took 500 Negroes.

A party of English buccaneers landed upon Tortola, and took possession of it from the Dutch. Tortola and its dependencies were soon afterwards annexed to the Leeward Island government.

The Cacao-tree was planted at Port de Paix and Port Margot, in St. Domingo, by M. Ogeron: it succeeded beyond his hopes, and soon spread over the island.

Upon the 6th of January, Mr. Cook, the governor of St. Lucia, set fire to the fort, and abandoned the island. Of 1500 persons who were landed with him in June, 1664, only eighty-nine had survived the effects of disease, famine, and the continual incursions of the Caribs.

Upon Friday, the 18th of April, Colonel William Wats, governor of St. Christopher's, sent to the French governor, De Sales, to inform him that war was declared between their two countries, and that he hoped the agreement signed between them would be adhered to. The agreement promised, that in case war was declared between the Crowns of England and France, the governors should give information of it one to the other; and that though there was war between the Kings of

B. Edwards, vol. i. p. 500. Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 216.
Du Tertre, tom. iii. p. 244. 284. Esquemeling's Hist. of Buccaneers, chap. ix.

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France and England, nevertheless one nation should not make war upon the other in that island, except by express orders from their King; and that then they should be obliged to send information of it one to the other, three times twenty-four hours before any act of hostility was committed. This was signed the 20th of January.

Upon the following Monday, after receiving the declaration of hostilities between the two countries, M. de Sales sent a messenger to Colonel Wats, to thank him for the information, and to express his astonishment at the arrival of troops. [Nine large boats, full of soldiers, under the command of Colonel Morgan, the governor of St. Eustatia, had landed that night, and been fired at by the French.] Wats replied, that it was more than thrice twenty-four hours since he had informed M. de Sales of the declaration of war, and that he was obliged to obey his prince. The French messenger insisted upon the agreement requiring a particular order from one of the two Kings to commence hostilities, and of three times twenty-four hours being given after that; and begged a written answer from Colonel Wats, who refused to give one, alleging, that now, when he was going to fight, he had no time for writing!

The French, instead of waiting to be attacked, upon Tuesday the 22d of April attacked the English at Cayonne, and drove them from their position with considerable loss. The French, commanded by Guillon, preceded by 120 Negroes, set fire to the houses and sugar-canes, with horrible cries, "looking like so many demons!" They continued their route without meeting with any further opposition, burning every thing on both sides, until they reached the Ravine of Amileton: here De Sales halted his men, to recover breath, and form in order of battle again. They then proceeded to Cinq Combles, where their advanced-guard, commanded by M. St. Amour, fell into an ambuscade, and were killed.

De Sales, observing him fall, pushed forward to his rescue; but receiving two musket-balls at the same moment, fell dead upon the spot! The French, confused by the loss of their commander, were with difficulty brought again to the attack by M. St. Laurent, who now commanded them. With great loss they returned to Capsterre, carrying with them De Sales' body.

The French commandant at Capsterre, M. du Sanois, had succeeded in repulsing the English under Colonel Reyms; but while M. Laurent's troops were refreshing themselves after their three days' fatigue, they received intelligence that Colonel Wats, with his troops, and Colonel Morgan, with his buccaneers, had attacked M. de Poincy at Sandy Point.

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 16. 24. 29, 30. 35.

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At half-past eight on Tuesday morning, the English, 1400 strong, commanded by Colonels Wats and Morgan[1], entered the French lands near Sandy Point. The French were prepared to receive them; and taking advantage of a sudden shift of wind, set on fire a cane patch, the smoke of which, blowing directly upon the English, enabled some sharp-shooters to approach them undiscovered, and pick off several men.

Enraged at this unexpected annoyance, the English descended in confusion to the attack—Colonel Morgan, with 260 buccaneers, leading the way. De Poincy, observing their approach, placed himself in ambuscade behind a strong hedge of raquettes, from whence they galled the English severely. Colonel Morgan received two balls in his groin, and died, seven days afterwards, at Nevis: most of his followers were killed. After half an hour's fighting, however, they forced the hedge, wounded De Poincy mortally, and killed some of his principal officers. Colonel Wats was proceeding by another road to the rear of the French, but was shot through the head, and died without saying a word!

The loss of their commanders occasioned confusion, and the English fled to the grand roadstead, abandoning their fort upon the frontier, after spiking the guns. The fugitives proceeded immediately to Colonel Wats's house, and destroyed every thing in it, suspecting that he had betrayed them!

Father Boulogne, of the order of Friars Prescheurs, distinguished himself in this action: he put off the dress of his order, and habited as a cavalier, proceeded upon horseback to the head of the battalions, animating the soldiers to fight courageously—assuring them that their cause was one of religion as well as state, because their enemies were heretics, and the palm of

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 35, 36.

[1] Du Tertre tells the following story of a quarrel between Colonels Wats and Colonel Morgan:—

"Mais il est vray que le J. Wats fit une proposition ridicule au Colonel Morgan, qui estoit d'aller combatre avec les boucaniers et une partie des soldats Anglois, toutes les troupes François victorieuses des premiers quartiers, reunies ensemble, et prestes à les combatre: pendant que luy avec l'autre partie des troupes, entreroit dans le bas terre des François, qui est à sept grandes lieues de la pointe de sable, et tacheroit de prendre les esclaves, les femmes et les enfans des François, afin de leur faire perdre courage. Mais comme l'on estoit sur le point de decider, par un dernier combat, la perte de l'une ou de l'autre nation, et que l'affaire devoit estre faite, avant que les François sceussent rien de ce qui se passeroit dans leur quartier: cette proposition parut au Colonel Morgan sortir de la teste d'un fol, ou d'un traitre; si bien que tout bouillant de colère et de depit, il prit d'une main la cravate du Gouverneur Wats, et de l'autre luy applique le pistolet sur la gorge, et luy dit, 'J'executeray ton commandement, mais tu es un traitre que nous a amméné à la boucherie;' et tout en jurant il dit ces mots, 'Je te tue tout à l'heur, si tu ne marches le premier: et il falut qu'il y allast, mais comme un homme que l'on méne au gibet."—*Du Tertre*, tom. iv. p. 34.

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martyrdom would be given to those who fell in the battle! He then made them all kneel down, beg pardon for their sins, and gave them all absolution. After the action was over, he again changed his dress, and as a friar administered the sacrament to the dying.

In these actions, Colonel Wats and Morgan, the two English commanders, Governor Sales, and M. de Poincy, nephew of the former governor, the two French commanders, were killed.

The same night the English sent a flag of truce to request the body of their governor: the French arrested both the officer and his interpreter! The next day, another flag of truce was sent by the English, with proposals for a capitulation, which were agreed to by Colonel Reyms on the part of the English, and the Chevalier St. Laurent on the part of the French. It contained eight articles: — That the English should deliver up immediately all the forts, with their arms and ammunition: that every body not a housekeeper should quit the island without delay: that those that had an establishment might remain, upon taking the oath of fidelity to the King and West India Company. None of the English were to carry any arms, not even to wear a sword! Those that chose to quit the island had liberty to do so, and to sell their property to the French. Liberty of conscience was granted, upon condition that the English did not meet or perform any exercise of their religion in public.

The articles were to be accepted, and hostages given, in four hours, or the French would renew hostilities.

The next morning, St. Laurent took possession of Fort Charles, and of a large ship then in the roads, on board of which the inhabitants had embarked their property, and more than 400 Negroes. These St. Laurent seized, under pretence that some of them might have belonged to the English killed in the battle, or who had fled, or who were not upon the island, and consequently, he said, not entitled to the privilege of the capitulation!

At this time there were 1000 men at Palm Point, who had been stationed there by Wats. Had these been with him in the action, or had they been ably commanded, the island would not have been lost. St. Laurent had only 700 men, and not more than two rounds of powder for them. It was with difficulty Mrs. Wats escaped from the fury of the buccaneers, so strong was their conviction of her husband's treachery.

The body of Colonel Wats was thrown by the French down a deep ravine, on the top of the carcasses of seven or eight horses, which, Du Tertre says, were to serve as a bed for his body; and upon his body there were thrown twenty-two waggon

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 46, 47. 49. 52.

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loads, of twenty-two carcasses each! Thus did the French perform the right of sepulture to their foes.

In the beginning of May, Lord Willoughby sent his nephew, Lieutenant General Henry Willoughby, with 800 men, to reinforce Colonel Wats at St. Christopher's. Upon the passage between Guadaloupe and Antigua, they captured a French vessel, from whom they learnt the news of the capture of St. Christopher's by the French. General Willoughby landed part of his troops at Nevis, and part at Antigua, and sent to his uncle for further orders.

Between the 8th of May and the 8th of June, the French had forced off the island near 1400 persons, and after that time they calculated that more than 8000 had left the island, besides their slaves. The governor of Nevis sent to M. St. Laurent to say, he would receive any young men whom he had to send off the island. St. Laurent sent him eleven families, composed of ten old men, and seventy women and children!

In July, Michael de Basque, major of Tortuga, sailed with L'Olonnois as his second in command, and 660 persons, in eight vessels, the largest of which carried ten guns of different calibre. They sailed from St. Domingo, to cruize against the Spaniards in the Moña Passage, and captured (after an action of three hours) a ship of sixteen guns and fifty men, with a cargo of cocoa, 40,000 pieces of eight, and jewels to the value of 10,000 more. L'Olonnois sent the prize to Tortuga, with orders to unload her as soon as possible, and bring her to join him off Saona.

In the mean time, they captured another vessel bound to Española, with provisions, 12,000 pieces of eight for the garrison, and 7000lbs. weight of gunpowder. This last prize, L'Olonnois appointed Anthony de Puis to command; and when the other returned from Tortuga, he himself took the command of her.

In the last prize were two Frenchmen who had been prisoners at Maracaibo for many years, and one of them was pilot for the bar at the entrance. The recapture of these men determined Basque and L'Olonnois to attack that place: the difficulties of the entrance were so far overcome by their having a good pilot on board. The Spaniards expected a castle with fourteen guns and 250 men was sufficient to protect it! L'Olonnois landed about a league from the fort: the governor had placed an ambuscade, which was discovered, and entirely cut off. The pirates then proceeded to storm the fort, in which they succeeded after three hours' fighting: their ships then came up in safety, and the remainder of the day was passed in demolishing the fortress. Next morning they proceeded with a fair wind, off the town of

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 60. 62, 63. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 92. Esquemeling's Hist. of Buccaneers, chap. ix.

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Maracaibo, which they entered without opposition: the inhabitants had once before been plundered by a similar set of men, and now sought safety in flight. De Basque made the Great Church his main guard, and took possession of the best houses in the place. Plenty of provisions, poultry, brandy, and wines, were found by the captors; and next day they sent out a party of 160 men to search the woods for prisoners and plunder: these returned at night, with 20,000 pieces of eight, several mules richly laden with merchandize, and twenty prisoners, who were tortured to discover where more money might be found!

After remaining fifteen days at Maracaibo, the pirates resolved to attack Gibraltar, which they reached in three days. Preparations were made by the governor to oppose them; but the assailants were flushed with success, and anxious for plunder. They attacked with impetuosity, and drove the Spaniards from their first line of defence; the second they were unable to storm. In this dilemma, L'Olonnois made use of an old stratagem, which succeeded: he pretended to retreat in confusion; the Spaniards left the battery in pursuit; at a sufficient distance, L'Olonnois faced about, attacked the Spaniards unexpectedly, and so intrepidly, that 200 were killed upon the spot: the rest fled, and the pirates obtained possession of the battery, promising quarter to those who were in it. Above 500 Spaniards were killed, 150 taken prisoners, besides 500 slaves, women and children. Of the assailants, forty were killed, and eighty wounded, most of whom died. The plunder did not answer their expectations, and provisions were scarce: in the course of eighteen days most of their prisoners died of hunger — several were tortured to death!

After keeping possession of the town for four weeks, they sent four of their prisoners into the woods, to inform their countrymen, that unless 10,000 pieces of eight were brought in, in two days' time, the city should be burnt. At the end of that time, it was set on fire in different places; but, in consequence of repeated promises that the ransom should be paid, they helped the Spaniards to stop the fire. One part of the town was destroyed, and the church belonging to the monastery burnt down.

After the money was paid, the pirates returned to Maracaibo, and sent some of their principal prisoners to make an agreement for ransoming that town. This they did; and when the 20,000 pieces of eight, and 500 head of cattle, were delivered, the pirates left the place. Three days afterwards, the wretched inhabitants were again alarmed by their return; but L'Olonnois only wanted a pilot to carry the large ships over the bar. One was immediately sent him; and after having been full two months in these

Esquemeling's Hist. of Buccaneers, chap. ix.

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towns, the pirates returned to Española to divide their plunder: it amounted to 260,000 pieces of eight — each individual being obliged to take an oath, that he had not concealed anything from the common stock. After the whole was divided they returned to Tortuga, carrying with them the ornaments of the church which they had destroyed, and the bells and paintings; intending, they said, to consecrate that part of their booty to building a church at Tortuga!

The 4th of November, a French squadron of seven sail, under the command of M. de la Barre, arrived at Five Island Bay, Antigua, and landed without much opposition: they immediately set on fire all the houses, and led by Baston, a deserter from Antigua, who, assisted by Grandmaison, a French surgeon, an inhabitant also of Antigua, and two slaves, whom he had enticed to desert, had escaped in a stolen boat. This Baston guided a party of soldiers in the night to the governor's house, which they entered after a slight resistance, and made prisoners Colonel "Mouk," and twenty officers. After plundering the house, they set it on fire, and got back to their ships.

Their success in this incursion induced M. Lion, the governor of Guadaloupe, to make another with more troops. He succeeded in storming a house defended by palisades: and having forced an entrance, shot Colonel Quest as he was sitting upon his sofa, begging for quarter. In the same room, and in the next, thirty were murdered. M. Clodore, the governor of Martinico, arrived in time to save the lives of several others in the house. In this attack Baston was mortally wounded: the French had between seventy and eighty killed and wounded; among the latter was M. Lion. The French set fire to the house, and all its storehouses of sugar and tobacco — to give the English to understand, as Du Tertre says, that they were not to wait to the last before they surrendered, and defend every house that could make resistance.

This invasion seems to have been conducted with more than even the accustomed atrocity of the French. "As they were carrying off their wounded, an 'officer of consideration' sent to tell M. Clodore, that Colonel Quest was so ill, there would be a great deal of trouble in moving him; and that, if he would give him leave, he would dispatch him out of the way! But this governor, detesting such horrible cruelty, ordered him to take care how he attempted it, and immediately sent soldiers to carry the colonel down to the beach, as easily as possible." He was taken to St. Christopher's, and died in a few days.

The next day, M. Barre sent a trumpeter to summon the inhabitants to surrender — giving them twenty-four hours to

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 146. 149. 155.

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consider of it, and threatening, at the expiration of that time, to put all to fire and the sword. The next day an English officer offered M. Barre St. John's Bay, as a more convenient anchorage, while the negociations were carrying on.

Upon the 31st of October the island capitulated: the capitulation contains twenty-one articles. Colonel Carden commanded the English during the absence of the governor, Colonel Fish, who was at Nevis. Colonel Boucley was to remain with the French, as hostage for the performance of the capitulation. Upon the 12th, 300 soldiers landed from Barbadoes, and finding that the island had capitulated, they refused to accede to it. M. Barre, upon receiving this information, sent Colonels Carden and Boucley to inform the inhabitants and troops, that if within six days they did not surrender the island, as had been agreed upon, no quarter would be given by the French. Having sent this message, the French left the island, upon the 14th, and went to St. Christopher's, taking with them Captain Giraud as an hostage.

Upon the last day of November, the French, under the command of M. Clodore, returned again to Antigua, with eleven sail of vessels, to demand the surrender of the island. Colonel Fish, the governor, had returned from Nevis and taken the command. Upon the 1st of December, M. de Clodore sent a flag of truce to demand the fulfilment of the capitulation, and the return of Colonel Carden to his parole, before the next evening. Shortly after this, Colonel Carden wrote to M. Clodore, to say that Governor Fish had imprisoned him, or he would have surrendered himself. In two hours afterwards Colonel Carden escaped from his guard, and went to the French commander. The next morning the inhabitants sent an answer to M. Clodore's summons, stating that they were no longer masters of their own actions; that their governor had arrived, and refused to ratify the capitulation, because, since the surrender, the Caribs, allies of the French, had twice, by orders from the French, in violation of the treaty, invaded the island, and made war upon the inhabitants!

Upon the 23d of November, (O. S.) the inhabitants wrote again to M. Clodore, saying they had persuaded Governor Fish to fulfil the treaty. M. Clodore would not take any notice of this last letter, but wrote to say he was "about to land, and by force of arms bring them to a sense of their duty, they having broken their faith and word." At this time the inhabitants were waiting for the French, with the white flag flying in all directions. The French landed under the command of M. Clodore, and the inhabitants immediately laid down their arms. Colonel Fish,

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 156. 158. 162. 164. 180. 182. 185.

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Colonel Warner, and some others, made their escape in a small vessel. As soon as M. Clodore could assemble the inhabitants, he told them that they must pay the expenses of the war; and, to save themselves from being plundered, send him 800 Negroes: that they must furnish his fleet with provisions; that all the property belonging to absentees was confiscated, but that the property of Colonels Carden and Boucley, in consideration of their attention to their parole, was to be exempt from contribution. The inhabitants were to take the oath of fidelity to the King of France: all the soldiers were declared prisoners of war; and all the arms were taken from the inhabitants. An hundred stand were left to the English to defend themselves from the Caribs; but no orders were attended to. There were not 800 Negroes upon the island, only 500 could be found. Every thing that could be carried was taken away, every house was plundered, and almost all the property upon the island destroyed! Colonel Carden's house was not more respected than the others, although his property had been declared exempt from the contribution. M. de Clodore returned to Guadaloupe with his plunder.

Mr. Thomas Warner, the Carib governor of Dominica, had become an object of dread to the French governors of Martinico and Guadaloupe: they therefore availed themselves of the dislike of some of his countrymen to get possession of his person. Nine piraguas full of Caribs were at Guadaloupe, on their way to attack the English in Antigua: five of these boats returned to Dominica, hoping to surprise Warner in his hammock, whom, as he had seen them sail upon their expedition, they expected to find off his guard: they were very near succeeding in the attempt. Warner escaped on board an English privateer, which was soon afterwards taken by a French armed vessel, and carried to Guadaloupe. Father Beaumont, who was on board the French ship, recognized Warner, and the governor of Guadaloupe immediately lodged him in prison — giving him his "best pair of irons," and a heavy pair of handcuffs "for bracelets." Even thus fettered, such was M. Lion's opinion of his prisoner's activity and courage, that he declared he did not sleep sound, from the expectation of his making his escape! Some days after his confinement, his countrymen returned to Guadaloupe with their plunder from Antigua. One of these went to Warner, and shewed him two buccaneered hands from that island: with one of these he struck him a violent blow upon the side of the head, which made the blood stream — adding at the same time, "take that box in the ear from one of your friends." Warner with great dignity told him, "Thou paltroon, come to my own hut,

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 187. 190. 66. 68.

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and strike me there." To the French he pleaded having a commission from the English, as governor of Dominica, and demanded to be treated as a prisoner of war, threatening vengeance if he made his escape. His pleadings and his threats were equally vain: the French kept him confined as long as the war lasted.

Assisted by the French, the savages from St. Vincent's and Dominica waged a horrible war with the English, attacking them by surprise in the different islands, burning the houses, murdering the males, the old and the ugly, occasionally banqueting upon their carcasses, and carrying away the more beautiful of the women as slaves! M. de Clodore, the governor of Martinico, planned their expeditions, and assisted them with Frenchmen and arms. The governor of Guadaloupe disapproved of employing such allies in the war, and dreading reprisals, wrote to M. Clodore, expressing his fears of the consequences. The savages, dissatisfied with his conduct, complained to M. Clodore, and a quarrel between the two governors was the consequence.

The wants of the inhabitants of Martinico produced discontent, which, upon the 13th of July, broke out in open rebellion: it was quelled by the address of some officers, prisoners, who persuaded their captors, that the party coming to oppose them were coming to join them, and by that means attacked them unexpectedly, killed seventeen, and wounded many more. Several of the prisoners were afterwards executed.

Upon the 28th of July, Lord Willoughby, having appointed Henry Hawley and Henry Willoughby deputy-governors during his absence, sailed from Barbadoes with seventeen sail and near two thousand troops. Upon the 30th he was off St. Pierre's, Martinico, under French colours, and upon the 2d of August off Guadaloupe. Upon the 4th, three frigates and some smaller vessels were sent in, and destroyed the French ships in the Saints. Symptoms of an approaching hurricane made Lord Willoughby extremely anxious for the return of the ships from the Saints; but the commanding officer's ship had suffered some damage, and could not be refitted before night. At 6 P.M. the gale began from the north, and continued with great violence till midnight, when, after a calm which lasted for a quarter of an hour, it shifted suddenly to the E.S.E. driving every thing before it with irresistible violence. Every vessel and boat upon the coast of Guadaloupe was dashed to pieces — all the vessels in the Saints were driven on shore — and of the whole of Lord Willoughby's fleet, only two were ever heard of afterwards![1] An armée-en-flute of twenty-

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 69. 79, 80, 81. 33. 87. 89. 98.

[1] "Tous les gens de bien des isles fort informez des desseins du Milord, qu'ils asseurent avoir este de ne donner aucun quartier aux François de St. Christopher, faisoient des vœux à Dieu, afin qu'il luy plust envoyer un bon ouragan, qui abis-

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two guns got to Montserrat with only the stump of her mizen-mast standing, and a fire ship got to Antigua, dismasted. The bottom of one ship was washed on shore at Cabsterre, Guadaloupe, and another at the Saints: the whole coast was covered with the wrecks of masts and yards; a figure from the stern of Lord Willoughby's ship was recognized among the ruins. The hurricane lasted twenty-four hours: houses and trees were blown down, and a great number of cattle killed. The sea rose, and was driven to an unusual height. All the batteries,—walls of six feet thickness, near the sea, were destroyed, and guns, fourteen pounders, were washed away. The storm was felt at St. Christopher's and Martinico, but with less violence.

The 16th of August, the English who had been shipwrecked in the Saints surrendered to the French, under M. du Lion, the governor of Guadaloupe. The capitulation is signed, on the part of the English, by William Hill, John Stapleton, John Gardner, J. Dixwell, Richard Pearson, Florence O'Sullivan, and Edward Bard. The soldiers and sailors were so enraged at the surrender, that rather than give up their colours, they tore them to pieces!

In commemoration of this victory, the French governor made a foundation for the Jacobins of 2000 pounds of sugar, for them to chaunt a Te Deum annually upon the day of the Assumption.

Two of the English vessels were afterwards got afloat, and commissioned by the French.

Upon the 20th of August, Lieutenant-general Henry Willoughby, with eight sail, the largest of which carried only twelve guns, appeared off the Saints, with the intention of carrying off his countrymen; but finding the islands in the possession of the French, and a squadron of four large ships off the harbour, he made the best of his way to St. Vincent's. Three of his fleet were taken by the French; the rest escaped.

Lord Willoughby was succeeded in the government of Barbadoes by his brother (William), Lord Willoughby.

The 17th of November, the island of St. Eustatia surrendered to the combined Dutch and French forces, under the command of Vandelbourg and D'Orvilliers: they were about to storm the fort, when the English agreed to capitulate, upon being allowed to carry away their effects, and have a vessel found by the French to carry them to Jamaica. The capitulation was so far complied

Colquhoun, Brit. Emp. p. 372. Edwards, vol. iii. p. 335.
Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 99. 170. 109. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 196.

mast le Milord et toute sa flote, pour les empêcher de nous faire tout le mal qu'il pretendoit: et le'on voyoit tout le long de la rive, les hommes et les femmes levans les mains au ciel, et faisants cette priere avec tant d'instance, qu'il y a quelque appearance qu'ils furent exaucy." — *Du Tertre*, tom. iv. p. 98.

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with by the French, that they supplied the English with a vessel, but took away her main-top-mast. Three hundred and fifty persons evacuated the island in this vessel: they had but very little ammunition in the fort when they surrendered. The French appointed M. Rose to command the troops on the island, and left him a garrison of eighty men.

The English made an attempt to establish a colony upon the Island of New Providence, but did not succeed.

Fort Charles, in Jamaica, "was made close, which to that time wanted a whole line;" and a breast-work was also built at Port Royal.

The great Lord Clarendon, in his own Life, says, "It was upon the first day of that September, in the dismal year of 1666 (in which many prodigies were expected, and so many really fell out), that that memorable and terrible fire broke out in London."

It was truly a dismal year for the English in the West Indies also: the hurricane had destroyed their armament, and the successes of the French in one quarter seem to have stimulated the governors in the others to greater exertions, who do not appear to have been opposed by men of equal abilities.

The English had left a garrison of fifty men in the fort at Tobago. To oppose these, M. Vincent, the governor of Grenada, sent twenty-five well-armed volunteers, with two drums, to try to deceive the governor into a surrender, and the event justified the apparently chimerical attempt! The French landed unobserved in the Ancé de Courland, just before dark, and succeeded in killing a sentry, and driving in a picquet which was placed at a sugar-store, about musket-shot from the fort. The next morning at day-break, the French made as much noise as they could with their two drums, and sent to summon the commandant of the fort to surrender immediately to the French army, or the fort would be instantly stormed, and no quarter given — because the French army, which were within fifty yards, had other and more important enterprises to achieve, and could not be delayed. The fleet was on the other side the island, and only waited their return to make sail. The drummer, who was calculated to deliver such a message, had his musket, contrary to all the laws of war, which he laid down whilst he beat a parley, and delivered his message.

The English commander was foolish enough to come himself to receive it, without any other arms than his sword; and after having given an hostage, that he might have time to capitulate, he asked the drummer where the French army were, who replied not fifty yards off — from a small eminence just by, he could see

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 115. 114. 165, 166. Life of the Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 660. 3d Edit. 1791.

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them. The commander accompanied the drummer to the hill, where he was shewn the French officer, with fourteen volunteers! Seeing himself duped, he would have returned to the fort; but the drummer, changing his office, took the musket, and putting the muzzle to his breast, said he was a dead man if he did not surrender his sword. The commandant obeyed, and was made prisoner of war. The rest of the French came up; and the governor, who appears to have been traitor rather than fool, asked permission to tell the garrison to surrender! They marched towards the fort, the drummer leading the way, and the others guarding the governor: when the drummer approached the sentry, he ordered him to lay down his arms, and the officer and his men entered the fort, where the garrison were under arms; and supposing that these were a party sent to take possession of the place, they, at the drummer's directions, lodged all their muskets and arms in a corner, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. A fort capable of sustaining a siege, well provided with guns and ammunition, and fifty men, were thus taken without any resistance!

M. Vincent kept a garrison in the fort, till the month of March in the following year, when he withdrew them, and set fire to every thing. Du Tertre says he tells this story upon the authority of M. Vincent himself, whose account of the transaction, in his own hand-writing, Du Tertre says he had in his possession.

The combined French and Dutch fleets rendezvoused at Tobago, and were attacked there by Admiral Sir John Harman, who defeated them.

1667.

The 29th January, M. de la Barre sailed from St. Christopher's with twenty-five sail, to attack Montserrat. After an ineffectual cannonade for a whole night, the attack was deferred until the whole of the fleet, some of whom had not arrived, were come up. Upon the 9th of February, the whole being collected, preparations were made for landing, and a summons sent to the governor to surrender, which was refused: at the same time an Irishman deserted to the French, with the information, that of the 900 men which composed the garrison, most were his countrymen, and unwilling to fight for the English. The landing was effected next morning in three different places, and a false attempt was made at a fourth. The French lost a great many men in getting on shore — 1200, however, landed, and the English having retreated to a place among the mountains,

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 167. 196. 199. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 282.

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called the Gardens, the French encamped for the night. Next day they advanced into the island, till they were stopped by sixty men, strongly posted upon an almost inaccessible mountain. De Barre encamped again, and remained two days, during which time several Irishmen deserted to him, and ten piraguas full of Caribs, joined the French.

Upon the deserters' report, M. Barre sent to offer terms to the governor. The Caribs, headed by D'Orvillier, by a circuitous route surprised the governor's wife and family, and took eighty prisoners: — above forty sugar-houses were burnt — every thing was destroyed belonging to the English inhabitants. Upon the sixth day, the governor, with 200 English, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. As soon as the plunder was embarked, M. Barre returned to St. Christopher's, leaving M. Praille, with eighty men, and 500 Irish, with their families, who took the oaths of allegiance to the French upon the island.

The English were sent to Jamaica, with the exception of the governor and his family, and some officers.

While the French were at Montserrat, L'Hercule arrived at Martinico, with dispatches from the French West India Company to the governors of their different islands, stating that they had agreed with the Dutch, and given them permission to trade to their islands, upon condition of their paying the Company ten per cent. upon their cargoes out and home, which duties they might pay either in the islands or at their departure or return; and that the Company had also contracted with some French merchants who were to have the same privileges upon paying five per cent. upon their cargoes out and home.

Upon the news of the arrival of an English fleet at Barbadoes, all the French governors in the different islands consulted how they could secure their shipping, and it was settled, upon the 12th April, that they should all go to the Carennage, Martinico, which was defended by sixty pieces of cannon, and a boom across the entrance. Twelve English men of war were at Nevis on the 2d of April.

M. de la Barre, the French commander-in-chief, in attempting to pass from St. Christopher's to Martinico, in a swift-sailing vessel, was attacked by an English vessel, from which he escaped with difficulty, and was obliged to bear up for Santa Cruz, to repair damages, and land his wounded, among whom was M. de Barre himself: he had received a musket-shot in his hand, and another in his thigh.

Upon the 4th of April, the English drove one of the French West India Company's ships on shore at Palmeto Point, St. Christopher's, where the crew destroyed her; and afterwards the

Du Tertre, tom. iv. p. 203, 204, 205. 221. 224. 227. 230.

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English, with a fire ship, destroyed a Dutch vessel in Basse Terre roads, and continued to blockade the anchorage with two frigates. Notwithstanding which, the French contrived to throw in 250 soldiers as a reinforcement to the troops upon that island.

Upon the 19th of April, the English attacked the Dutch vessels in the Little Cul de Sac, Guadaloupe, and succeeded in bringing out six sail: the crews escaped on shore. The English afterwards landed in Grande Terre, and plundered the houses within their reach.

Upon the 9th of May, M. Barre arrived at Martinico from Santa Cruz; and upon the same day, four sail of Dutch men of war arriving, the smallest of which carried twenty-eight guns, it was determined in a council of war that they should fight the English fleet, and succour the island of St. Christopher's. The fleet consisted of seventeen sail, two of which were under twenty guns, the largest an eight and thirty, and two fire-ships. Eleven hundred men were embarked from Martinico, and 600 more from Guadaloupe, from which island the fleet sailed upon the 18th of May.

On the 20th, between Redondo and Nevis, they saw the English look-out ship, and soon afterwards, round Nevis Point, their fleet, consisting of seventeen sail. "They then began to doubt of the success of the battle they were going to begin[1]:" but soon afterwards observing four of the English vessels part company, and that their fleet was reduced to eleven sail, they began to take courage again, and prepare for battle; but first they lay-to, held a council of war, and altered the whole of their previous arrangements — directing M. de Clodore, who acted as vice-admiral, with his seconds a-head and astern, to precede the commander-in-chief, instead of following him. M. Clodore approached sufficiently near the English to exchange a few shot; but the commander-in-chief, instead of sending the orders, lay-to to deliver them, and the rest of the fleet followed his example. This, Du Tertre says, caused some little confusion. — M. Clodore stood down within half gun-shot of the English, and then hove to again, to wait for the rest.

The Dutch, indignant at these manœuvres, pushed on before the wind to engage, and were followed by the French. The Dutch admiral, Crinssen, intended to board the English admiral; but, to avoid a fire-ship which was standing towards him, he passed to leeward. The English immediately tacked, and the French and Dutch made all sail for St. Christopher's, closely

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 238. 241, 242. 250, 251, 252.

[1] "Et cela fit penser que toutes les frigates attendués s'estoient jointes à cette flote, et apprehender le succès du combat qui se devoit donner."

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pursued by the English. Du Tertre says, "It is certain that our naval armament was able to fight the English fleet, and to take the island of Nevis, but for the bad manœuvres that were made!" And Admiral Crinssen did not scruple to say openly at St. Christopher's, before the principal inhabitants, that if such a thing had been done by any of his countrymen, they would have been punished for it.

M. Barre afterwards blamed the ship on board of which was M. Lion, the governor of Martinico, as the cause of the fleet's not succeeding better; that ship, with the rear squadron, not having kept sufficiently close up.

Upon the 25th, M. Barre left St. Christopher's at nine P.M. in such haste, that the whole of the fleet did not understand his instructions, and some of them were standing towards Nevis. Discovering their mistake in time, they bore up, and before daylight the whole fleet were to leeward of St. Christopher's. On the 27th they passed to windward of St. Bartholomew's. Having escaped the English, the Dutch squadron parted company with them, and they stood to the northward as far as lat. 18°, from which, however, they only fetched Redondo; and here an accident that could not be calculated upon prevented their falling into the hands of the English, whose commander, suspecting where the French were gone, stood over for Guadaloupe to intercept them; but had left orders at Nevis, in case the French came back the way they had gone, to make large bonfires upon the island, as a signal to him. By accident a patch of canes caught fire, and was mistaken for the signal. The fleet returned to Nevis, and next morning the French were to windward of them, under Montserrat. Favoured by a partial breeze, they escaped, and upon the 6th of June arrived at Grenada.

Upon the 5th of June, the English fleet began to collect at Nevis, for the attack upon St. Christopher's. The troops embarked amounted to 8000 men. At daylight upon the 17th the English fleet, consisting of fourteen sail, stood for St. Christopher's in two divisions, one for the Grand Roads, and the other for Basse Terre. At noon both divisions anchored in Basse Terre Roads, and remained there until the night of the 18th.

The next morning, at day-break, they were off Palmeto point, and the men in the boats off the river Pelan, three hundred of whom were landed before any opposition was made. The spot, though good for landing, was ill-chosen for advancing into the island. On each side there was a ravine: up the side of one of these there was a path, which only one man could ascend at a time. To command this ascent, the French commander, with a few picked men, had taken his station. The English were unable to

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 253, 254. 257, 258. 262.

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gain the ridge. Colonel Stapleton, in saving the colours, when the ensign who carried them was shot, had his arm broken; and giving up the attempt, the English passed under the cliff. Another party of them landed on the left of the river Pelan; but being unable to make good their landing, both parties took shelter under the cliff, from the summit of which they were annoyed by the army's rolling down stones, and firing upon them. They were six hours in this situation. Unable to force a passage at either end — to climb the cliff, or get off in the boats — with their handkerchiefs at their bayonet's points, they made signals for a truce, and surrendered to the number of 550, most of whom were wounded.

Du Tertre says, that General Henry Willoughby, who commanded the English, was drunk — Colonels Stapleton, Warner, and Boucle were made prisoners, and Colonel Lauvren and Lord Belamont were killed: all the officers were wounded. Besides the prisoners, 700 were killed or drowned, and eight colours were lost.

The 21st of June, Admiral Sir John Harman arrived at Nevis, with six sail, three days only after the unsuccessful attack upon St. Christopher's. Upon the 26th, having received information, from a prize, that the French were at Martinico, with nine sail, a fire-ship, and a ketch, he stood for that island, and arrived off St. Pierre's in the evening of the 29th: he immediately stood in to reconnoitre the French fleet; and without returning a shot, received the fire from all the batteries and vessels. The French had nineteen sail of large ships, and fourteen small vessels, moored in a line, close to the beach, with hawsers from their mast-heads to the shore; and 500 troops from the island were sent to augment their force.

The next day, Admiral Harman led the fleet in to attack the French, and succeeded in getting within musket-shot of their ships; but after four hours cannonading, being becalmed, the fleet were towed off again, not without loss of the men in the boats. The admiral had his main-yard carried away.

On the 2d of July, the breeze allowing it, the English stood in to the attack again at six in the morning; and after an indecisive cannonade of three hours, stood off again.

The French expecting that the English would attempt to take possession of the Carennage, made the English prisoners work with the Negroes at the fortifications.

The 4th of July, Admiral Harman stood in again, and cannonaded the French shipping for two hours: he made an unsuccessful attempt, with two boats, to bring out two of their small vessels. The fire from the houses and vessels prevented

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 267. 275. 279. 281, 282.

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its being effected. A small vessel, named the St. Antoine, coming from Europe, was driven on shore by one of the English frigates, and destroyed.

The 6th of July, there being a favourable breeze, Admiral Harman stood in again to the attack, and after five hours' firing, a fire-ship grappled with the "Lys Couronné," the French admiral's ship, and burnt her, and three others. The loss of these ships spread terror and dismay among the crews of the remainder, the whole of whom threw themselves overboard, unable to stand the cannonade of the English. The wind suddenly shifting from south to east, prevented the whole fleet from being burnt. The French sent out a fire-ship; but upon the approach of the English boats, the crew set her on fire, and leapt overboard: the blazing vessel went upon the beach.

Upon the 7th, Admiral Harman stood in again, for the fifth and last time, and in an hour and half completed the destruction of the whole fleet — leaving upon the beach at St. Pierre's, the wrecks of thirty-three sail, of different descriptions! Within the space of 100 paces, 500 balls were picked up on the sand!

After the action, Admiral Harman anchored off Fort St. Pierre, and remained till the 9th, when the fleet weighed, to the dismay of the French, who expected another attack; but a boat, with a flag of truce, pulling on shore, agreeably undeceived them. Captain Barret went in her. Admiral Harman had been told that the English prisoners were used by the French worse than their slaves, and sent to demand them — pointing out at the same time, the mutability of fortune, and his power of destroying all the houses in St. Pierre's.

M. Barre denied that the prisoners were ill-treated, and offered to exchange them. As for destroying the houses, M. Barre said that the French could do the same in their turn.

On the 11th, Admiral Harman made sail for Nevis.

Some of the vessels that Admiral Harman had driven upon the beach at St. Pierre's were afterwards got afloat, and towed round to the Carennage: they never went to sea. Du Tertre says, they lay there so long, that the worms destroyed them! It may be fairly concluded that the English shot had some share in their destruction.

During the whole of this war, the inhabitants of the French islands, were constantly under arms: the cultivation of the land was neglected. At St. Christopher's the misery was extreme. The island was so closely blockaded, that supplies were with the greatest difficulty thrown in. The necessaries of life became dear beyond all former example. To add to their distress, upon the 1st of September, a tremendous hurricane desolated

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 287. 293. 301. 298.

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the island: it began at nine A.M. with a strong gale from the north, which lasted until five P.M. At six it shifted to the south, and blew with such violence, that all the houses and buildings were blown down. The inhabitants sought shelter from its fury by throwing themselves flat upon the ground in the fields.

M. Laurent, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Colbert describes it thus: — "There has blown here the most violent hurricane ever known; and I hold myself obliged to inform you, that this island is in the most deplorable state that can be imagined, and that the inhabitants could not have suffered a greater loss, or been more unfortunate, except they had been taken by the English. There is not a house or sugar-works standing, and they cannot hope to make any sugar for fifteen months to come. As for the the manioc, which is the bread of the country, there is not one left, and it is more than a year in growing. I cannot describe to you, sir, the misery of this poor island, without wounding my heart. It is as a place over which the fire has passed! I assure you, that if peace, is not made, or men of war sent into this country, to facilitate the means of bringing cassava from the other islands, that the inhabitants and troops will die of famine! I shall do every thing in my power to keep up the spirits of the inhabitants, who are stunned like men that are totally ruined; and I shall not spare either trouble or pains to maintain the island and remedy the evil, which is irremediable, except succours arrive from without." [1]

Upon the 21st of July, 1667, peace was signed at Breda, between the English, French, and Dutch. The following are the articles, in the treaty between England and France, which relate particularly to the West Indies:—

"Article 7. That the Most Christian King shall, with all speed, or at furthest within six months, to be reckoned from the day of subscribing this present agreement, restore unto the King of Great Britain, or unto such as to that purpose shall receive his commands, duly passed under the Great Seal of England, that part of the isle of St. Christopher's which the English possessed the 1st of January, 1665, before the declaration of the late war: And to that end the said Most Christian King shall, immediately upon the ratification of this same agreement, deliver,

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 306, 307. Pol. State Great Brit. vol. xxxiv. p. 109. 1727.

[1] "L'on esperoit que cet houragan auroit fait perir cinq grandes frégates de guerre Angloises, qui tenoient toutes les avenues fermées à tous les secours qui pouvoient venir de dehors dans cette isle. Mais ils previnrent si à propos cette tempeste, qu'ils eurent le temps de prendre de large de la mer, et l'on fut autant surpris qu' affligé de les voir deux jours apres mouillez à la rade de l'isle de Nieve, quoy que desmattez et en desordre." — *Du Tertre*, tom. iv. p. 308.

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or cause to be delivered, unto the said King of Great Britain, or such ministers of his as shall be thereunto appointed, all necessary instruments and orders duly dispatched.

" 8. But if any of the subjects of the said King of Great Britain shall have sold the goods which he possessed in that island, and the price of the sale hath been paid unto him, he shall not be restored and put into possession of those goods by virtue of the present agreement, before he hath actually paid back the price of the money he hath received.

" 9. But if it happen (which yet is not known hitherto) that the subjects of the said Most Christian King are beaten out of the said island of St. Christopher's by the subjects of the above-mentioned King of Great Britain, before or after the subscription of the present agreement; nevertheless, things shall be restored unto that state and condition wherein they were in the beginning of the year 1665, that is, before the declaration of the war now determining: And the said King of Great Britain, as soon as he hath notice thereof, shall without any delay deliver, or cause to be delivered, unto the above-mentioned Most Christian King, or his ministers thereunto appointed, all instruments and orders duly made, which are necessary for that restitution.

" 12. Also, the Most Christian King shall in like manner restore unto the King of Great Britain the islands called Antigoa and Monsarat (if they be in his power), and any other islands, countries, forts, and colonies which may have been gotten by the arms of the Most Christian King, before or after the subscription of the present treaty, and which the King of Great Britain possessed before he entered into war with the States General (to which war this treaty doth put an end.) On the other side, the said King of Great Britain shall, after the manner aforesaid, restore unto the above-mentioned Most Christian King all islands, countries, forts, and colonies, any where situate, which might be gotten by the King of Great Britain's arms before or after the subscription of the present agreement, and which the Most Christian King possessed before the 1st of January, 1665.

" 13. But if any of those servants and slaves that served the English in that part of the isle of St. Christopher's which belonged to the foresaid King of Great Britain, as also in the islands called Antigoa and Monsarat, when they were taken by the arms of the foresaid Most Christian King, shall desire to return again unto the subjection of the English (yet without all force or constraint), it shall be free and lawful for them so to do, within the space of six months, to be reckoned from the day on which the same islands shall be restored. But if the English, before they went off the said islands, sold some servants, and the money was

Pol. State Great Brit. vol. xxxiv. p. 109. 1727.

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paid for them; those servants are not to be restored upon other terms, but that the price be restored and repaid.

"14. In like manner, if some of the foresaid King of Great Britain's subjects (who were not reckoned among servants and slaves) shall hire themselves, in the quality of a soldier, a labourer, or under whatsoever other title, to the foresaid Most Christian King, or any of his subjects that dwelleth in the foresaid islands, covenanting for wages by the year, the month, or the day, after the restitution of the island or islands, such hiring of one's self, or obligation, is to cease, wages being received after the rate of labour already performed; and it shall be free for them to return unto their countrymen, and live under the dominion of the King of Great Britain.

"17. — Allows twelve days for captures to be made in the neighbouring seas — six weeks from the neighbouring seas to Cape St. Vincent — ten weeks from the said cape to the Equator, including the Mediterranean — and six months from the Line, through the whole world.

When the treaty of Breda was concluded, the English logwood cutters settled at Cape Catoche, or the Laguna de Terminos; and after the signing of the treaty, the privateers of Jamaica, being obliged to quit that way of life, became logwood cutters, and settled with others of their countrymen, at Triste, and the Laguna de Terminos.

M. Barre received the news of the signing of the treaty the 15th of October, and upon the 20th he sent a flag of truce to the blockading squadron at St. Christopher's, to propose a cessation of hostilities, until the arrival of his orders to publish the articles of peace.

This was in part agreed to by the English. The supplies for St. Christopher's were to pass the squadron in the night, and the French were to supply Nevis and the squadron with refreshments at a fair valuation.

December 26th, M. Barre published the declaration of peace at St. Christopher's; but he determined to delay, as much as possible, complying with the articles. Lord Willoughby, with three line-of-battle ships, arrived at Nevis the 28th of December, and sent the next morning, to claim the English prisoners, and invite the French commander, M. Barre, to dinner. Three hundred prisoners were liberated by the French next morning, and M. Barre dined with his lordship.

After this, Lord Willoughby sent Colonel Stapleton to claim the release of Thomas Warner, the governor of Dominica, which he had great difficulty in obtaining. When M. Barre liberated him, he sent to say, he must live for the future as an

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 268. Du Tertre, tom. iv. p. 325. 328. 334.

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Englishman, and not as a Carib. To this Lord Willoughby returned an answer which did not please the Frenchman, and re-established Mr. Warner as governor of Dominica.

Upon the 23d of May, a "Traité, pour la continuation et renouvellement de la paix entre Charles II. Roi d'Espagne, et Charles II. Roi d'Angleterre," was concluded at Madrid.

There is no mention made in this treaty of the West Indies. The subjects of each country, by Article 2, may "librement et surément passer, par eau et par terre, aux confins, pais, terres, royaumes, isles, seigneuries, citez, villes, villages fermez de murailles, fortifiez ou non fortifiez, leurs havres et ports, *ou on a accoutume jusqu'ici de negocier et trafiquer.*"

Captain Sayle, in his passage to Carolina, was forced, by stress of weather, twice among the Bahama Islands. Upon his return to England, he made so favourable a report of the one he had named New Providence, that the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, Lord Berkley, Lord Ashley, and Sir Peter Colliton, applied for and obtained a grant of all the Bahama Islands. But though this was the first legal settlement of Providence, it had for many years been a shelter for pirates, wreckers, and other disorderly persons.

The 22d of September, an English fleet, consisting of ten sail, six of whom had been detached from Nevis, arrived off Cayenne. The landing was feebly opposed by the French; De Lezy, the governor, was wounded in the shoulder, and left the island, followed by the officers and most of the inhabitants. The fort, commanded by a serjeant called Ferant, capitulated. The English found about fifty soldiers, and 100 other inhabitants, upon the islands, including women and children; after taking away the guns and ammunition, they destroyed the fort and buildings, and in fifteen days from the surrender they abandoned the island, and made sail for Surinam.

The Chevalier de Lezy proceeded to Surinam, and informed the Dutch of the arrival of Admiral Harman off that coast. Two hundred Frenchmen from Cayenne got there before the arrival of the English fleet. Admiral Harman cannonaded the fort a day, without making a breach: then landed his men, and proceeded to carry it by assault. The major commanding is accused of betraying the place: the majority of the Dutch, however, joined him; and the governor, seeing the English enter the place, surrendered himself prisoner of war.

De Lezy, with his officers, proceeded to Guadaloupe; and in November, with about 200 followers, and several Negroes, returned to Cayenne, where several of the inhabitants who had

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. pp. 27. 287. Brookes's Gazetteer.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 284. Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 310. 314, 315.

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fled for shelter to the Indians rejoined him, and the colony was re-established. Admiral Harman returned to Barbadoes, laden with the prize goods from Cayenne and Surinam, and his prisoners. The latter were immediately sent to Martinico, by Lord Willoughby's orders.

1668.

Henry Morgan, with twelve sail and 700 fighting men, landed in Puerto de Santa Maria, in Cuba, and proceeded to Puerto del Principe, which they entered after an action of four hours. The inhabitants, having notice of the attack, had removed their valuables. The prisoners were confined in the churches, where several were starved to death, and others were tortured to force a confession of where their money was secreted. Morgan obtained only 50,000 pieces of eight, in money and goods, and 500 oxen, with sufficient salt to cure them: he made his prisoners assist in killing and salting them for his fleet; and, fearful of being attacked by a superior force, he embarked as expeditiously as possible, and returned to Jamaica, where the men's prize-money did not suffice to pay their debts.

Morgan, therefore, proposed another expedition, without imparting the name of the place he intended to attack. There had been a quarrel between the Frenchmen who were with him and the English, and he could only muster nine sail of vessels, some of which were only large boats, and 460 fighting men: with these he stood over to the Spanish Main, near Costa Rica, and upon his arrival informed his followers of his intention to storm Puerto Bello by night. Some objections were made to the attempt, by those who thought their numbers too few to succeed against so strong a city; but Morgan persuaded them by saying, "If our number is small, our hearts are great; and the fewer persons we are, the more union, and the better shares we shall have in the spoil!"[1] He then proceeded to Puerto de Naos, ten leagues west of Puerto Bello, and up the river to Puerto Pontin: here they left their vessels, with a few men on board; the rest landed at midnight, at Estera longa Lemos—an Englishman who had been a prisoner there serving as a guide. They got to the outposts of the city, surprised and seized the sentinel, and to the nearest castle, without being discovered! This they summoned to surrender, with threats of giving no quarter if the garrison resisted. Resistance was made—the castle was stormed—and, to strike terror into the Spaniards,

Esquemeling's Hist. of the Buccaneers, chap. 12, 13.

[1] It should seem that he had read Shakespear.

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Morgan put the whole garrison into one room over a magazine, which he set on fire, and blew them all up!

The city was unprepared to resist: the inhabitants, panic-stricken, were throwing all their jewels and money into wells and cisterns! One party of the pirates, assigned for the purpose, ran immediately to the cloisters, and seizing all the women and priests, secured them prisoners.

The governor of the city, unable to rally the terrified citizens, retired to one of the castles, from which he so annoyed the assailants, that at one time Morgan began to despair of success. The English colours were opportunely hoisted upon one of the smaller castles, and shouts of victory reanimated him: he now determined to storm the largest fort by escalade, and sent to the governor to say, that unless he surrendered, the scaling-ladders should be placed against the fort by the monks and nuns, his prisoners: the ladders were made broad enough to admit four persons to ascend at once. The governor, faithful to his duty, opposed the placing of the ladders by these miserable people to the last, and killed great numbers of them: it was, however, done, and the pirates stormed the place, throwing fire-balls from the walls among the Spaniards. In vain the governor encouraged his men: many were killed by him for quitting their posts, and many of the assailants fell under his sword. At last, refusing the quarter which was offered, and disregarding the entreaties of his wife and daughters, who on their knees besought him to surrender, he found the death he sought.

It was almost dark, and the attack had commenced at daylight. Morgan inclosed all his prisoners in the castle, and the wounded were placed in an adjoining room, with guards over them. The conquerors abused their victory, by committing every excess ferocious men could invent. Glutted with rape and murder, and drunk, fifty determined men might have retaken the city, and destroyed them all!

Next day, the work of torture began, to force the prisoners to tell where their treasures were hid. Numbers died upon the rack: and though Morgan knew the governor of Panama was coming with a large force against him, secure of a retreat to his ships, he kept the place for fifteen days—many of his followers dying during that time from their excesses. He desired his principal prisoners to procure from the inhabitants 100,000 pieces of eight, to ransom the town; otherwise he threatened to destroy it, and all the castles.

The near approach of Don Juan Perez de Guzman, with 1500 troops, called his attention. Instead of retreating at once, Morgan placed 100 of his men, well-armed, at a narrow pass through which Don Juan must pass: these put to flight the van-

Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 107.

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guard of Don Juan's forces, and obliged him to retire. Don Juan sent a flag of truce to Morgan, to say if he did not immediately depart, no quarter should be given to himself or followers. Morgan said, he would go if the contribution was paid — if not, he would destroy the city and the castles, and put to death his prisoners. Knowing himself unable to prevent the execution of the threat, and astonished at the bravery of such a handful of men, Don Juan left the inhabitants to do the best they could, and sent to Morgan for a pattern of those arms with which he had achieved such a conquest. Morgan received the messenger with great civility, and gave him a pistol and a few small bullets to carry back, "as the pattern he requested, of the arms with which he had taken Puerto Bello: and this he would lend his master for twelve months, after which time he would come to Panama for it." Don Juan returned the present, with thanks for the loan, and at the same time sent Morgan a gold ring set with a fine emerald; and desired he would not give himself the "trouble of coming to Panama, as he had done to Puerto Bello; for, he did assure him, he would not speed so well there as he had done here."

Morgan got the ransom he asked — embarked some of the best guns from the castle — spiked the rest — and returned to Cuba, where he divided his plunder: it amounted to 250,000 pieces of eight, besides rich merchandize of all sorts. After the division, he returned to Jamaica.

In the beginning of February, Lord Willoughby, with a great number of colonists, sailed from Barbadoes, to reestablish the colonies of Antigua and Montserrat, which the French and Caribs had quite desolated during the war. In passing St. Vincent's and Dominica, his lordship, through the mediation of Mr. Thomas Warner, concluded a peace with the Caribs, and left him as governor of Dominica.

Lord Willoughby arrived at Martinico the 10th of February, and after visiting the other islands, in May he sent Colonels Drake and Stapleton to M. Laurent, the governor of St. Christopher's, to demand the English part of that island, and to say, that if M. Laurent was disposed to deliver it up, he was ready to shew him his orders to receive it.

M. Laurent sent to request his lordship would wait two or three days, as M. Barre, the French lieutenant-general, was expected every day: and as soon as he arrived, that the island should be surrendered. Dissatisfied with this delay, the next morning Lord Willoughby, with four sail, proceeded to Basse Terre, St. Christopher's, and landed: he was received in great form, and delivered to M. Laurent an order from the King of

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 337, 338.

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France, to surrender the English part of the island, in compliance with the treaty, and another from the directors of the Company to the same effect. Having perused these, M. Laurent remarked, that the King's letter referred him to the orders which M. Barre had for the restitution, and was not positive to him. The letter was addressed to him, and says, "Et j'ay voulu vous en donner aussi advis, par cette lettre, affin qu' estant informé de mon intention, vous-vous y conformiez, sans delay n'y difficulté, en tout ce qui dependra de l'authorité de vostre charge: Et n'estant la presente, à autre fin, ie ne vous la feray plus expressé." M. Chambre, the Company's agent, observed, that the royal orders for delivering up the island were addressed to the Company, none of whom were on the island, and not to him in their absence: they both, therefore, begged Lord Willoughby would wait until Lieutenant-General Barre arrived.

Unable to procure compliance with the treaty, or any thing satisfactory upon the subject, Lord Willoughby left the place, and sent a protestation to the governor, declaring the French answerable for all the consequences which might ensue.

After his departure, M. Laurent, expecting some attempt would be made to obtain possession of the island by force, published a proclamation, declaring he would put all the English upon the island to the sword, if any attempt was made by their countrymen to force a compliance with the treaty.

In answer to Lord Willoughby's protest, M. Barre made another, demanding reparation for some depredations committed by an English vessel at Cayenne since the signing of the peace — and for twelve Negroes, belonging to an inhabitant of Guadaloupe, which the governor of Montserrat kept — and for eight others, taken by two English vessels from Martinico since the publication of peace — and for a vessel belonging to the Company, detained by his Britannic Majesty's ship Crown: and as the reimbursing the French for what they "justly" claimed came to more than twice the value of what was demanded from them, they therefore hoped the affair would be terminated by an exchange of some island instead of their part of St. Christopher's! The French inhabitants sent to their West India Company a memoir, containing sixteen reasons why the treaty had better be broken: it was not complied with till the month of June!

Upon the 2d of May, 1668, a treaty of peace between the crowns of France and Spain was concluded at Aix la Chapelle. The West Indies are not mentioned in this treaty. The buccaneers pretended, as they had not signed the treaty, or been called to the conference, that they were not bound to abide by its stipulations: they therefore continued their usual depredations.

Du Tertre, tom. iv. pp. 342. 350, 351, 352. Labat, tom. vi. p. 78.
Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 89. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 106.

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Sir Thomas Modiford, by his own authority, declared war against the Spaniards; and in October the Oxford frigate brought instructions from his Majesty (Charles the Second) to countenance the war — "and impowering him to commission whatever persons he thought good to be partners with his Majesty in the plunder, they finding victuals, wear, and tear!"

Bridgetown, in Barbadoes, was destroyed by fire.

The wild dogs in the island of Tortuga had increased, and almost destroyed the wild hogs, which were the principal food of the inhabitants. To remedy this inconvenience, M. Ogeron, the governor, poisoned the carcases of several horses, which were laid in different parts of the island, and in six months an incredible number of the dogs died in consequence, but still their numbers were not apparently diminished. These dogs were the produce of those imported by the Spaniards for the purpose of hunting down the Indians.[1]

1669.

Upon the 29th of November, 1669, a treaty, between Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, and Frederick the Third, King of Denmark, was signed at Westminster. The following article is extracted from it: —

"6. Conventum tamen et conclusum est quod subditi Serenissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis ad portus prohibitos, quorum

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 626. Am. An. vol. i. p. 337. Esquemeling's Hist. of the Buccaneers, chap. 5. Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 126.

[1] "These dogs run up and down the woods and fields, commonly fifty, threescore, or more, together; being withal so fierce, that they will often assault an entire herd of wild boars, not ceasing to worry them till they have fetched down two or three. One day, a French buccaneer showed me a strange action of this kind. Being in the fields a hunting together, we heard a great noise of dogs which had surrounded a wild boar. Having tame dogs with us, we left them to the custody of our servants, being desirous to see the sport. Hence my companion and I climbed up two several trees, both for security and prospect. The wild boar, all alone, stood against a tree, defending himself with his tusks from a great number of dogs that inclosed him; — killed with his teeth, and wounded several of them. This bloody fight continued about an hour; the wild boar, meanwhile, attempting many times to escape. At last, flying, one dog leaping upon his back, fastened on his testicles, which at one pull he tore in pieces: the rest of the dogs, perceiving the courage of their companion, fastened likewise on the boar, and presently killed him. This done, all of them, the first only excepted, laid themselves down upon the ground about the prey, and there peaceably continued, till he, the first and most courageous of the the troop, had eat as much as he could: when this dog had left off, all the rest fell in to take their share, till nothing was left! What ought we to infer from this notable action, performed by wild animals, but this — that even beasts themselves are not destitute of knowledge, and that they give us documents how to honour such as have deserved well?" — *Esquemeling's History of the Buccaneers*, chap. 5.

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in præcedentibus fœderibus mentio sit, neque colonias absque speciali licentia Regis Daniæ et Norwegiæ, petita et obtenta, nullatenus accedant, nisi evidens maris periculum aut tempestatum impulsus, vel piratæ insequanter, accedere vel intrare coegerint, ubi tunc omnino ipsis mercandisare licebit quemadmodum invicem nec subditi Serenissimi Regis Daniæ et Norwegiæ ad colonias Britannicas accedere debent, nisi speciali licentia Serenissimi Regis Britanniæ petita et obtenta."

M. Ogeron returned to France, and was re-appointed governor of Tortuga and the coast of St. Domingo for three years. The abuse which the governors of the Windward Islands made of their authority had obliged the French King to give his commissions only for three years. Previous to M. Ogeron's quitting Paris, he presented a memoir to M. Colbert, stating, that when he was first appointed governor of Tortuga and its dependencies, they contained only 400 men, but that in four years they had increased, and were then 1500. He also particularly recommended the government to establish a colony in Florida.

"Spain, for want of ships and sailors of her own," began to hire Dutch shipping to sail to the Indies, though formerly so careful to exclude all foreigners from thence!

In March, Henry Morgan, called the buccaneer, with eight vessels and 500 men, arrived off Maracaibo, at daylight: the entrance had been strengthened by another fort since the attack of L'Olonnois. Morgan attacked it immediately, but without success: at dark he resolved to carry it by boarding, and found the Spaniards had abandoned it, leaving a match on a train of gunpowder, to blow up the fortress. Morgan saved both his own and his companions' lives, by snatching it up in time to prevent the explosion.

Next day they proceeded to Maracaibo, which they entered without opposition: and not being satisfied with the plunder which he was three weeks in collecting, like L'Olonnois, he determined to attack Gibraltar. The inhabitants fled upon Morgan's approach, who caught a slave, and by his assistance discovered the hiding-place of about 250 Spaniards, many of whom were tortured to make a discovery of their riches. After five weeks' possession of the place, during which time all sorts of enormities were committed, he returned to Maracaibo.

When the pirates were about to quit the lake, Morgan found his passage out blockaded by the Spanish admiral, Don Alonzo del Campo and Espinosa, with three men of war, one carrying forty, one thirty, and the smallest twenty-four guns, while the largest of Morgan's vessels only carried fourteen. The castle at

Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 108. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 598. Esquemeling's Hist. of the Buccaneers, chap. 14.

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the entrance of the lake, which had been abandoned by the Spaniards, was also again manned and armed.

Espinosa sent to Morgan, offering him a free passage out, provided he would give up his prisoners and plunder: otherwise, he was not to expect any quarter. Espinosa's terms were rejected. The buccaneers were not inclined to part with their plunder, but resolved to force their way. They fitted up a vessel which they had taken at Gibraltar as a fire-ship, and, to disguise her, cut ports in her sides, in which they placed Negro drums, to look like guns; and upon the deck they placed several billets of wood, dressed like soldiers, with caps, muskets, and bandaliers. This was to precede the other vessels, on board of which the plunder and prisoners were stowed. The 30th of April, 1669, they stood towards the Spaniards, and anchored at dark just without gun-shot of them. At day-break Morgan weighed, and stood directly for them. The Spaniards also got under weigh, but the largest of their ships was grappled by the fire-vessel, and burnt — another was carried by boarding — and the third was run on shore by her commander, and burnt, to prevent falling into the hands of the English, who, flushed with success, landed and attacked the castle, but were repulsed with the loss of thirty killed, and many wounded. The survivors retreated to their ships, and Morgan returned to Maracaibo with his prize, which he refitted for himself. He left one of his vessels to get up what she could from the wrecks, which vessel succeeded in finding 15,000 pieces of eight, besides plate.

Morgan's next consideration was how to pass the castle: for this purpose he sent some of his prisoners, to say if he was not allowed to pass in safety, all the prisoners he had should be put to death. This had no effect upon Espinosa: he refused to listen to any terms, and sent the supplicants to say he was determined to do his duty. Morgan divided the booty, which amounted to 35,000 pieces of eight, besides slaves and merchandize — gave every man his share, and proceeded towards the entrance: here they anchored, and embarked several of their men in canoes, which were sent on shore, apparently with the intention of landing — instead of which, the men laid themselves close down in the bottom of the boats, which were rowed back by a few hands, and then sent on shore again, as though with another cargo of men, who returned in the same manner. This false landing of men had the desired effect: the Spaniards expected the castle would be attacked from the land side during the night, and moved most of their guns, and directed their attention more particularly to that side. In the night, with the ebb-tide, Morgan weighed, and without setting any sail, let his squadron drift down till they

Esquemeling's Hist. of the Buccaneers, chap. 14.

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were near the castle, and then, with all possible haste, made sail. This was not expected by the Spaniards; and the pirates passed with the loss of only a few men, and returned to Jamaica with their plunder.[1]

1670.

Upon the 11th July, 1670, Articles of Alliance and Commerce, between Charles the Second, King of England, and Christian the Fifth, King of Denmark, were concluded at Copenhagen.

The following articles are extracted from it: —

"6. Il est, neanmoins, convenu et conclu, que les sujets du Roy de la Grande Bretagne ne viendront en aucune manière dans les ports deffendus, dont on a fait mention dans les traitez precedens, ni dans les colonies, sans avoir auparavant demandé et obtenu le congé particulier du Roy de Danemarc, à moins qu' ils ne fussent contraints d'y relacher, et entrer par necessité de tempeste, ou par la poursuite des pirates, auquel cas il ne leur sera pas permis de rien vendre ni acheter; de mesme que les sujets du Roy de Danemarc, ne viendront pas dans les colonies Angloises, à moins que ce ne soit par un congé particulier qu' ils ayent auparavant demandé et obtenu."

"29. Pour plus grande suerété de commerce et liberté de navigation, il a été conclu et accordé, que l'une ni l'autre partie, autant que faire se pourra et qu'il sera en son pouvoir, ne souffrira qu'aucuns pirates et forbans publics ayent leur retraite en aucun des ports de l'autre, ni qu' aucuns des habitans et sujets de l'un ou l'autre prince les reçoivent en leurs maisons, leur fournissent aucuns vivres ou leur donnent aucune assistance; mais au contraire qu'ils

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 132.

[1] "In the year 1669, Colonel, since Sir Henry Morgan, commonly called Panama Morgan, for his glorious undertaking and conquest of the Spaniards of that place, by fewer than 1200 men, without either horse or pikeman, to oppose, in fair fight, above 6000 foot and 500 horse, which he did, and afterwards took and ransacked a town that had baffled, when not half so strong, the famous Sir Francis Drake, who attacked it with 4000. This man, as great an honour to our nation, and terror to the Spaniards, as ever was born in it, notwithstanding he had done nothing but by commission of the Governor and Council of Jamaica, and had received their formal and public thanks for the action, was, upon a letter from the Secretary of State, sent into England a prisoner; and, without being charged with any crime, or ever brought to a hearing, he was kept here, at his own great expence, above three years, not only to the wasting of some thousands he was then worth, and bringing him into great debts, but to the hindrance of his planting and improvement of his fortune by his industry, towards which none in that place was in a fairer way: so that, under those difficulties, and the perpetual malice of a prevailing court faction, he wasted the remaining part of his life, oppressed not only by those, but by a lingering consumption, the coldness of this climate and his vexations had brought him into, when he was forced to stay here." — *An Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies by Dalby Thomas. London*, 1690. *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ix. p. 422.

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feront leurs efforts pour faire en sorte que lesdits pirates et forbans, leurs partisans et complices, soient pris, apprehendez et punis, selon leur merite et que les navires et biens autant qu'on en pourra trouver, soient restituez aux proprietaires legitimes d'iceux ou leurs agens en faisant deuement apparoir du droit qu'ils y auront, par une preuve certaine de justice, en la Cour de l'Admirauté."

" Tractatus et Amica Compositio inter Carolum Secundum, Regem Magnæ Britanniæ, et Carolum Secundum, Regem Hispaniæ, ad bonam correspondentiam in America interruptam rursus instaurandam, et deprædationes injuriasque omnes coercendas. Actum Matriti, die 18 Julii, 1670."

" 1. Concordatum imprimis, est inter alte memoratos Plenipotentiarios Dominum Comitem de Penaranda, et Dominum Guilielmum Godolphin, Nominibus Serenissimorum respective Regum Dominorum suorum, uti Tractatus Pacis et Amicitiæ inter Coronas Hispaniæ et Magnæ Britanniæ, Matriti initus vigesimo tertio die Maii, Anno Domini millesimo, sexcentesimo sexagesimo septimo, ullave ejus capita per præsentes articulos et conventiones, nequaquam sublata censeantur, vel antiquata, sed ut ea perpetuo maneant in pristino suo robore, firmitate, ac vigore, quatenus non sint contraria, aut repugnantia præsenti tractatui aut articulorum alicui in eodem contento.

" 2. Pax sit universalis, sincera, atque vera amicitia tam in America quam in cæteris mundi partibus inter Serenissimos Hispaniarum et Magnæ Britanniæ Reges, eorumque hæredes et successores, necnon inter regna, status, colonias, fortalicia, civitates, præfecturas, insulas, sine distinctione locorum sub utriusque ditione positas, earumque populos et incolos quæ ab hoc die in perpetuum durabit, et tam terra quam mari atque ubivis aquarum sancte observabitur, ita ut alter alterius commoda, ac utilitates promoveat, populique sibi invicem studiis mutuis, ac honesto affectu auxilio sint, et faveant, omnique ex parte in remotis illis regionibus (uti in propinquioribus) fida vicinitas, et secura pacis, atque amicitiæ cultura crescat in dies et augeatur.

" 3. Item, uti in futurum omnes inimicitiæ, hostilitates et discordiæ inter prædictos Dominos Reges, eorumque subditos, et incolas cessent, et aboleantur; et utraque pars ab omni direptione, deprædatione, læsione, injuriisque ac infestatione qualicumque tam terra quam mari, et aquis dulcibus ubivis gentium temperet prorsus, et abstineat.

" 4. Item, ut iidem Serenissimi Reges subditos suos ab omni vi, et injuria abstinere curent, revocentque quascunque commissiones, ac litteras, tam represaliarum, seu de marca, quam

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 137.

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facultatem prædandi in Occidentali India continentes, cujuscunque generis aut conditionis sint, in præjudicium alterius, aut subditorum ejus, subditis suis, aut incolis, sive extraneis datas et concessas, easque nullas, cassas, et irritas declarent, ut hoc pacis tractatu nullæ, cassæ, et irritæ declarantur, et quicunque contravenerint, puniantur, ac præter inflictam criminalem pœnam, subditis læsis, et id requirentibus illata damna resarcire compellantur.

" 5. Renuntabuntque præterea, prout tenore præsentium dicti Regis, ac quilibet eorum renuntiabit, et renuntiat cuicumque ligæ, confœderatione, capitulationi, et intelligentiæ in præjudicium unius, vel alterius quomodolibet factæ, quæ præsenti paci, et concordiæ omnibusque et singulis in ea contentis repugnat vel repugnare possit, easque omnes, et singulas quoad affectum prædictum cassabunt, et annulabunt, nulliusque momenti declarabunt.

" 6. Captivi utrinque ad unum omnes cujuscumque ordinis, aut sortis sint, qui ratione hostilitatis cujusvis in America dudum commissæ detinentur, absque lytro, aut alio ullo redemptionis pretio, sine mora dimittantur.

" 7. Omnes offensæ, dispendia, damna, injuriæ quæ gentes Hispana et Anglicana altrinsecus quibuscunque retro temporibus, qualicunque de causa, aut prætextu, alia ab altera pertulerunt in America eæ oblivioni tradantur, et e memoria eradantur plané, ac si nullæ unquam intercessissent. Conventum præterea est quod Serenissimus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, hæredes et successores ejus, cum plenario jure summi imperii, proprietatis et possessionis, terras omnes, regiones, insulas, colonias, ac dominia in Occidentali India, aut quavis parte Americæ sita habebunt, tenebunt, et possidebunt in perpetuum, quæcunque dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, et subdita ejus impræsentiarum tenent ac possident, ita ut eo nomine aut quacunque sub prætensione nihil unquam amplius urgeri, nihilque controversiarum in posterum moveri possit, aut debeat.

" 8. Subditi, et incolæ, mercatores navarchæ naucleri, nautæ, regnorum, provinciarum, terrarumque, utriusque regis respective abstinebunt, cavebuntque sibi a commerciis, et navigatione in portus ac loca fortalitiis stabulis mercimoniorum, vel castellis instructa, aliaque omnia, quæ ab una, vel ab altera parte occupantur in Occidentali India: Nimirum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ subdita negotiationem non dirigent, navigationem non instituent, mercaturum non facient in portubus, locisve, quæ Rex Catholicus in dicta India tenet, neque vicissim Regis Hispaniarum subditi in ea loca navigationes instituent, aut commercia exercebunt, quæ ibidem a Rege Magnæ Britanniæ possidentur.

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 137.

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"9. Si vero tractu temporis visum fuerit alterutri regum licentiam aliquam generalem vel specialem aut privilegia concedere alterius subditis navigationem instituendi et commercium habendi in quibusvis locis suæ ditionis, qui dictas licentias et privilegia concesserit, dicta navigatio et commercium exercebuntur et manu tenebuntur juxta, ac secundum formam, tenorem, et effectum permissionum, aut privilegiorum quæ indulgeri poterint, quorum securitati præsens Tractatus, ejusdemque ratihabitio inserviet.

"10. Item, concordatum est, quod si alterutrius confœderatorum subditi et incolæ cum navibus suis sive bellicæ sint, et publicæ; sive onerariæ, ac privatæ procellis abrepti fuerint, vel persequentibus pyratis inimicis ac hostibus, aut alio quovis incommodo cogantur se ad portum quærendum in alterius fœderati, flumina, sinus, æstuaria, ac stationes recipere, vel ad littora quæcumque in America appellere, benigne, omnique humanitate ibidem excipiantur, amica gaudeant protectione et benevolentia tractentur. Nullo autem modo impediantur, quo minus integrum omnino habeant reficere se, victualia etiam et omne genus commeatum, sive vitæ sustinendæ, sive navibus reparandis et itineri faciendo necessarium, æquo, et consueto pretio comparare. Nulla quoque ratione prohibeantur ex portu, et statione vicissim solvere, ac egredi, quin ipsis licitum sit, pro libito migrare loco, libereque discedere quandocunque et quocunque visum fuerit, absque ulla molestatione, aut impedimento.

"11. Pari ratione si naves alterutrius confœderati ejusdemque subditorum, ac incolarum ad oras, aut in ditionibus quibuscunque alterius impegerint, jactum fecerint, vel (quod Deus avertat!) naufragium, aut damnum quodcunque passæ fuerint, ejectos, aut detrimenta passos, in vincula aut servitutem abducere nefas esto, quin periclitantibus, aut naufragis benevole ac amicissime subveniatur, atque auxilium feratur, litteræque illis salvi conductus exhibeantur, quibus inde tuto, et absque molestia exire, et ad suam quisque patriam redire valeat.

"12. Quando autem alterutrius naves (uti supradictum est) maris periculo, aliave cogente ratione compulsæ in alterius portus adigantur si tres quatuorve fuerint, justamque suspicionis occasionem præbere poterint adventus istiusmodi causa, gubernatori vel primario loci magistratui statim exponetur, nec diutius ibi mora trahetur, quam quæ illis a dicto gubernatore, aut præfecto, permissa, et victui comparando, navibusque tum resarciendis tum instruendis commoda, atque æqua fuerit, cautum vero semper erit, ut onus non distrahant, neque mercium, aut sarcinarum aliquid e navibus offerant, et venum

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 137.

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exponant, nec etiam mercimonia ab altera parte in naves receperint, aut quicquam egerint contra hoc fœdus.

" 13. Utraque pars vere, ac firmiter observabit, atque executioni mandabit præsentem Tractatum, omniaque et singula in eodem contenta, et comprehensa, atque eadem a suis quæque subditis, ac incolis observari et præstari efficaciter curabit.

" 14. Nulla privata injuria amicitiam hanc, pactumque ullo modo infirmabit neque odium, aut dissidia inter prædictas nationes suscitabit sed quilibet de facto suo proprio respondebit deque eo tenebitur, neque per repressalias, aut alios hujusmodi odiosos processus alter id luet in quo alter deliquit, nisi justitia denegabitur, aut plus justo deferetur; in quo casu Regi illi cujus subditos damnum et injuriam passus est, licitum erit juxta juris gentium leges, et præscripta omni modo procedere, donec facta fuerit læso reparatio.

" 15. Presens Tractatus nihil derogabit præeminentiæ, juri, ac dominio cuicunque alterutrius confœderatorum in maribus Americanis fretis, atque aquis quibuscunque, sed habeant, retineantque sibi eadem pari amplitudine, quæ illis jure competit; intellectum autem semper esto libertatem navigandi neutiquam interrumpi debere, modo nihil adversus genuinum horum articulorum sensum committatur, vel peccetur.

" 16. Denique pacti hujus, ac fœderis solemnes ac rite confectæ ratihabitiones intra quatuor menses ab hoc die utrinque exhibeantur et reciproce commutentur, atque intra octo mensium spatium a dicta commutatione instrumentorum computandum, aut citius, si fieri poterit, per omnia utriusque confœderati regna, status, dominia et insulas, ubi convenerit, tam in Occidentali India, quam alibi publicentur.

" In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem, nos supra memorati Plenipotentiarii præsentem Tractatum manibus nostris et sigillis mutuis subsignavimus et munivimus. Matriti decimo octavo die mensis Julii, Anno Domini millesimo, sexcentesimo septuagesimo.

" Conde Peneranda.
" Gulielmo Godolphin."

Previous to this treaty, the Spaniards made war upon every nation which attempted to make settlements in the New World.

The adventurers or colonists of Tortuga and the west coast of St. Domingo, who were so called, when they consented to receive M. d'Ogeron as their governor, plainly told him that they would not suffer their trade with strangers to be interdicted; to which he made no objection, though his resolution at the time was to establish an exclusive trade with the West India Company.

Colquhoun's British Empire. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 112.

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About the beginning of this year, he heard that two vessels from Flushing had been at Bayaha, trading for hides with the buccaneers, and at Port de Paix; that they had also sent a boat to Tortuga, where one of their captains, called Pietre Constant, in reply to an officer of the Company, who wished to oppose his traffic, had said, that to prevent his trading, they must be stronger than he was. Two days afterward, D'Ogeron was told that all the Cul de Sac (west coast of St. Domingo) had revolted: he immediately repaired there, calling, upon his passage, at Petit Goave, where he expected to have been arrested, and where he understood that the revolt was not only general in the west, but that the disaffected had sent to the inhabitants and buccaneers in the north, to join them.

The Dutch were equally interested with the adventurers in opposing the monopoly: the two captains, Constant and Marc, represented to them, that they ought not to submit to the Company, and suffer themselves to want the necessaries of life through the exercise of a crying monopoly; assuring them, that the Dutch would procure them as good cloth for twenty-pence an ell, as the Company sold them for sixty pounds of tobacco—and a barrel of lard for two pistoles, for which they must give the Company 750 livres; and other things in proportion.

At Leogane, Renou, Gaultier, and Villeneuve, the three officers of that quarter, sent orders to forbid the French from trading with the strangers. The Dutch captains said the land belonged to the King of Spain, and it was strange the Frenchmen should attempt to prevent their trading: and hearing that M. Renou had seized two of their boats which were trading on the coast, they proceeded to Petit Goave, retook their boats, and brought him and M. Villeneuve prisoners on board their ship — sending advices in all directions, for the inhabitants to join them.

D'Ogeron, the governor, went on board, demanded his officers, and succeeded in getting them released: he then returned to Petit Goave, and having anchored in the port, sent his captain, Sanson, with letters to some of the inhabitants. Sanson was arrested, and a fire of musketry opened upon the vessel, which wounded M. Renou, and obliged D'Ogeron to return to Tortuga; from whence he dispatched a messenger on the 9th of June, to M. de Baas, governor-general of the islands, then at St. Christopher's, for assistance: the messenger was taken ill upon the road, and did not reach St. Christopher's till the 25th of September. M. de Baas immediately sent him to Grenada to M. de Garbaret, who was there with a squadron of

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 113, 114, 115.

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King's ships, with orders for M. de Garbaret to proceed directly to assist M. d'Ogeron: this order De Garbaret refused to obey.

In the interim, D'Ogeron found the disaffection increasing, and began to make preparation to retire, with such as chose to follow him, to the islands in the Bay of Honduras, or to Florida.

De Baas procured orders from France for De Gabaret to proceed to St. Domingo. Gabaret had also orders to take or destroy all Dutch vessels he should meet with, and to follow D'Ogeron's directions for re-establishing good order in the colony, and the punishment of offenders.

The French government also directed their ambassador in Holland to demand reparation for the outrage committed by the two captains at St. Domingo, and to declare that no quarter would be given to the crews of any vessels found upon that coast, or off Tortuga.

M. du Lion also, the governor of Guadaloupe, expected that the English at Nevis would be joined by some buccaneers from St. Domingo, and attack St. Christopher's.

The population of Barbadoes, this year, was calculated at 50,000 Whites, and upwards of 100,000 black and coloured inhabitants, whose productive labour employed 60,000 tons of shipping.

Sir Thomas Modyford was recalled from the government of Jamaica, and Sir Thomas Lynch appointed lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief, with the same powers as his predecessor.

Sir Thomas Lynch's instructions, Art. 35, states —

"And forasmuch as there are many things incident to that government, for which it is not easy for us to prescribe such rules and directions for you as our service and the benefit of that island may require: instead of them, you are, with the advice of the Council, to take care therein, as fully and effectually as if you were instructed by us: of which extraordinary cases giving us due information, you shall receive further ratifications from us as our service shall require."

He was ordered to revoke all commissions and letters of marque that had been granted to privateers, and to endeavour to prevail on their crews to turn planters; and as an inducement, thirty-five acres of land were to be assigned to all those who might be willing to plant. He was also ordered "to proclaim a general pardon and indemnity for all crimes and offences committed by them since the month of June 1660, and previous to the ratification of the treaty of Peace."

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 119, 120. Colquhoun's Brit. Emp. p. 350.
Edwards, vol. iii. p. 295. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 167. 304.

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Such of the privateers as sailed with commissions, were to pay "the tenths and fifteenths of their booty" to the governor, as the crown's share!

In Jamaica, there were 2720 militia, and 2500 seamen — "privateering being the great business and concern of the island!"

There were seventy sugar plantations, which produced 1333 hhds. of 15 cwt. each.

By 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 26. If any vessel shall take on board any sugars, tobacco, ginger, indigo, &c. at any of the English plantations, "before bond be given, as directed by 12 Car. II., or certificate produced from the officers of some custom-house in England, &c., that such bond hath been there given; or shall carry the said goods to any place, contrary to the tenor of such bonds — the same shall be forfeited, with the ship, and all her furniture, guns, ammunition, &c.; one moiety to the king, and the other moiety to him that will sue for the same in any of the said plantations, or in the Court of the High Admiral of England, or of any Vice-Admiral, or any Court of Record in England."

Upon the 14th of August, 1670, Admiral Henry Morgan, Esq. sailed from Port Royal, Jamaica, with eleven sail of vessels and 600 men: he had a commission from Sir Thomas Modyford, Bart, governor of Jamaica, dated July 22d, 1670, granted with the advice and approbation of his Majesty's Honourable Council there fully assembled, to take and destroy all the Spanish ships he should meet in the American seas, and to attempt, take, or surprize, by force of arms, any of his Catholic Majesty's cities, towns, forts, or fortresses, where he should, by any intelligence, be advised that they were storing or making magazines of arms, ammunition, or provisions, or levying men for the propagating or maintaining the war against the island of Jamaica.

On the 2d of September he arrived at the Isle Avache, from whence he dispatched Vice-Admiral Collier (it would, perhaps, be difficult to find the date of this officer's commission as vice-admiral), on the 6th, with six sail and 350 men, to get prisoners on the Main, for intelligence for the better steering their course and managing their "design the most for his Majesty's honour and service, and the safety of Jamaica."

Upon the 30th of September, Captain John Morris arrived at the Isle Avache, with a Spanish vessel of eight guns, commanded by Immanuel Rivers, who burnt the coast of Jamaica: on board her were three original commissions, two of which were sent to Sir Thomas Modyford. On the 7th of October, a hurricane drove all the fleet on shore in the harbour, except Morgan's vessel, all of

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 14. 379. Jacob's Law Dict. Plantations. Gent. Mag., August, 1740, p. 385.

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which, except three, were got off again, and made serviceable. In this month three French vessels agreed to accompany Morgan, and on November 7th, more vessels joined him from Jamaica.

On the 20th, Admiral Collier returned from the Main, with provisions, and two Spanish vessels, one of which, the Galardeene, assisted Rivers in burning the coast of Jamaica. On the 22d, the admiral ordered all captains on board him, thirty-seven in number, to arrange the plan of operations for their cruize. The attack of Panama was unanimously agreed upon; and to obtain prisoners to serve for guides, it was voted, "that Providence being the King's ancient property, and most of the people there being from Panama, that no place could be more fit." [This island was also called St. Catherine's.]

Accordingly, upon the 16th of December, Commodore Morgan made sail for the island of St. Catherine, and arrived within sight of it upon the evening of the 20th. He sent two small vessels to guard the harbour during the night, that no person might escape to the Main and give the alarm. At noon the next day, he anchored the fleet in L'Aguada Grande, where the Spaniards had a four-gun battery, which they abandoned. Morgan landed 1000 men, and marched himself at their head, having for guides some who were at the island when Mansvelt took it. They arrived, in the evening, at a place where the Spanish generals used to reside; but they had quitted the large island and retired to the small one, the passage to which was by a draw-bridge. This small island had forts and batteries in all the accessible places.

The assailants were obliged to pass the night on the large island, over their ancles in water, and in a very heavy rain. At daylight the Spaniards began to cannonade them; at noon the weather cleared up, and Morgan sent four men in a boat, with a flag of truce, to summon the Spaniards to surrender the island, and to signify to them, that if they made any resistance, he would put the whole to fire and sword. The governor sent a major and another officer to see in what manner he could surrender the fort, without the King of Spain and the governor general, under whose orders he was, accusing him of cowardice. They told Morgan it was the governor's intention to surrender the island, but that it must be so contrived that nobody must lose either their life or their honour; Morgan asked how this could be done; they replied, that he must send some men to attack the fort St. Jerome, at the bridge, and that he must at the same time send a boat to attack it in the rear — that then the governor, under pretence of passing to the grand fort, would go out, and they might take him prisoner, which would facilitate the capture of the other forts; but

Histoire des Aventuriers, tom. ii. p. 112.

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during the whole of the time, both sides were to keep up a constant firing, taking care, however, not to kill any body!

Morgan consented to all; and in the evening marched to the place, and in the manner agreed upon. But as he did not rely implicitly upon the Spaniards' word, he ordered his men to load with ball, and in case any one of them was wounded, to fire with effect. The farce, however, was carried on without loss, and Morgan became master of the island and its fortresses. The prisoners amounted to 450; that is to say, ninety soldiers, forty of whom had wives, and these had forty-three children; thirty-one slaves belonging to the King, with eight children; eight felons; thirty-nine slaves belonging to individuals, with twenty-two children; twenty-seven free blacks, with twelve children. The men and children were left at liberty, but the women were all put into the church.

There were ten forts upon the island, which was about a league and a half in circumference.

The first, at the entrance into the harbour, formed by the two islands, was called Fort St. Jerome: it was a battery surrounded with walls, eight guns were mounted in it, and there were accommodations for fifty men.

The second was a battery, sheltered by gabions, named St. Mathew's Platform, on which three eight-pounders were mounted.

The third was the principal fort, called Santa Theresa, and had twenty guns; it had four bastions, a dry ditch, and a draw-bridge. It was built upon a rock, and could only be approached by the draw-bridge.

The fourth was called the Platform of St. Augustin — a battery covered by gabions, with three guns (eight-pounders).

The fifth, the Platform of the Conception, had two eight-pounders.

The sixth, the Platform of Notre Dame de la Guadaloupe, had two twelve-pounders.

The seventh, the Platform of St. Sauveur, had two eight-pounders.

The eighth, the Platform des Canoniers, had two eight-pounders.

The ninth, the Platform of St. Croix, had three six-pounders.

The tenth, the Fort of St. Joseph, was a redoubt, and had six twelve-pounders.

In the magazine there were 30,000 lbs. of powder.

All the munitions of war were put on board the ships, and all the batteries destroyed, except the Forts St. Jerome and St. Theresa: these were garrisoned.

Three galley slaves, from Panama, were upon the island: these were just what Morgan wanted: two of them were Indians, and one a Mulatto: the Mulatto professed his readiness to act as a

Histoire des Aventuriers, tom. ii. p. 112.

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guide, but the Indians were unwilling; one of them died under the torture, the other confessed that he knew the road to Panama, and undertook to lead the army.

Morgan then sent Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Bradley, with four ships and a bark, with 400 men, to take the Fort St. Laurence de Chagre. As soon as they arrived within sight of the castle of Chagre, the Spaniards began firing. At night the English anchored in a small port, about a league from the castle, which stood on the top of a high rock, on the east side of the river: the palisades which surrounded it were filled with earth, and of great thickness. The only entrance was by a draw-bridge over a ditch thirty feet deep, which divided the hill into two parts: there were four bastions towards the land side, and two towards the sea. The steepness of the hill to the south rendered it wholly inaccessible on that side — the river was on the north side. At the foot of the hill was a strong fort of eight guns, and a little further, two batteries of six guns. There were two great storehouses at one end of the castle, and near them a steep range of steps hewn out of the rock, reaching to the entrance of the castle.

Early in the morning of the 27th of December, they landed, and with great difficulty marched through the woods. By two P.M. they were within shot of the castle, and, being without shelter, lost several men: they attempted to storm the works, but were repulsed with loss. In the night they attacked them again: one of the men was shot in the back with an arrow, which he drew out at his breast, and wrapping some cotton round it, shot it back into the fort. The cotton kindled in the discharge, and the arrow falling upon a house thatched with palm-leaves, set them on fire: the conflagration spread to some gunpowder, which exploded. The English now, taking advantage of the confusion, set fire to the palisades in several places at once: as these consumed, the earth fell into the ditch. At daylight the breach was observed to be practicable, though planted with artillery. At noon the assailants were masters of the breach, and entered the castle; upon which many of the Spaniards threw themselves from the top of the hill into the sea. The governor retreated to the Corps du Garde, and continued to defend himself until he was shot through the head: the rest surrendered, to the number of thirty, all that remained out of 314, and not ten of them unwounded!

The English had above 100 killed and seventy wounded, "whereof the brave Bradley was one, with two lieutenants, who died in ten days after."[1]

Gent. Mag., September, 1740, p. 457.

[1] This anonymous account, in the Gentleman's Magazine, is adopted in preference to Esquemeling's: it is more circumstantial, and bears strong internal evidence of being authentic. It is to be regretted that the publisher did not give his authorities.

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1671.

Upon the 2d of January, Admiral Henry Morgan arrived with the whole fleet, off the river Chagre — four of whom were wrecked in the river, as was his own vessel, in which he led them: the crews were saved. From hence, on the 9th, 1400 men, in seven vessels, with thirty-six boats and canoes, set off up the river, on their way to the attack of Panama — leaving 300 men, under the command of Captain Richard Norman, to guard the castle and ships. His further proceedings in this memorable and successful expedition, do not belong to this work.

Upon the 26th of February, they returned to Chagre, where the plunder was divided: it amounted to about 30,000 sterling. Upon the 6th of March, after having destroyed the castle, they sailed for Jamaica.

Most of his followers murmured at the distribution he made of the plunder, which amounted to only 200 pieces of eight per man. But there was another reason why some of them disliked him. Before their return to Chagre, Morgan took an opportunity of mustering all his forces, and making each man swear, that he had not concealed any part of the plunder. Knowing that this would not have the desired effect upon all of them, he insisted upon every company appointing one man, to search all the rest — as an example, suffering himself to be searched first: many of the French objected to this, but they were outnumbered, and forced to submit. These men afterwards accused Morgan of keeping the best jewels for himself; and his secretly setting sail with four other vessels, and leaving them to their fate, gave some probability to the accusation. Morgan returned to Jamaica.

On the 1st of December, Sir Thomas Lynch, the governor of Jamaica, issued writs for calling an assembly, to consist of two persons for each parish. They passed a body of laws, which were transmitted to England, but were not confirmed.

Sir Thomas Lynch, the governor of Jamaica, gave King Charles the Second the following reasons for his encouraging the logwood cutters:—

1. That the English had then used this right for divers years.

2. That the logwood was cut in desolate and uninhabited places.

3. That it was a right confirmed by treaty with the Spaniards.

Gent. Mag., August, 1740, p. 386. Esquemeling's Hist. Buccaneers, chap. xx.
Edwards, vol. iii. p. 295. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 268.

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4. That thereby we excluded the French and Dutch from that trade.

5. That the Spaniards had not then made any complaint of it.

6. That this employment made the reducing our privateers, who used to commit hostilities against the Spaniards, more easy.

Lastly, That this trade employed 100 sail of ships annually, and increased his Majesty's customs, and the trade of the nation, more than any of his American colonies.

M. de Gabaret, with his squadron, arrived at Tortuga the 7th of February. D'Ogeron, thus assisted, made all the inhabitants take the oath of allegiance, and went with the commodore to the Cul de Sac: they anchored in Leogane Roads the 14th, and summoned the rebels to lay down their arms, who refused, saying they were loyal subjects to their King, but would not be dependants upon the Company, or have M. d'Ogeron as governor.

M. de Gabaret landed, and was received by about 600 men under arms, with whom he succeeded no better than his messenger, and the surf prevented his landing troops. The 16th, the squadron proceeded to Petit Goave, where the inhabitants were also under arms, and gave the messenger for answer, that they should do as the inhabitants of Leogane had done: and to the reply of the messenger that M. Gabaret would commence hostilities, they answered, they were ready. Dauphine, their leader, said he had 600 men upon whom he could rely, and more would come to him from Leogane.

Upon the 18th, the town was attacked, and several houses burnt, but the troops embarked again at night. The squadron proceeded to Nippes and Rochelois; but, meeting with the same reception, M. de Gabaret returned to Tortuga. At Port de Paix and Port François the inhabitants made no resistance, but took the oath of fidelity as was required.

M. de Gabaret proceeded to France—proposing to bring the other districts to submission by blockading their ports and destroying their commerce.

D'Ogeron, with Renou, returned to the Cul de Sac. The inhabitants, expecting their trade to be destroyed by ships of war, were disposed to submit, upon condition of forgiveness for the past, and permission being given for any vessels from France to trade with them; and for this liberty they consented such vessels should pay the Company five per cent. for entry and for clearance. By the end of April, tranquillity was restored. D'Ogeron, however, contrived, in the night, to seize Limousin, the most active rebel, whom he hung without any molestation, and then returned to Tortuga.

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 121, 122, 123, 124. 126.

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The island of St. Thomas was colonized by the Danes. Before this it had been the refuge of some English vagabonds, who had begun to clear the ground.

1672.

Extracts from the "Declaration de Guerre de Charles le Second, Roy d'Angleterre, contre les Provinces-Unies. Fait au mois de Mars, 1672:—

"Aux Indes Occidentales ils ont passé plus avant; Car, par un article du même Traité (of Breda), nous estions obligés de leur restituer Surinam; et par d'autres articles de la même paix, ils estoient obligés de permettre à nos sujets de cette colonie de se transporter avec leurs effets en quelques autres de nos peuplades. En vertu de ce Traité, nous leurs livrames ce lieu là, et nonobstant ils y retindrent tous nos sujets et arresterent prisonnier notre Major Banister, parce qu'il demandoit permission de les faire passer ailleurs, conformement au Traité.

"Nostre ambassadeur se plaignant de cette injustice reçut enfin, apres deux ans de sollicitation, un ordre pour l'execution de ces articles; mais y ayant envoyé des commissaires et deux vaisseaux pour le transport de nos sujets, les Hollandois, selon ce qu'ils avoient auparavant pratique pendant plus de quarante ans en l'affaire de Pouleron, y envoyerent, en secret, un ordre contraire à celui qu'ils nous avoient donné publiquement; de sorte que le voyage de nos commissaires en ce lieu là ne servit qu'a en transporter quelques uns des plus pauvres de nos sujets, et a en raporter les prières ardentes que faisoient les plus riches et les plus considerables pour sortir de cette servitude: Apres quoi nous en fimes nos plaintes au mois d'Août dernier, par les lettres que nous en ecrivimes aux Etats Generaux par lesquelles nous demandions qu'on envoyast ordre à leurs gouverneurs en ce pais là pour l'observation de ces articles; mais jusques ici, nous n'avons pu en recevoir un seul mot de response ni de satisfaction."

The Dutch, in their answer to this declaration, say — "As to the English planters in Surinam, they themselves were not willing to forsake their effects and subsistence, and therefore staid there behind upon their own choice."

By Stat. 25 Car. II. c. 7. "If any ship or vessel shall come to any of his Majesty's plantations to ship any sugars, tobacco, &c., and bond shall not be first given to bring the same to England, there shall be answered to the King several duties before lading

Reynal, tom. iv. p. 273.
Edwards, vol. iii. C. 4. B. 1.
Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 162.
Jacob's Law Dict. Plantations.

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thereof, and under such penalties as for nonpayment or defrauding the King of his customs in England."

Upon the 6th of April, Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, declared war against the Dutch.

"Dr. Blome writes that horned cattle were so numerous (in Jamaica), that although there had been every year so many killed, yet their number seemed not much to be lessened." There were also great numbers of wild hogs.

King Charles, by a new commission, appointed Lord Willoughby governor of Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica; and Sir William Stapleton, governor of the other leeward islands: and this separation has always subsisted since.

Mr. Chillingworth arrived at Providence as governor, the first which government had sent out to that island. The inhabitants were the outcasts of society, and so ungovernable, that in attempting to reclaim them, Mr. Chillingworth was in a tumultuous manner shipped off and sent to Jamaica.

The African Company having surrendered their Charter to the crown, a fourth Company was incorporated, with the title of Royal African Company: their capital, £111,000, was raised by subscription in nine months. The King and Duke of York were among the subscribers.

	Men able to bear Arms.	Negroes.
There were in St. Christopher's -	496 -	352
Nevis - -	1411 -	1739
Montserrat -	1175 -	523
Antigua - -	— -	570
Anguilla - -	500 -	—

1673.

Fort James, in the island of Jamaica, was built.

Sir Thomas Lynch, the governor of Jamaica, reported to the Secretary of State, that the population of the island amounted to 7768 Whites, 800 seamen in privateers, and 9504 Negroes — and sent him a present of a pot of sugar, with its history. It would seem, from this, that the cultivation of sugar was now but just entered upon: the chief productions of the island were cacao, indigo, and hides.

In May, Sir Thomas Lynch called an assembly, to consist of two persons for each parish. After sitting a few days, he dissolved

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 164. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 36.—vol. i. p. 376.—vol. iii. p. 295. B. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 411. 201.—vol. ii. p. 53.—vol. iii. p. 335. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 287. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 284. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Supplement, No. 15.

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it, because the members refused to grant money for the fortifications.

Sir Tobias Bridges took the island of Tobago from the Dutch, and brought away 400 prisoners, and as many Negroes.

War being declared between Spain and France, D'Ogeron, in St. Domingo, sent one colony to Cape Tiburon, and another to the peninsula of Samana. The first of these the Spaniards attacked and destroyed, and so completely harassed the other, that they returned to Tortuga.

Upon the 19th of October, Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, declared war against the Spaniards.

The French under M. de Baas, in consequence of being informed that the Dutch garrison at Curaçao were few in number, determined to attack that island. Orders were sent to M. d'Ogeron, the governor of Tortuga, and the west coast of Española, to join the expedition at Santa Cruz, with all the buccaneers he could muster; he accordingly collected 400 picked men, and embarked them on board two vessels. One of them, La Petite Infante, commanded by M. du Bonneau, arrived at the rendezvous at Santa Cruz in time; but M. d'Ogeron, in L'Ecueil, with 300 men, was shipwrecked upon some shoals north of Puerto Rico.

De Baas, after waiting five days for D'Ogeron, sailed the 8th of March for Curaçoa, where he anchored the 14th, in full expectation of making an easy conquest of the island. Part of the troops were landed, without opposition, in St. Barbe's Bay; and the next day, the 15th, the whole, with De Baas, were landed: he, with the Chevalier St. Laurent, proceeded to reconnoitre the fort, and soon found it was so much stronger than he expected, that he reembarked without attempting any thing, and returned to Tortuga, where finding M. d'Ogeron was missing, he appointed La Perriere to command that island in his place.

D'Ogeron, with his crew, with difficulty got to Puerto Rico; and from St. Hilaire de la Ressive, twelve leagues east of the city of S. Juan, sent Lieutenant Pouancy to demand assistance from the governor; but the Spaniard, supposing it was their intention to have plundered the island, as they had done before, detained the messengers, and sent orders to have the French encamped, and carefully guarded.

D'Ogeron, with three men, contrived to steal an open boat —watching their opportunity, and murdering, with a hatchet, the two men who belonged to her — the one a Mulatto, the other a Spaniard; and, to conceal the fact, carried both their

Echard's Hist. of England, vol. iii. B. 1. C. 4. Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 143. 130. 132, 133. 436. Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 245. Esquemeling's Hist. of the Buccaneers, C. 23.

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bodies in the canoe, and sunk them, when they were half-way across to Samana, where they arrived more dead than alive.

In October he proceeded, with an expedition, to liberate his countrymen by force, but returned without effecting it. This attempt had no other effect than getting part of the prisoners put to death — eighteen, with M. Pouancy, were sent off for Peru: these were fortunately liberated by an English privateer, that captured the vessel in which they were embarked. Six were carried off the island by the Dutch admiral, Binkes, who arrived at Puerto Rico at the time: the rest were made to work at the fortifications; and when sent to the Havannah, were employed there in the same manner, and confined closely every night. Most of them were sent to Europe a few at a time, and landed at Cadiz, from whence they returned to France — where, mutually assisting each other, they were soon back again at Tortuga, thirsting for revenge, and joined le Sieur de Maintenon in an expedition against Trinidad, which island they sacked and plundered of 100,000 pieces of eight.

1674.

Extracts from the treaty of peace between Charles the Second, King of England, and the United Provinces of the Low Countries, signed at Westminster the 19th of February 1674: —

" Quandoquidem colonia Surinam et articuli super ejusdem deditione facti anno 1667, inter Guilielmum Biam, tunc temporis illius coloniæ præfectum pro Serenissimo Domino Magnæ Britanniæ Rege, et Abrahamum Quirini pro supra dictis Ordinibus Generalibus, in eorum executione multas differentiarum ac disceptationum occasiones dederint, multumque contribuerint malæ intelligentiæ, quæ inter Majestatem S. Britannicam et prædictos Ordines Generales per hasce præsentes concordant, et cum supra nominato Serenissimo Domino Magnæ Britanniæ Rege conveniunt, quod non solum prædicti articuli plenam sortientur executionem absque ulla tergiversatione vel æquivocatione sed etiam quod M. S. Britannicæ liberum erit unum aliquem aut plures eo deputare, qui conditionem subditorum suorum ibi manentium explorent, et cum iis de tempore discessus sui conveniunt. Quoque M. S. liberum erit, unam, duas vel tres naves eo mittere, quæ M. S. subditos una cum rebus, bonis et servis suis accipiant asportentque, quodque præfectus, qui tum fuerit pro dictis Ordinibus Generalibus, nullam legem vel feret, vel exequetur, qua emptio et venditio terræ, debitorum solutio aut bonorum commu-

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 253.

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tatio ullo alio modo se habeat ratione Anglorum, quam sicut versus omnes alios illius coloniæ incolas usitatum fuit vel erit. Sed quod quam diu remanserint iisdem legibus et privilegiis actiones intentandi pro eo quod ipsis debetur, solvendi id quod debent, pactaque, stipulationes et contractus faciendi fruantur quibus alii incolæ communiter fruuntur: et quandoquidem Mag. S. Britannica sufficientes et authenticas literas, ab Ordinibus Generalibus ad illius coloniæ, præfectum postulaverit, tam ut dicti Angli inde discedant, quam ut naves eo (sicut prædictum est) mittendæ admittantur, prædicti Ordines Generales intra certum temporis spatium in eum finem deputato plenas et sufficientes literas atque instructiones ad præfectum illius coloniæ tradent, tam ut sinat dictas naves libenter appellere quam in illas intrare Majestatis subditos, qui illinc velle discedere profitebuntur, cum bonis et servis suis, eo transvehendos, quo Majestas sua statuerit."

The Dutch West India Company, which was incorporated in 1621, was dissolved, and a new company chartered, whose exclusive commerce was limited to a certain part of the coast of Africa. The rest of the trade monopolized by the former company was thrown open.

The new company took the old one's debts, amounting to six millions, but reduced to 30 per cent., and was to accredit in its books the proprietors of the old company's stock at the rate of 15 per cent. The creditors, on their part, were to advance an addition of 8 per cent. on their loans, and the stock holders were to advance 4 per cent. on their shares.

All Mulattoes in the French islands were free at the age of twenty-four until this year, by the common law of the islands. An edict was now made, introducing the maxim of the Roman law, "partus sequitur ventrem."

By the treaty of Westminster, the colony of Surinam was ceded to the Dutch, in exchange for the province of New York.

Sir Thomas Warner's son went with an expedition to suppress the Caribs, who were headed by his half-brother, his father's son by a Carib woman[1]: he was received in a friendly manner by

Brougham's Colonial Policy, B. 1. S. 3. p. 340.—vol. ii. p. 532., note (f). Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 342. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 269. — Quoting Dampier.

[1] Labat, who saw this woman at Dominica in January 1700, gives the following description of her, vol. vi. p 95:—"Cette femme sauvage etoit alors, comme je croi, une des plus vieilles creatures du monde. On dit qu'elle avoit été tres belle il y avoit un peu plus de cent ans, et que ce fut à cause de cela qu'un Anglois Gouverneur de St. Christophe l'avoit entretenue pendant un assez long-tems, et en avoit eu nombre d'enfans, et entr'autres un certain Ouvernard, dont parle le Père du Tertre dans son Histoire. Ce demi-Caraïbe etoit mort long-tems avant que je vinsse aux isles. On avoit toujours continué d'appeller sa mère Madame Ouvernard, depuis que les Anglois l'avoient renvoyée à la Dominique, apres la mort du gouverneur qui l'entretenoit. Sa vieillesse plutôt que sa qualité de

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his relative. In the middle of the repast, upon a signal given, the Caribs were attacked, and all massacred! Different reasons are given for this act of atrocity;—one, that the Indian Warner committed all the ravages upon the English; another, that the murderer was ashamed of his Indian relation.

Colonel Codrington removed from Barbadoes to Antigua, and applied himself to planting sugar with such success, that others, encouraged by his example, began in the same line of cultivation. Some years afterwards, he was nominated captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the leeward Caribean islands.

Sir Thomas Lynch, the governor of Jamaica, called an assembly, because the two years were almost expired since making the body of laws, which, as his Majesty had not consented to them, were to expire at that time. A new body of laws was passed and transmitted to England, but they were not confirmed by the crown.

On the 3d of December, Lord Vaughan was appointed governor of Jamaica. A council, consisting of twelve persons, was named in the commission, whom he might either expel or suspend, and, in case of vacancies, fill up the council to nine. He was to have a negative voice in passing all laws, and had power to dissolve the assembly.

The French West India Company were dissolved by royal edict, signed at St. Germain-en-Laye in December, and the whole of the islands annexed to the crown.

The reasons for this act are given in the extract of the edict annexed. [1]

Edwards, vol. i. p. 474,—vol. iii. p. 295. Labat, tom. v. p. 235.

maitresse d'un gouverneur Anglois, lui avoit acquis beaucoup de credit parmi les Caraibes. Elle avoit eu beaucoup d'enfans outre cet Ouvernard de sorte que son Carbet, qui etoit fort grand, etoit peuplé à merveille d'une longue suite de fils, de petit-fils, et d'arrière petits fils. Cette bonne femme etoit tout nue et tellement nue, qu'elle n'avoit pas deux douzaines de cheveux sur la tête, sa peau sembloit un vieux parchemin retiré et seche à la fumée. Elle etoit tellement courbée, que je ne pus voir la figure de son visage, que quand elle se fut assise pour boire. Elle avoit cependant encore beaucoup de dents, et les yeux assez vifs."—vol. vi. p. 97.

The Carib women "sont bien plustost capables d'avoir des enfans; et qu'elles cessent bien plustard d'en porter que les femmes de l'Europe. L'on trouve, dans les registres de la Guadaloupe, le nom d'une vieille Sauvage, appellée Madame, agée de cent ans, et sa fille, agée de cinq ans, j'ay veu la femme et l'enfant; et bien que l'on ne sceut son age que par des conjectures, il est tres-assuré qu'elle ne pouvoit pas avoir moins de quatre-vingt ans, quand il la mit au monde!"—*Du Tertre*, tom. ii. p. 380.

[1] Extrait de l'Edit de sa Majesté, donné à St. Germain-en-Laye, au mois de Decembre, 1674, registré en Parlement et en la Chambre des Comptes, les 18 Janvier et 9 Fevrier 1675:—

"Il est dit, que la situation du Royaume entre la Mer Oceane et la Mediterranée facilitant l'enlèvement et la décharge des marchandises de toutes especes, a donné lieu à plusieurs entreprises pour le commerce des pais eloignés. Mais que quoique le Sucre n'ait pas toujours répondu à l'attenté que l'on en avoit parce que la plupart des armements se faisant par des particuliers, ils n'etoient pas soutenu par des forces necessaires pour y reussir.

"Que sa Majesté auroit été invitée

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The joy of the colonists, upon receiving the news of the change, was excessive: they had for ten years been groaning under the

Labat, tom. v. p. 240.

par l'affection qu'elle a pour ses peuples, d'entreprendre de nouveau le commerce, dans les Isles et Terre-Ferme de l'Amerique, pour leur conserver les avantages que leur courage et leur industrie leur avoient acquis, par la découverté d'une grande etendue de pais en cette partie du monde, dont les etrangers tiroient tout le profit depuis plus de soixante ans. Pour cet effet, elle avoit formé, par ses lettres en forme d'Edit, au mois de May, 1664, une Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, à laquelle elle avoit accordé, à l'exclusion de tous autres, la faculté de faire elle seule le commerce pendant quarante ans dans la Terre-Ferme et Isles de l'Amerique, et dans la côte d'Afrique, depuis le Cap Verd jusqu'au Cap de Bonne Esperance, tant et si avant que ladite Compagnie pourroit s'etendre dans les terres.

" Que ce dessein egalement utile et glorieux, avoit eu le succès que sa Majesté en pouvoit esperer, ladite Compagnie s'etant heureusement mise en possession des pais à elle concedés, et ces pais qui sont d'une vaste étendue, etant à present habités de plus de quarante-cinq mille personnes, gouvernés par deux lieutenans-generaux de ses armées, par huit gouverneurs particuliers, et par quatre conseils, qui jugent souverainement et en dernier ressort. Qu'en y a etabli plusieurs droits utiles, qui produisent un revenu tres considerable, et que ce commerce occupe aujourd'hui pres de cent navires François, depuis cinquante jusqu'a trois cens tonneaux, ce qui donne de l'emploi à un grand nombre de pilotes, matelots, canonniers, charpentiers, et autres ouvriers, et produit le debit et consommation des d'entrées qui croissent et se recueillent dans le royaume.

" Que cependant comme sa Majesté a été informée des difficultés qui se sont presentées dans l'etablissement de cette Compagnie, qui l'ont engagée à de tres-grandes et necessaires depenses à cause de la guerre qu'elle a été d'abord obligée de soutenir contre les Anglois, sa Majesté, auroit bien voulu etre informée de l'etat present de ses affaires, et par les comptes qui en ont été arretés par ses ordres, il à été reconnu qu'elle est en avance de la somme de trois millions cinq cent vingt trois mille livres tournois.

" Et bien que la Compagnie put se dedommager à l'avenir de cette avance, tant par son commerce que par la possession de tant de pais, où elle jouit déjà de plusieurs revenus, qui augmenteront tous les jours à mesure que la pais se peuplera. Neanmoins, comme elle a jugé que la plupart de ces droits et de ces revenus conviennent mieux à la premier puissance de l'Etat, qu'à une Compagnie qui doit tacher de faire valoir promptement ses avances pour l'utilité des particuliers qui la composent, ce qu'elle ne pourroit esperer qu'apres un fort long-tems, et que sa Majesté a seu que les particuliers interessés en ladite Compagnie, qui craignoient de s'engager en de nouvelles depenses, souhaitoient que sa Majesté voulut bien les rembourser de leurs avances et de leur fond capital, en prenant sur elle les soins de la continuation de ces etablissemens, et en acquerant à la couronné tous les droits en l'etat qu'ils sont: Elle a reçu volontiers la proposition qui lui en a été faite, et ayant fait examiner, par des commissaires de son Conseil, les affaires de cette Compagnie, depuis son etablissement jusqu'au 31 Decembre 1673, on a reconnu, par la discussion exacte qui a été faite de ses registres et de ses comptes, que les actions des particuliers qui s'y etoient engagés volontairement, montoient à la somme de douze cens quatre-vingt-dix-sept mille cent quatre-vingt cinq livres, au remboursement desquels sa Majesté fait pourvoir; sçavoir, des derniers et effets de la Compagnie, de la somme d'un million quarante-sept mille cent quatre-vingt livres, et des deniers de son Trésor Royal, deux cens cinquante mille livres. En consequence duquel payement, le capital de leurs actions est entièrement remboursé, outre deux repartitions qui ont été ci-devant faites à leur profit, à raison de quatre pour cent, nonobstant la perte sur le fond capital de trois millions cinq cens vingt-trois mille livres, qu'elle veut bien supporter entièrement, au moyen dequoi les particuliers se trouveront remboursés de ce qui leur pourroit appartenir.

" Et ainsi, elle a resolu de remettre en ses mains, et reunir à son domaine, tous les fonds de terres par elle concedés à la Compagnie, y compris la part restante au Sieur Houel en la propriété et seigneurie de l'isle de la Guadeloupe, avec des droits

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tyranny of violent and insolent clerks, who caused seditious movements in the islands during almost the whole time they had been the masters. All this disappeared when the royal officers took possession.

Lord William Willoughby, governor of Barbadoes, died, and was succeeded by Sir Jonathan Atkins.

The population of Barbadoes, at this time, amounted to 120,000, being 30,000 less than in 1670.

Upon the 10th of August, a hurricane at Barbadoes blew down 300 houses, and destroyed the plantations, so that the inhabitants made but little sugar the two succeeding years. Eight ships were wrecked in the harbour, and 200 persons killed.

Colonel Thomas Warner, the son of Sir Thomas Warner, (the first settler upon St. Christopher's), died, as lieutenant-governor of Dominica.

1675.

In January, the Marquis de Baas arrived at Martinico, as governor and lieutenant-general of the French West India islands. He sent the Marquis de Grancy to assist the colonists in Mariegalante, who were attacked by the English. The marquis, with two men of war and some troops, succeeded in obliging the English to quit the island, but returned to Martinico in distress, with five feet water in his ship's hold. After she was refitted, De Baas sent De Grancy, with whom he was upon bad terms, to Europe, to report his exploit. [1]

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 197. 261. Labat, tom. v. p. 242.

tant seigneuriaux que de capitation, de poids, et autres que se levent à son profit, en consequence des cessions et transports que les Directeurs et comissaires de ladite Compagnie ont fait à sa Majesté, suivant le contrat passé entr'eux et les Sieurs Colbert, Poncet, Pussort, et Hotman, commis à cet effet par sa Majesté.

" Et pour faire connoitre qu'elle consideration, elle a, pour ceux qui s'engagent en de pareilles entreprises, qui tournent à l'avantage de l'Etat, comme aussi pour donner à tous ses sujets la liberté de faire le commerce dans les pais de l'Amerique, en prenant seulement les passeports et congés ordinaires, et contribuer par ce moyen au bien et à l'avantage de ses peuples: Sa Majesté, de l'avis de son Conseil, de sa certaine science, pleine puissance et autorité Royale, revoque, eteint, et supprime, la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, erigée par l'Edit du mois de May 1664. Elle permet à tous ses sujets d'aller trafiquer dans lesdits pais, ainsi que dans tous les autres de son obeissance. Elle unit et incorpore tous lesdits pais au domaine de sa Couronné, ainsi qu'il est plus amplement porté par cet Edit. Donné à St. Germain-en-Laye, au mois de Decembre, 1674."—*Labat*, tom. v. p. 240.

[1] " Comme il n'etoit point du corps de la marine, et que ces messieurs avoient peine à obeir à d'autres qu'à des officiers de leur corps, tous les marins s'etoient ligués contre lui, et plus que les autres le Marquis de Grancey. Monsieur de Baas eut avis que les Anglois avoient attaqué l'isle de Mariegalante, il assembla aussi-tot des troupes pour l'aller degager, et envoya

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The inhabitants of Martinico being without salt provisions, De Baas sent for an English vessel, with 1500 barrels of salt-beef on board — had her moored under the fort — fixed a price upon the beef, and had it distributed among the inhabitants. The French minister, in answer to the marquis's letter, reporting his having done this, said that the marquis had risked the loss of his head upon a scaffold, by taking upon himself to order a foreign merchant vessel to one of the King's islands. The marquis replied, that he should always be ready to give his head, to preserve the life of such a number of the King's good subjects.

Lord Vaughan, governor of Jamaica, called an assembly, which met on the 26th of April, and passed a new body of laws. In his commission, the members of the privy council were expressly named by the king.

Forty families came in one ship, from Surinam, on the 1st September; and on the 8th, 1100 persons arrived at Jamaica, under the care of Mr. Cranfield from the same place.

In August, a dreadful hurricane spread desolation in Barbadoes. The crops were destroyed, and the inhabitants petitioned the British government to relieve them from the impost of four and a half per cent. upon their exports. The prayer of their petition was refused.

A ship, with a cargo of Mocoe negroes, was wrecked upon Bequin, a small island two leagues from St. Vincent: they were afterwards joined by great numbers of fugitive negroes from the other islands. The Red Caribs at first kept them in slavery; but finding their numbers increase, came to a resolution to put

Labat, tom. v. p. 250. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 116.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 254. Edwards, vol. iii. p. 296. — vol. i. p. 412.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 166. 625.

ordre au Marquis de Grancey, d'y aller avec son vaisseau. L'ordre etoit en ces termes: 'Il est ordonné au Sieur de Grancey d'aller attaquer les Anglois qui assiegent Mariegalante. Il les chassera, et ensuite nous viendra rendre compte de sa mission, afin que j'en puisse rendre compte à sa Majesté!'

"Le Marquis de Grancey fut extremement choqué des termes de cet ordre. Il mit, pourtant, sur le champ, à la voile avec un autre vaisseau du Roi, bien moins fort que le sien. Il arriva à Mariegalante, et attaqua les Anglois avec le courage et la prudence qui lui etoient ordinaires, quoiqu'ils etoient deux fois plus forts que lui, il les battit, coula à fond quelques-uns de leurs vaisseaux, les obligea de rembarquer leurs troupes avec precipitation, et revint victorieux à la Martinique, quoique son vaisseau fut tellement maltraité, qu'il avoit cinq pieds d'eau, quand il arriva au mouillage.

"Le Marquis de Grancey, à qui le mot de Sieur tenoit de cœur, s'avisa de dire publiquement qu'il ne retourneroit point en France, sans un ordre exprès de la cour. M. de Baas l'ayant sçu, lui envoya un ordre de partir sur le champ, et d'aller porter lui-même la nouvelle au Roi, de la belle action qu'il venoit de faire. Le mot de Sieur fut encore mis dans cet ordre, et le Marquis de Grancey en fut encore plus piqué. Il voulut avant de partir prendre congé du general, il fut à son logis, un garde l'ayant été annoncer, M. de Baas lui dit assez haut pour etre entendu, 'Tu as menti, le Marquis de Grancy est à la voile, fermes la porte.' Cette hauteur obligea le Marquis de Grancey de se retirer, et d'appareiller sur le champ!" — *Labat*, tom. v. p. 246.

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their male children to death: upon which the blacks rose, and became masters of the island.

M. d'Ogeron, governor of the French in St. Domingo, returned to France, for the purpose of presenting a plan for driving the Spaniards out of that island. He died without being able to see either the King or his minister. [Labat says he died in 1679, vol. vii. p. 93.] His nephew, M. Pouancy, succeeded him in the government of the French in St. Domingo, and the Sieur Tarin de Cussy in that of Tortuga.

Soon after M. d'Ogeron left the West Indies, the Dutch admiral Binks, with a fleet of four vessels and 900 men, appeared off Petit Goave, and on the 15th of July destroyed all the vessels there.

1676.

Upon the 21st of April, the legislature of Barbadoes passed a law to prevent negroes from attending the Quakers' meeting in that island. The following are extracts from the act: —

"Whereas of late many negroes have been suffered to remain at the meetings of the Quakers, as hearers of their doctrine, and taught in their principles, whereby the safety of the island may be much hazarded:—If, at any time after the publication hereof, any negro or negroes be found with the people called Quakers, as hearers of their preaching, he or they shall be forfeited (if belonging to any of the Quakers); half the money to go to the informer, the other half to the public use of the island, provided the action be brought within three months. If the negro should not belong to any person present at the meeting, then the informer may bring an action upon this statute against any of the persons present at the said meeting, at the election of the informer, and so recover ten pounds for every negro. And no person whatsoever shall keep any school to instruct any child in any learning, unless, within one month after the publication hereof, he first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, on pain of three months' imprisonment, and forfeiture of 3000 lbs. of Moscovado sugar; one half to go to the informer. And no person to preach at the Quakers' meeting, unless he hath been twelve months upon the island, on pain of six months imprisonment, and forfeiture of 1000 lbs. of Moscovado sugar, one half to go to the informer — Provided that all actions upon this statute be brought within six months after the offence."

"*Read and passed the Council the 21st of April*, 1676. *Consented to by his Excellency the governor the same day.*

EDWYN STEED, *Deputy Secretary.*"

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 146, 147. Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, p. 595.

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The trade of Barbadoes employed 400 ships of 150 tons burthen each upon an average.

Governor Atkyns reported the number of inhabitants in Barbadoes to be 21,725 Whites, and 32,473 Negroes.

A new assembly met, upon the 26th of March, in Jamaica; and having passed several laws, they were dissolved on the 26th of July. The laws passed by this assembly and that of 1675 were transmitted to England, and sent to the Attorney-General, to form a new body of laws for the government of the island.

Vice-Admiral Jacob Binkes sailed from Holland March the 16th, with seven sail of the line, one fire-ship, and five small craft, to retake Cayenne. He arrrived there the 4th of May, and with 900 men carried the castle by assault. The governor, M. Lesi, with two priests, were sent prisoners to Holland. The Dutch loss was fourteen killed and seventy-two wounded.

The court of France, hearing of this success in the October following, sent the Count d'Estrées to retake the island. He arrived there in December, and landed 800 men three leagues below the castle, under the command of the Count de Blinac and M. St. Faucher: these were obliged to march by night, in consequence of the excessive heat, and the fleet kept near them. The 19th of December, D'Estrées sent M. de Lesi, the former governor, to demand the surrender of the castle: the garrison refused. The following night, the castle was stormed at seven different parts at the same time, and carried, after a loss to the Dutch of thirty-eight killed and several wounded. Two hundred and sixty-two prisoners were sent to France, and very harshly treated.

The French plundered the island of Trinidad, and left it.

M. Pouancy received his appointment the 16th of March, from the French government, as governor of Tortuga, as well as the Cul de Sac, in St. Domingo: he sent orders to his countrymen on the Peninsula of Samana, to remove to Cape François. Previous to complying with it, they made an excursion to Cotuy, a Spanish town about fifteen leagues to the westward, and plundered it. Soon afterwards, a deserter giving information to the Spaniards, that the French left their houses without protection when they went hunting, they attacked and destroyed almost all of both the hunters and their families—some few only escaped. Other buccaneers afterwards attempted to settle on Samana, but De Pouancy obliged them to quit so exposed a situation.

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 256.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Supplement to No 15.
Edwards, vol. iii. p. 296. Esquemeling's Hist. of the Buccaneers, chap. xxiv.
Colquhoun's Brit. Emp. p. 363. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 151.

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1677.

M. d'Estrées, having settled every thing at Cayenne, sailed for Martinico, and from thence proceeded to attack the Heer Binkes, at Tobago. Upon their approach, Binkes landed some of his sailors, and the soldiers under the command of Captains Vander Graaf, Van Dongen, and Ciavone, to man the batteries and fortress of Sterrshans. Two days after, the French anchored in Palmit Bay, and landed their troops. February the 23d, D'Estrées sent a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the fort, which was refused. After this, nothing was done till the 3d of March, when the French fleet stood in to engage the Dutch fleet: at the same time, the troops attempted to storm the castle. After repeated attacks, they were forced to retire, with the loss of 150 killed and 200 wounded, who were with difficulty carried off. The battle lasted with the ships from day-break till evening. D'Estrées' ship, the Glorieux, of seventy guns, was blown up, and two others were stranded under sail — leaving the Dutch victorious, though with the loss of several ships, which were burnt.

D'Estrées returned to Brest, and was ordered back again to Tobago, with a reinforcement of eight sail of the line, and eight smaller vessels. He left Brest the 7th of October, arrived off Barbadoes the 1st of December, and at Tobago the 7th, with twenty sail of vessels of war, besides a great number of small craft. One thousand five hundred men were landed under the command of M. de Blinac, and they had approached, by the 9th, within 600 paces of the post called Le Cort. On the 10th, D'Estrées summoned the Heer Binkes to surrender. On the 12th, the French began their attack by throwing fire-balls into the castle: the third ball fell upon some loose powder, which communicating with the magazine, the whole was blown up, and Binkes and all his officers, with the exception of Van Dongen, killed. Five hundred French immediately stormed the works, and carried them: only 300 men were found alive, who were sent to France. D'Estrées then destroyed every fort and house upon the island, and left it the 27th of December. A medal was struck upon this occasion.

Lord Vaughan, governor of Jamaica, issued a commission, according to the statute of Henry VIII., for the trial of Brown for piracy, upon which he was condemned to die, and the

Esquemeling's Hist. of the Buccaneers, chap. xxiv. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 154. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 283. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 211.

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governor signed a warrant for his execution: but Colonel Long, the chief justice, granted a habeas corpus to Brown after his condemnation, and the assembly voted a reprieve, and commanded obedience to it, alleging that all the proceedings of the court were illegal and extrajudicial — because they conceived that the governor, as chancellor of the island, was not legally vested with a power of ordering such a commission court.

His lordship must have known little of the people whom he was sent to govern, to think of hanging for piracy in Jamaica at this time.

The number of Whites enrolled amounted to 5000; and all above sixteen years of age, that had been one month on the island, were enrolled.

The quit-rents were paid to the governor, as steward to his Majesty.

The King of France sent M. de Patoulet to Martinico, with the title of Intendant of Justice, Police, Finances, and Marine. This appointment produced a civil war on the island, in consequence of a dispute between the Intendant and Governor Le Comte de Blenac, about their respective powers. In this dispute, Labat says, the pen was more used than the sword. The recall of M. de Patoulet, in 1682, restored peace.

1678.

Sir Jonathan Atkins was recalled from the government of Barbadoes by his own request, and Sir Richard Dutton appointed to succeed him.

Lord Vaughan was succeeded in the government of Jamaica by the Earl of Carlisle, during whose administration the Protestant inhabitants were alarmed with apprehensions of being massacred by the French, Irish, and English Papists, and by the appearance of M. d'Estrées, with a strong French squadron, off the island, great part of whom were afterwards wrecked upon the Isle of Aves, to windward of Curaçoa. Upon their passage to attack that island, eighteen sail, that were in one line, grounded almost at the same moment, and were all lost! The crews were saved, all but 300 men.

The militia at Jamaica were augmented to 4526.

Lord Carlisle brought out a new code of laws for the island; among the rest, a bill for settling a perpetual revenue on the

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 606, 607. Labat, tom. v. p. 252.—tom. vi. p. 106, Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 199. 308. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 157. Edwards, vol. i. p. 221.

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crown: he had instructions to new-model the laws of the island, "after the manner in Ireland, according to Poyning's laws." The assembly were required to adopt the whole code, without amendment or alteration! They rejected it with indignation. Colonel Long, the chief judge of the island, exerted the powers with which he was invested, so as ultimately to baffle every effort to alter the laws.

Extracts from the Treaty of Peace between Louis XIV. King of France, and the States General of the United Provinces, signed at Nimeguen the 10th of August 1678:—

"7. Chacun demeurera saissi, et jouira effectivement des pais, villes, et places, terres, isles, et seigneuries, tant au dedans que dehors l'Europe, qu'il tient et possede à present, sans estre troublé ni inquieté directement ni indirectement de quelque façon que ce soit."

Upon the same day, a Treaty of Commerce was signed between the same parties at the same place, from which what follows is extracted:—

"32. Sa Majesté et lesdits Seigneurs Etats Generaux ne recevront, et ne souffriront que leurs sujets reçoivent, dans nul des pays de leur obeissance aucuns pirates et forbans quels qu'ils puissent estre; mais ils les feront poursuivre et punir, et chasser de leurs ports et les navires depredez, comme les biens pris par lesdits pirates et forbans, qui se trouveront en etre, seront incontinent et sans forme de procez restituez franchement aux proprietaires qui les reclameront."

This treaty was to last for twenty-five years.

Upon the 17th September, 1678, a Treaty of Peace between Charles II. King of Spain, and Louis XIV. King of France, was signed at Nimeguen. The West Indies are not mentioned in the treaty.

The family of Van Peere, to whom all the cultivated part of the colony of Berbice belonged, and to whose mercantile speculations the colony owes its origin, obtained a perpetual grant of it from the Surinam Company.

Mr. Clark was sent out as governor of New Providence, by the Lords Proprietaries.

The buccaneer Francis Gramont, with a handful of men, entered the province of Venezuela, and marched to Truxillo, eighty leagues, through bad roads, and in bad weather. After an ineffectual resistance, the inhabitants abandoned this fine city, which the buccaneers pillaged, and then burnt. Depons, in 1804, speaks of the ruins of the superb edifices as existing evidences

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. pp. 350. 365. Brougham's C. P. B. 1. 8. 3. p. 345. Edwards, vol. ii. p. 53. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 284. Depon's South America, tom. ii. p. 290. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 157.

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of the grandeur of the city. Gramont also plundered Maracaibo and Gibraltar, in Venezuela; but peace being concluded in August at Nimeguen, between Spain and Holland, obliged many to quit privateering: and this may be considered the epoch of settling the establishment of the French colony in St. Domingo. The Spaniards, finding they could not drive the French out of the island, began to traffic with them, and for the first time appeared in the French habitations and the French in theirs. Both nations found their advantage in this: but it was done by the Spaniards without the consent of their commanders, and did not last long.

The Dutch appeared off Petit Goave with a squadron, and seized all the vessels; but they gave the inhabitants to understand, they were willing to consider St. Domingo as a neutral country, if they were allowed to trade there. This produced the desired effect: notwithstanding the orders of the French court to the contrary, the Dutch were well received, whenever they came to traffic.

M. Pouancy sent 800 buccaneers, under the command of Franquesnay, to plunder Santiago in Cuba. They landed in the night, and were near the city. They divided into two parties, and went different ways round a mountain: upon meeting, they mistook each other for enemies; their conflict alarmed the city, and those were lucky who escaped to their ships!

Another party attacked and plundered Puerta de Principe, in Cuba; and the Marquis de Maintenon, in the Sorciere frigate, with some buccaneers, ravaged Trinidad and Margarita.

1679.

Charles the Second of England sent out fresh instructions to Lord Carlisle, the governor of Jamaica, by which he was authorized, with the consent of his council, to summon general assemblies of the freeholders and planters. The persons returned by the majority of the freeholders of the respective parishes, after taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, when assembled, were to be called the General Assembly of the island, with full power, with the consent of the governor and council, to make and ordain laws, which they were instructed to do as agreeably to the laws of England as conveniently might be.

All laws, of every description, were by the first conveyance, or within three months, to be sent to England for the Royal

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 158—161. Edwards, vol. iii. p. 364.

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approbation; and they were to be void and of none effect, if they were not approved.

A negative voice was given to the Earl of Carlisle, in making or passing all laws, and power to dissolve the General Assemblies; and, with his council, "for the time to come, to raise money, as had been practised in their infant state," if the Assembly did not comply with his Royal commands. Also an Order in Council, that the laws should once more be tendered to the Assembly, and in case of their refusal to pass them, that he should instantly dissolve the House, and continue to govern without an Assembly. The Assembly met, with a fixed determination not to comply with them, and evaded giving their answer, by pretending the island was in danger of being invaded by the French, and requesting to be prorogued, that they might take measures for defending it.

In November, they voted against every one of the laws transmitted from England, and presented an address to the King.

1st December, the governor commanded the House to attend him, produced an oath as a test of their principles and loyalty, and required them all to take it in his presence, and he should consider the "recusant" as disaffected! Colonel Beeston, the Speaker, refused, and all the members but five. His Excellency dissolved the Assembly, determined not to call another; and Colonel Samuel Long, chief justice of the island, and one of the council, were superseded by Lord Carlisle's orders, and sent to England, with six more of the Assembly, to attend the King and Council in England, and answer for their conduct.

A revolt took place among the Negroes in St. Domingo: they were headed by a Spanish Negro, called Padrejan, who had murdered his master, and taken refuge among the French. Their place of refuge was upon the top of the mountain Tarare, from whence they descended occasionally, and laid all waste with fire and sword. M. Pouancy, the governor, could not get any of the inhabitants to attack them, till a vessel with twenty buccaneers touching at Port de Paix, he proposed to them to attack the Negroes in their intrenchments. The proposal was accepted, and the mountain Tarare stormed, with a resolution that frightened the blacks. Seven, with Padrejan, were killed: the rest escaped to the Spaniards.

"Acte conclu entre les Ambassadeurs de France et de Brandebourg, pour faire cesser les hostilités en Amerique; à Nimegue, le 16 Mai, 1679:—

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 198. 200. Edwards, vol. iii. p. 329.
Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 162. Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 1. p. 407.

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"Nous, Charles Colbert, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plenipotentiaire de sa Majesté Tres-Chrestienne, pour les Traitez des Paix, etc. Et nous, Werner Guillaume de Blaspiel, aussi Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plenipotentiaire de son Altesse Electorale de Brandebourg, pour le même sujet, Declarons, à tous qu'il appartiendra, que, comme sa Majesté ayant esté informée que deux particuliers auroient fait depuis peu un armement dans le ports de Zeelande, et qu'ils en estoient partis avec deux vaisseaux armez en guerre, pour aller dans Isles de l'Amerique, faire la guerre à ses sujets, sous la commission de son Altesse Electorale de Brandebourg, avoit fait partir, pour lesdites isles, Monsieur le Comte d'Estrées, avec une esquadre de quatorze vaisseaux, pour les chercher et les prendre ou couler à fond: Nous, pour empêcher que les hostilitez par mer ne puissent apporter quelque retardement aux dispositions, qu'il y a, à les faire cesser au plustost par terre, serions convenus en vertu de nos pleinpouvoirs, qu'il sera incessammement donné ordre par son Altesse Electorale aux capitaines desdites deux fregattes, de ne rien entreprendre contre les vaisseaux et sujets de sa Majesté. Et que, sur les duplicats qui seront expediez dudit ordre, et remis entre les mains de nous Ambassadeur de France, sa Majesté Tres-Chrestienne fera aussi sçavoir audit Seigneur Comte d'Estrées, que son intention est, qu'il laisse la liberté ausdites deux fregattes, de naviger par tout ou bon leur semblera. En foy de quoy nous avons signé le present Acte, et à iceluy fait apposer les cachets de nos armes. Fait à Nimegue, ce seizième Mai, 1679."

1680.

The French inhabitants of San Domingo, in consequence of a report that the Company of Senegal were to possess all their commerce, flew to arms. The governor, M. de Franquesnay, appeased them, by assurances that no such monopoly was intended. They had already suffered severely by their principal produce, tobacco, being farmed.

Gramont, the buccaneer, attacked La Guira, and carried off the governor and 150 men prisoners.

"The toil and merit (Mr. Suckling says) of cultivating the Virgin Islands were reserved for some English planters at Anguilla, a neighbouring island, possessed by the English, French, and Dutch, who, about the year 1680, embarked with their families and fortunes, and settled in the Virgin Islands.

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 165. 169. Suckling's Virgin Islands. Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 93.

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A Calvinist, named Gobin, erected a house on Cape François, in San Domingo, "and prevailed on others to join him in his retreat. Time added to their numbers, and the convenience of their situation justified their choice. As the lands became cleared, and the value of its commodious bay became known, both inhabitants and shipping resorted to the spot," and the town of Cape François rose to importance.

On the 5th of April, 331 buccaneers, under the command of Bartholomew Sharp, Richard Sawkins, Peter Harris, John Coxon, and Edward Cook, landed upon the Spanish Main, near the Isle d'Oro — marched to the town of Santa Maria — and upon the 15th of the same month, captured the fort and 260 men, with the loss of only two men wounded; but not finding the plunder they expected, three hundred weight of gold having been sent off three days before, they proceeded down the River Santa Maria in the Gulf of St. Miguel, in the South Sea, in thirty-five canoes and one piragua, to attack the city of Panama. Their depredations in those seas do not belong to this history. Coxon was accused of cowardice by some of the buccaneers, and after the first action off Panama, returned with seventy men, to march back the same way they had come.

The Spaniards attacked the island of Providence, and totally destroyed the English settlement there. They took Mr. Clark, the governor, to Cuba, in irons, where they are said to have spitted and roasted him to death!

The celebrated Sir Henry Morgan was left by Lord Carlisle deputy-governor and commander-in-chief of Jamaica. During his government, Fort Rupert, Fort Carlisle, and a new line at Fort James, were built.

Sir Richard Dutton succeeded Sir Jonathan Atkins as governor of Barbadoes.

The King of France forbade all privateering against the Spaniards in the West Indies: he found no benefit accrued to himself or his subjects by granting commissions to these pirates, who, when opportunity offered, robbed all nations. He sent orders to all his governors in America to recall all the commissions which had been granted them, and henceforth they were to be deemed pirates.

Upon the 25th of March, 1780, Father Louis Hennepin, in company with Antoine Auguil, surnamed Picard du Gay, and Michel Ako, a native of Poitou, in a bark canoe, arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi. They had left M. de la Salle, at Fort Crevecœur, on the 29th of February, and descended by the River Illinois into the Mississippi.

Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 384. Ringrose's Hist. of the Buccaneers, chap. i. B. Edwards, vol. i. p. 185.—vol. iii. p. 411. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 308, 309. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 164. Voyage du Hennepin, à Leide, 1704. p. 271. 239. 241.

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Having discovered the sea, and the two men being fearful of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, Father Hennepin, after erecting a cross of ten or twelve feet in height, to which he fastened a letter with their names, and a succinct account of their voyage, and having upon their knees sung some hymns, they set out upon their return.

The Spaniards attacked and dislodged the English from their settlement in the Laguna de Terminos; but the English returned again three months afterwards, and resumed their old trade of cutting logwood, with greater success than before.

1681.

Upon the 1st of January, 1681, divine service was performed, for the first time, in the new church at Port Royal, Jamaica. The text was from Acts, vii. 33. "Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place where thou standest is holy ground." The sermon was "published at the request of Sir Henry Morgan and other gentlemen, by whose liberal contribution the said church was erected."

In October, 1681, M. Barbot sailed from Rochelle for Guinea, for a cargo of slaves. They arrived at Martinico upon the 12th of May, 1682, with 250 slaves, having lost only seven upon the passage. He sold them for 7000 lbs. of brown sugar the "Indian Piece" — "by which is meant a Black from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. From eight to fifteen, and from twenty-five to thirty-five, three pass for two. Below eight, and from thirty-five to forty-five, two pass for one. Sucking infants follow their mothers *without* account. All above forty-five years are valued by arbitrators." By this it appears that infants were of no value in this accursed trade.

Barbot returned to Rochelle in September, 1682, having been eleven months and ten days on his whole voyage out and home.

The island of Antigua was desolated by a tremendous hurricane.

The legislature of Barbadoes passed an Act upon the 8th of June, prohibiting Quakers from carrying negroes to their meetings. The same act contained a clause which forbade dissenters to instruct their pupils, or even to keep schools upon the island. All Negroes were prohibited from attending any meeting-houses whatever!

Voyage du Hennepin, à Leide, 1704, pp. 272. 276. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 341. The Sermon, London, 1681. Churchill's Collection, vol. v. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 269. Off. Papers presented to House of Commons, 1815. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 115.

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By a new commission to Lord Carlisle, under the "broad seal," dated 3d November, Jamaica was restored to its former government, and all their privileges enlarged.

During the controversy, Lord Carlisle left the island, and Sir Henry Morgan, acting as lieutenant-governor, having intelligence that Everson, the Dutch pirate, was in Cow Bay, with a sloop and "barqua longa," with 100 desperate fellows on board, sent a sloop with fifty men, besides officers, in quest of him. On the 1st of February, they attacked the pirates, killed the Dutch captain, and took the sloop. The bark cut her cable, and escaped. The crew were almost all of them English, and Sir Henry sent them to the governor of Carthagena, to be punished for the outrages they had committed upon the Spaniards. During Sir Henry's government, he promoted and passed an act of Assembly, "for restraining privateers." The act states, "That all articles concluded and all treaties of peace agreed upon with foreign states shall be inviolably kept." And it enacts, that "any subject belonging to the island, who should serve in a hostile manner in America, under any foreign prince, state, or potentate, should be deemed a felon, and, upon conviction, suffer death." Sir Thomas Lynch was appointed governor, and empowered to make such laws as should be conducive to his Majesty's interest, and agreeable to the Assembly.

The rate of interest was fixed, by an act of Assembly, at ten pounds per cent. And one on the 28th of October, intituled, "An Act declaring the laws of England in force."

Another act was passed, ordering,

1. Masters to keep one white man-servant to the first five slaves, one to the second five; and for every ten after the first ten, one.

5. £10 penalty for employing a free person without a certificate from the last employer.

9. Fathers of bastard children shall indemnify the parish.

10. Freemen marrying a servant, penalty £20, to be paid to the master, and the servant to be free.

12. Penalty of £20 on masters turning away sick servant, under pretence of freedom.

13. No servant to be whipped naked, without order of a justice of the peace, upon penalty £5.

16. A christian servant not to be buried till viewed by the justice, constable, &c.

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. pp. 115. 302. 555. 610.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789.

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1682.

James, Duke of Courland, covenanted with Captain John Poyntz, for settling 120,000 acres of land in Tobago, with the subjects of England and Courland. Captain Poyntz published proposals, under the authority of the duke's grant, from the Crown of England, and all the powers of Europe seemed to acquiesce in his right.

M. de Pouancy, the French governor of San Domingo, died this year.

The Dutch West India Company bought of the States General the exclusive management of the colony of Surinam for 260,000 florins. By the eighth article, the Company are absolutely prohibited from ever sending a single vessel to the colony for the purposes of trade, and are only permitted to carry thither slaves from Africa, and to reload the slave ships with the produce of the taxes paid in kind, and the price received for the slaves sold.

The Company were to name the governor, but the appointment was always to be ratified by the States General.

And the Company could not levy any taxes upon the settlement without the consent of the States.

Several new laws were passed by the Governor, Council, and Assembly of Jamaica, whereof twenty-eight were confirmed by his Majesty for seven years, and afterwards for twenty-one. That declaring the laws of England in force, was, on the 23d of February, 1682, by the King in Council, repealed, made "void, and of none effect."

1683.

The buccaneers were in the habit of meeting at the island of Rattan, and there settling their plans. It was agreed among them, that the Captains Laurent and Michael should go to Honduras after a Spanish "hourque," and that Van Horne should go to San Domingo and sell a cargo of Negroes.

The Spaniards seized the slaves as stolen goods, but did not detain Van Horne, who went immediately to Petit Goave, and obtained a commission from the French governor to cruize against the Spaniards.

Captain Gramont was there when Van Horne arrived: he

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 284. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 172.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, B. 1. S. 3. p. 341. Long's Jamaica, p. 610.
Histoire des Aventuriers Flibustiers, par A. O. Oexmelin, tom. i. p. 263.

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had been driven ashore in a large ship of fifty-two guns, had lost the whole of his property, and was glad to join Van Horne as a volunteer. Three hundred others did so also.

Although Van Horne knew that Laurent and Michael were gone after the "hourque," he went and took her himself, and was carrying her as his prize to Rattan, when he fell in with Laurent, who was enraged at the transaction: the vessel was in ballast, and not worth much. Van Horne contrived to pacify Laurent, and induced him to enter into his plans for attacking Vera Cruz.

They knew the Spaniards expected two vessels from the Caraccas. The buccaneers, therefore, put the best of their men into two vessels, and about midnight landed at the old town of La Vera Cruz, two leagues from the new town. After taking the Vigie upon the beach, they seized some slaves, made them serve as guides, and were at the gates of Vera Cruz an hour before daylight. They entered when the gates were opened, and the Forlorn Hope, commanded by Captain Laurent and Charles Roinet, got possession of a fort mounting twelve guns, which they turned upon the town without the least opposition.

The Spaniards mistook the firing for rejoicings, and supposed it was done by a rich citizen of the same name as the saint whose festival it happened to be that day. They were, however, roused from their beds by the appalling cry, that the "Ladrones" were in the city! A horrible confusion ensued: all who attempted opposition were speedily overcome. The wealthiest surrendered, and multitudes escaped. The conquerors put all their prisoners into the cathedral, and blocked up the doors with powder, from which they laid trains, and posted a man at each with a lighted match, with orders, in case the prisoners attempted any further resistance, to blow up them and the church!

The buccaneers were now undisputed masters of the richest city in America, which, according to Gramont's statement, had 3000 men to defend it, could, within twenty-four hours, draw 16,000 more from the neighbourhood, exclusive of 800 soldiers in the garrison, and sixty pieces of cannon in the fortress of St. Juan de Ulloa, one side of which commanded the sea, the other the city. For twenty-four hours the buccaneers were busily employed in plundering the city, and embarked jewels, money, cochenille, &c. to the value of six millions of dollars. Having finished plundering, they called upon those in the church to ransom themselves, and made a Spanish priest address the multitude from the pulpit. He told them, "that the conquerors neither wanted their lives, or intended to deprive them of liberty, but they demanded their money; and as liberty and life were of

Histoire des Aventuriers Flibustiers, par A. O. Oexmelin, tom. i. p. 266.

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more value than money, he exhorted them to give what they had without delay, if they wished to preserve both the one and the other."

A general surrender was made, and 200,000 dollars more immediately placed in the hands of the conquerors; who, being all ready to embark, gave the prisoners their liberty. A Spanish fleet, of seventeen sail of the line, was hourly expected; and this, probably, expedited the departure of the buccaneers, who passed within sight of the fleet, and escaped with their booty.

The inhabitants of San Domingo, notwithstanding all orders to the contrary, received them upon their return as friends, and menaced their governor with death for threatening to punish some of the leading pirates!

Van Horne was a little man; as a common sailor he saved about 200 dollars. Another sailor, who had made as much, joined with him; they went to France, and got a commission for a privateer, a small vessel rigged as a fishing-boat, and carrying about thirty men. In this vessel he cruized so successfully against the Dutch, that he was enabled to purchase a large vessel at Ostend, and in a few years became the commodore of a small fleet—which, cruizing under a French flag, attacked the vessels of all other nations. After the time of his commission was expired, he still continued to cruize, and then plundered French vessels also. The French court ordered M. d'Estrées to detain him, and a ship was sent to do so; but as the commander had not orders to proceed to extremities, and Van Horne was determined not to go without, he was suffered to escape. He then proceeded to Puerto Rico, and entered the bay, sounding his trumpets, &c. and sent on shore to the governor to say, that he was come there to offer his services to escort the galleons, which were there ready to sail, during their passage.

The governor accepted the offer, and Van Horne sailed with them; but being joined by some other buccaneers, he seized the richest of the Spaniards, sunk some others, and chased the rest.

At the Caye du Sacrifice he quarrelled with Captain Laurent, and died in consequence of a wound he received in a duel with him. He was immensely rich, and wore, in general, a string of pearls of extraordinary size, with a ruby of great beauty. His widow lived afterwards at Ostend.

The Dutch West India Company sold one third share of their charter to the city of Amsterdam, and another to the rich family of Sommersdyk. These three co-proprietors formed a society, under the name of the Surinam Company, regulated by the charter originally granted to the West India Company.

Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 183.
Histoire des Aventuriers Flibustiers, par A. O. Oexmelin, tom. i. pp. 290. 297.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, B. 1. S. 3. p. 343.

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Upon the 1st of April, a Spanish half-galley captured a pink, the Blessing, of Boston, David East, master. They twisted a piece of sea-net round the head of Mr. Charles Cretchet, the mate, until his eyes were ready to start out, and then hung him up by the thumbs; but not being able to get any information from him, as to what money there was on board the pink, they carried the whole crew, Robert Pierce, Peter Clement, John Bath, Peter Rowland, and another seaman, to one of the uninhabited Bahama Islands; where, after stripping them stark naked, they tied them, with their arms spread, to the branches of some mangrove trees, two by two, each couple about a quarter of a mile apart, standing up to the middle of their legs in water, and their faces turned that they might behold each other's misery: in this state they were left to perish.

About three hours after the Spaniards left them, one of the men saw a stick, with a crook at the end of it, not far from him: in a little time he and his companion contrived to lift it up with their feet, and at last got hold of it. With this, by degrees, they loosened the knot upon the "bowing" of their arms, and shifted it to their fingers, and then, by "little and little," set themselves at liberty, and released their despairing friends.

Soon afterwards, they saw one of the Spaniards in a tree looking out for strange sails: they immediately hid themselves in the thickets, and did not meet again until the third night following — in all which time they were without water, except what dew they could lick from the leaves, and the master had his arm very much torn by an alligator. Next day, they killed a rabbit and devoured it raw, but applied its entrails to the master's arm: they also found some wilks and crabs.

The 13th of April, Charles Cretchet, the mate, with Robert Pierce, and Peter Clement, made a raft, and put to sea. Mr. East, John Bath, and Peter Rowland were left behind very feeble, and quite naked. The musquitoes tormented them grievously: they were too weak to go over the rocks for wilks, but gnawed such dry bones of turtles as were lying about. In this extremity they found a dead eel, which they supposed some bird had dropped. Upon the 19th, they got to sea upon a raft—were picked up by some canoes, and carried to the Havannah.

The Blessing had been brought into that harbour, and her cargo taken out; but she had no Spanish goods on board, and they could not make a prize of her: she was therefore restored to Mr. East, who was liberated from prison after eighteen days confinement.

Upon the 10th of June, "the Hunters" brought Robert Pierce and Peter Clement to the Havannah, where the governor ordered

History of New England, Cotton Mather, B. 6. p. 6.

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them to be sent on board the Blessing. These men were five days upon the raft, with only two crabs to live upon: they had been driven back to the island, where they had wandered about for a month. The mate was too weak to travel with them, and they had lost him. The pink now sailed for Boston, and arrived there safe; but her unfortunate crew, having only a canvas shirt each, which the Hunters had given them, were almost starved with the cold.

Upon the 7th of April, M. de la Salle arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi: he there caused Te Deum to be sung, set up a cross, and carved the arms of France on a great tree. M. de la Salle had travelled from the lakes in Canada to Frontenac, entered the River Illinois the 24th of January, 1683, and the Mississippi on the 2d of February. The 11th of April following, he embarked in a canoe, and sailed for Quebec, to inform the Count de Frontenac, governor-general of New France, of his discoveries. Father Louis Hennepin had been down the river two years before him.

Captain William Phips sailed from England in the Algier Rose, of eighteen guns and ninety-five men, to search for the wreck of a Spanish galleon among the Bahama Islands.[1] In the West Indies his men mutinied, and intended to carry the vessel to the South Sea. The carpenter informed Captain Phips of their plans, who contrived to carry the vessel to Jamaica, where he got another crew, and sailed again in search of the wreck.

At Española, an old Spaniard told him that the wreck lay a few leagues to the northward of Puerta de la Plata, which was so called, because some of the crew, with a boat, full of plate, landed there after the frigate was wrecked.

Captain Phips sailed for the shoal, and searched it very carefully, but without success; and being doubtful of his crew, he returned to England.

Two ships were freighted with horses and pipe staves to Barbadoes from Philadelphia, one year only after the foundation of that city by William Penn.

Boyer's Pol. State of G. B., v. xix. p. 43. Hist. of New England, C. Mather, p. 38. Life of W. Penn, Clarkson's, vol. i. p. 383.

[1] Phip's cruize for the wreck was no new thought. In a political squib, entitled *An exact Account of the Receipts and Disbursements expended by the Committee of Safety upon the Emergent Occasions of the Nation*, 1660—is the following item: "Paid to a projector, towards a design which he had to look into the middle of the Western Ocean for a great Spanish galleon, that was sunk with the weight of the gold that she carried, some thirty years ago,—two thousand five hundred pounds."

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1684.

Captain Laurent was a tall man, fair and with light hair: he wore mustachios, and was very fond of amusing himself on board his ship with music: violins and trumpets were his favourite instruments. He was remarkable for superior manners and address. In the Spanish service he was employed against the buccaneers, from whom he took a great many prisoners. At last, however, he was taken by them, and having been offended by the Spaniards, he determined to join the buccaneers, and got the command of a vessel with them. He was cruizing as a single ship when he fell in with two Spanish galleons, each of sixty guns, from which he found it impossible to escape by running away: he therefore made an animated speech to his crew, and concluded by telling them, that the only chance of escape was by fighting. He ordered a man to stand by him with a lighted match, ready to blow up the vessel if they should be overpowered, and at the same time ran in between the two vessels, and poured in a well-directed fire of musketry, which killed forty-eight of the Spaniards. The action continued for some time, when the main-mast of the largest ship was carried away, and her consort not daring to board, Captain Laurent escaped with flying colours.

The report of this action produced very different effects upon the courts at Paris and Madrid — that of France sent out letters of naturalization to Laurent, and of pardon for the death of Van Horne. The court of Spain sent out orders to try their commander for cowardice, and cut off his head.

Laurent afterwards, in company with the captains Michel Junque, le Sage, and Braha, was cruizing off Carthagena. The Spaniards sent out two thirty-six-gun ships and a small craft of six guns to engage Laurent: they made sail for a bay to leeward of Carthagena, where he had been seen, but were surprised to find more vessels than they expected: they endeavoured to retreat, but Laurent attacked them, and after an action of eight hours, and killing 400 Spaniards, he took the admiral, and the other ship was taken by Junque. Laurent's prize was driven ashore shortly afterwards, and the prisoners escaped.

Colonel Hender Molesworth was appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Lynch in the government of Jamaica.

M. de Cussy arrived at St. Domingo as governor: he had been the competitor of M. de Pouancy, and afterwards was under his order, and now his successor. The colony was in a most disor-

Histoire des Aventuriers, par A. O. Oexmelin, tom. i. pp. 276. 283.
Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 309. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 184.

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derly state, without any religion or police, or established forms of justice: the increase of population rendered this state no longer to be tolerated. The Chevalier St. Laurent, the King's lieutenant-governor of the French islands in America, and M. Begon, the intendant, were ordered to St. Domingo, to consult with De Cussy, and reform the abuses in that island: they arrived at Cape François in August.

Several persons convicted of participating in the Rye-house Plot, and reprieved from hanging, on condition they should serve ten years in the West Indies, arrived in Jamaica, where the governor, "by special directions from his Majesty's command," recommended the Assembly to prepare an act "to prevent all clandestine releasments, or buying out of their time, to the end that their punishment, after so great a mitigation, may yet in some measure be answerable to their crime."

July the 24th, M. de la Salle, with four ships and 200 soldiers and tradesmen, sailed from Rochelle, to establish a colony on the banks of the Mississippi (down which river he had descended the preceding year). Off St. Domingo, one of his vessels was wrecked in a gale of wind, the other three missed the mouth of the Mississippi; and two of them were wrecked in a bay, which M. de la Salle named after St. Louis: the men and most part of their cargoes were saved. The fourth vessel, under the command of M. de Beaujeu, returned to France.

M. de la Salle built a fort near a river, which he named Vatches, and after a search of two months, he discovered the entrance of the Mississippi by the marks he had left there in his first voyage. From hence he set out to explore the country, and was murdered by two of his own people.

1685.

L'Ordonnance of the Code Noir was issued this year: one of its sections provided for the marriage of slaves, and forbade the separation, by sale, of the husband from the wife or children.

A great majority of the French planters opposed this law, because it abridged their power of alienation. M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil considered it calculated to produce insubordination, conspiracies, and insurrections!![1]

Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 187. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 625.
Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xix. p. 43.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 362. Stephens on West Indian Slavery, p. 164.

1 "*March*, 1685.—*Ordinance of the King, concerning the Discipline of the Church, and the Condition of Slaves in the West India Colonies.*

"Art. 2. All slaves to be baptized according to the Roman Catholic religion.

"4. No person but a Roman Catholic to have the charge of slaves.

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If marriage was to produce such consequences, it is not to be wondered at, that, to teach them Christianity, should, in after

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 117.

" 6. Forbidding the working of slaves on the sabbath or the holidays of the Roman Catholic religion from one midnight to the next.

" 7. Forbidding the holding of market on the above days.

" 8. Every person, not of the Roman Catholic religion, incapable of contracting marriage.

9. Free persons who beget children with slaves, as well as the owners of such slaves permitting it, subject to a penalty of 2000 lbs. of sugar. If the master of the slave be father of the children, he is deprived of slave and children, who become confiscated for the good of the hospital, and lose the right of ever being freed. If, however, the father be unmarried, by marriage with his slave (if his property) she becomes free, and the children legitimate.

" 10. The formalities prescribed by the Ordinance of Blois, as well as by the Declaration of 1639, respecting marriages, to be observed as well with regard to free persons as to slaves, with this exception, that the consent of the father and mother of the slave is not necessary, but only that of the master.

" 11. Forbidding all curés to marry slaves without the permission of their masters. Forbidding, likewise, masters to force their slaves to marry.

" 12. Children born of slaves, although married, are still considered slaves, and belong to the master of the female slave, should they have different masters.

" 13. If the slave-husband marries a free woman, the children, whether males or females, are of the condition of the mother, and considered free, notwithstanding the father be a slave. If the father is free, and the mother a slave, the children are slaves.

" 14. Owners bound to inter their slaves in consecrated ground, and places destined for that purpose, should the slave be baptised. If a slave dies without having received baptism, to be interred during the night in some contiguous spot.

" 15. Forbidding slaves to carry arms or large sticks, under pain of flogging, and confiscation of the arms: excepted, those who are sent out shooting by their masters, and are bearers of their permission.

" 16. Forbidding slaves, belonging to different masters, to assemble together at night, at the dwelling of either master or elsewhere, under pretext of weddings or otherwise, nor in the high roads or by-ways, under pain of corporal punishment, which cannot be less than flogging and the fleur-de-lis; and in case of frequent repetitions, and under aggravated circumstances, they can be punished with death, at the discretion of the judges.

" 17. Masters, convicted of having permitted or tolerated such assemblies, composed of others than their own slaves, shall be condemned to repair any injury caused by such assembly, to pay a fine of ten livres for the first offence, and double in case of repetition.

" 18. Forbidding slaves to sell sugar canes, even with their master's permission, under pain of flogging for the slaves; a fine of ten livres tournois against the master; and the like sum against the buyer.

" 19. Forbidding slaves to expose for sale, either in the market or at private houses, any kind of produce, not even fruits, vegetables, or grass, for feeding cattle, without a written permission from their masters. Articles so sold to be reclaimed by masters without repayment, and a fine of six livres against the buyer.

" 20. Ordering that two persons shall be appointed for each market, for the purpose of examining the produce and merchandize which shall be exposed for sale by slaves, as also the permission granted by their masters.

" 21. Authorizing all persons to seize articles which shall be found in the possession of slaves who have not their master's permission.

" 22. Masters to allow to their slaves, from ten years of age and upwards, the following rations of provisions weekly: Two and a half pots (Paris measure) of farine manioc, or three cavasss, each weighing two pounds and a half at least, or its equivalent, with two pounds salt beef, or three pounds fish, or other things in proportion; and to infants, from the time of being weaned until they shall have attained ten years, half of the above allowance.

" 23. Forbidding the allowance of spirituous liquors to slaves, in lieu of

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times, be said to excite them to rebellion and massacre in the English islands.

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 117.

the subsistence allowed in the preceding article.

"24. Forbidding masters from allowing their slaves certain days in the week to work in lieu of subsistence.

"25. Masters to allow to each slave yearly two suits of clothes, or four ells of linen.

"26. Slaves, not clothed and fed by their masters, as laid down by foregoing clauses, to make their complaint to the procureur du roi, who acts in their behalf, and prosecutes the masters ex officio, without expense. Procureur du roi to act in a similar manner in all cases of improper treatment of slaves by their masters.

"27. Slaves, infirm either from age, sickness, or otherwise, whether the disorder may be incurable or not, shall be fed and maintained by their masters; and, in the event of their being abandoned, the said slaves shall be sent to the hospital, and the masters obliged to pay ten sols per diem for the maintenance of each slave.

"28. Slaves can possess nothing independent of their masters. All that they may acquire by industry, or through the liberality of other persons, or otherwise, belong in full right to their masters, without the children of such slaves, their fathers, mothers, or their families, or others, pretending any right to the same, either by succession, gift, or otherwise; declaring all gifts, promises, or obligations, made by slaves, to be null and void, and as having been made by persons incapable of acting or contracting and disposing for themselves.

"29. Masters held responsible for what their slaves may do by their orders; also for their engagements in commerce, undertaken with master's consent. Should their masters have given no orders, they shall be bound only in as far as they may have reaped any profit; and in case of no profit arising to the master, the peculium of the slaves, which their masters might have permitted them to possess, shall be answerable; the master first paying himself out of this peculium whatever the slave may owe him; excepting the peculium consist of merchandise, which the slave had been allowed to make a traffic of, in which case the master has no more claim than the other creditors.

"30. Slaves not allowed to be appointed to office, nor to any public situation, nor to be appointed agents to others than their masters, nor to be concerned in commerce, nor act as arbitrators or witnesses, either in civil or criminal matters; and, in the event of their being called upon as witnesses, their depositions can only serve to assist the judge, without being considered as a presumption or admission of proof.

"31. Slaves cannot be parties in civil matters, either as plaintiffs or defendants, nor be civil parties in criminal matters, reserving, however, to their masters to act for and defend them, and to demand in their behalf, in criminal matters, reparation for any ill treatment received by their slaves.

"32. Slaves can be prosecuted criminally, without their masters becoming parties, unless they be accomplices, and they are judged, in first instance, by the ordinary judges, and in appeal by the sovereign council (conseil souverain), with the same formalities as are observed in the cases of free persons.

"33. The slave who strikes his master, or the wife of his master, his mistress, or the husband of his mistress, or their children, and causes a contusion, or effusion of blood, to suffer death.

"34. Slaves guilty of ill-treating and striking free persons to be severely punished, even with death, as the case may be.

"35. Qualified thefts (vols qualifiés), even those of horses, mules, or horned cattle, committed by slaves, or persons enfranchised, to be severely punished, even with death, if the case require it.

"36. Thefts of sheep, goats, hogs, fowls, sugar-canes, peas, corn, manioc, and other vegetables, committed by slaves, to be punished according to the nature of the theft, even by flogging by the public executioner, and stamping with a fleur-de-lis.

"37. Masters, whose slaves have been guilty of robbery or other injuries, independent of the corporal punishment of the slaves, to be compelled to repair the injury done by such slaves; they are at

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Sir Richard Dutton, the governor of Barbadoes, caused an additional duty to be laid upon sugar. The inhabitants peti-

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 117.

liberty, however, to abandon their slaves to the person injured, provided the same be done within three days after condemnation.

"38. A slave who shall have absented himself for one month from the day in which his master shall have denounced him to justice, shall have his ears cut, and be stamped with the fleur-de-lis in one shoulder. If he absents himself a second time for a month, counting also from the day of his being denounced, he shall have his hams cut, and be marked with a fleur-de lis on the other shoulder. For the third offence, to suffer death.

"39. Persons enfranchised, who afford retreat to fugitive slaves, to pay (par corps) 3000 lbs. sugar to the master, for each day of retention of the slave; and other free persons affording such retreat, to pay ten livres tournois for each day's retention.

"40. The slave, who suffers death on denunciation of his master, not an accomplice in his crime, to be estimated before his execution by two principal inhabitants named by the judge, and the price of estimation to be paid to the master, out of a fund to be levied upon all Negroes liable to duty.

"41. The judge, procureurs, and greffiers, are prohibited demanding any fees in criminal procedures against slaves.

"42. Masters, when they consider their slaves deserve punishment, permitted only to chain them, and flog them with rods or cords. They are prohibited putting them to torture, or mutilating their limbs, under pain of confiscation of the slaves, and of the master being proceeded against extraordinarily.

"43. Masters or commandeurs (drivers), who kill a slave under their orders or protection, to be prosecuted criminally, and punished according to the nature of the offence.

"44. Slaves considered moveables, and as such liable to mortgage.

"45. May be stipulated, "propres," as is the custom in the case of sums of money and other moveables.

"46. The same forms to be observed in the seizure of slaves as of moveable property, — the proceeds arising from the sale, to be distributed in the order of seizure, "au sol la livre," after the payment of privileged debts.—The condition of slaves to be assimilated in all things to other moveables, with the following exceptions:

"47. Husband and wife, together with their children under the age of puberty, cannot, if belonging to the same owner, be sold separately; all sales of this description declared to be null and void, whether voluntary or otherwise. Any slaves so illegally retained to be adjudged to, and to belong to the purchaser of the other member of the family, without any additional sum being required.

"48. Slaves from the age of fourteen to sixty years, working upon plantations, cannot be seized for debts, except for the sum due for their purchase, or except the estate be under real seizure, in which case all such slaves to be included in the seizure, and be sold together with the estate.

"49. Children (slaves), born while an estate is under real seizure, not to be considered as fruits belonging to the judicial tenant.

"50. Such children to form a part of the property seized, and to be disposed of accordingly.

"51. In the distribution of the preceeds of the sale of a property seized really, the price of land and slaves to be considered as one.

"52. The retrait ligangée, (*i. e.* repurchase of an estate by a relation of the person who sold it,) and feudal claims on fiefs, cannot be exercised against the land separately from the slaves.

"53. Guardians and others in occupation of estates to which slaves are attached, ordered to treat them with humanity; they are not obliged, after their administration, to account for slaves who may have died, or have decreased in value from sickness, or otherwise. Children born to be considered belonging to the owner of the slaves.

"54. Masters who shall have attained twenty years can free their slaves, without being obliged to give an account thereof.

"55. Slaves universal legatees to their masters, executors to their wills, or tutors

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tioned the British Government for redress, but without success. Sir Richard returned to England, and appointed Colonel Edwin Stede, a gentleman who had been his secretary, deputy-governor during his absence. The Assembly made Colonel Stede a present of 1000 pounds, and thus established a precedent, which has continued. Every new governor considers this sum as his due, and the custom has been too long established to be revoked.

A thousand buccaneers landed, with the hope of surprising the city of Merida, in the province of Jucatan; but the Spaniards threw in a reinforcement of 700 men so promptly, and were otherwise so well prepared, that the attempt completely failed.

In August, the King of France issued letters patent for the establishment of a Sovereign Council and four Tribunals, on the coast of the island of St. Domingo.

The council to be established in the Bourg de Gouave, like those of the American islands under the same power, and be composed of two deputy-lieutenants, two majors, and twelve counsellors. This council was empowered to decide definitively all processes and disputes, civil as well as criminal, between the subjects of France, upon appeals against the sentences of the Tribunals, without any costs. They were to assemble on certain days, and at certain hours, and in whatever places they thought most convenient, at least once a month. The governor to preside, and in his absence the intendant of justice: and this order to apply to all the courts. The governors of the districts, as deputy-lieutenants, the two majors and twelve counsellors, to take place in the absence of either, according to the rank given them; each court to have a seneschal, a lieutenant, a "procureur," and a "greffier."

The one at Petit Gouave to have jurisdiction over le Grand and Petit Gouave, le Rochelois, Nipes, la Grande Anse, and l'Isle des Vaches. The other, at Leogane, to comprehend the establishments at l'Auchalle. The one at Port Pé to extend from Port François to Monleur Encolas, and all the island of Tortuga. That at the Cape to extend north to le Sel.

Histoire des Aventuriers Flibustiers, par Alexandre Oliver Oexmelin, tom. i. p. 300. Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. [illegible]

to their children, reputed and declared free.

"56. Slaves manumitted in the colonies, the same as if they had been born free, do not require letters of naturalization to enjoy the advantages of other subjects of the government, although they may have been born in a foreign colony.

"57. Slaves who have been manumitted are desired to be singularly respectful to their ancient masters, their wives and children, so that any injury done to them will be more severely punished than if done to other persons; they are otherwise declared to be free of all other obligations to their former owners.

"59. Slaves manumitted to enjoy the same rights, privileges, and immunities as are enjoyed by persons born free." — "*Further Papers*" (*Parliamentary*), 1826, pp. 38—42.

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1686.

The Sovereign Council of Martinico humbly prayed the King of France to permit the evidence of slaves to be received in all cases where there should not be sufficient proof by free witnesses. His Majesty listened to their remonstrance, and by an edict, dated 13th October, 1686, directed that the testimony of slaves might be received when white witnesses were wanting, except against their masters.

" Traité de Neutralité, conclu à Londres, le seizieme Novembre, 1686, entre Louis le Quatorzième, Roi de France, et Jaques le Second, Roi d'Angleterre, touchant les pays des deux Rois en Amerique.

" Le Tres-Haut et Tres-Puissant Prince, Louis le Quatorzième, Roi Tres-Chretien de France et de Navarre, et Tres-Puissant Prince, Jacques le Second, Roi de la Grande Bretagne, n'aiant rien plus à cœur, que d'etablir tous les jours de plus en plus une amitié mutuelle entre eux, et une sincère concorde et correspondance entre les roiaumes, estats, et sujets de leurs Majestez; et à cet effet ayant jugé, à propos de faire un Traité de Paix, bonne correspondance, et neutralité en Amerique pour prevenir, autant qu'il seroit possible, toutes les contestations et les differends qui pourroient naistre entre les sujets de l'une et de l'autre couronne dans ces pays eloignez: Leurs dites Majestez ont resolu d'envoyer de part et d'autre leurs Plenipotentiaires, pour en traiter et en convenir; sçavoir, Sa Majesté Tres Chretienne, le Sieurs Paul Barillon d'Amoncourt, Marquies de Branges, Conseiller Ordinaire en son Conseil d'Etat, et son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire; et Sa dite Majesté Britannique, les Sieurs Georges; Baron de Jeffreis de Wem, Grand Chancelier d'Angleterre; Laurent, Comte de Rochester, Grand Tresorier d'Angleterre; Robert, Comte de Sunderland, President du Conseil Privé, et Secretaire d'Etat; Charles de Middleton, aussi Secretaire d'Etat; et Sidnei, Sieur de Godolphin, tous du Conseil Privé de sa Majesté; pour convenir, apres l'echange des lettres de pleinpouvoir, des articles suivent:—

" 1. Il a este conclu et accordé, que du jour du present Traité il y aura entre la nation Françoise et la nation Angloise, une ferme paix, union, concorde, et bonne correspondance, tant sur mer, que sur terre, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale et Meridionale, et dans les isles, colonies, forts, et villes, sans aucune distinction de lieux, seises dans les etats de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, et de Sa Majesté Britannique, et gouvernées par les commandans de leurdistes Majestez respectivement.

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 2. p. 141.

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" 2. Qu'aucuns vaisseaux, ou bastimens, grands ou petits, appartenans aux sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, ne seront equipez, ni employez dans lesdites isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernements des etats de sadite Majesté, pour attaquer les sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique, dans les isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernemens de sadite Majesté, ou pour leur faire aucun tort ni dommage. Et pareillement, qu'aucuns vaisseaux ou bastimens, grands ou petits, appartenans aux sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique, ne seront equipez ou employez dans les isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernemens de sadite Majesté pour attaquer les sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, dans les isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernemens de sadite Majesté, ou pour leur faire aucun tort ni dommage.

" 3. Qu'aucuns soldats ou gens de guerre, ou autres personnes quelconques qui habitent et demeurent dans lesdites isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernemens de sadite Majesté Tres-Chretienne, ou qui y viennent d'Europe en garnison, n'exerceront aucun acte d'hostilité, et ne feront aucun tort ou dommage, directement ou indirectement, aux sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique, dans lesdites isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernemens de sadite Majesté et ne presteront ni donneront aucune aide ou secours d'hommes ou de vivres aux sauvages contre qui Sa Majesté Britannique aura la guerre. Et pareillement, qu'aucuns soldats ou gens de guerre, ou autres personnes quelconques, qui habitent et demeurent dans lesdites isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernemens de Sa Majesté Britannique, ou qui y viennent d'Europe en garnison, n'exerceront aucun acte d'hostilité, et ne feront aucun tort ou dommage, directement ou indirectement, aux sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, dans lesdites isles, colonies, forteresses, villes, et gouvernemens de sadite Majesté; et ne presteront ni donneront aucune aide ou secours d'hommes ou de vivres, aux sauvages avec qui Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne aura guerre.

" 4. Il a este convenu, que chacun desdits Rois aura et tiendra les domaines, droits, et pre-eminences, dans les mers, detroits, et autres eaux de l'Amerique, et avec la même manière qu'ils en jouissent à present.

" 5. Et que, pour cet effet, les sujets et habitans, marchands, capitaines de vaisseaux, pilotes, et matelots des royaumes, provinces, et terres de chacun desdits Rois respectivement, ne feront aucun commerce ni pesche dans tous les lieux dont l'on est, ou l'on sera, en possession, de part et d'autre, dans l'Amerique. C'est à sçavoir, que les sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne ne se mesleront d'aucun trafic, ne feront aucun commerce, et ne pescheront point dans les ports, rivières, bayes, embouchures de

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 2. p. 141.

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rivières, rades, costes, ou autres lieux, qui sont ou seront ci-apres possedez par Sa Majesté Britannique en Amerique: Et reciproquement, les sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique ne se mesleront d'aucun trafic, ne feront aucun commerce, et ne pescheront point dans les ports, rivières, bayes, embouchures de rivières, rades, costes, ou autres lieux, qui sont ou seront ci-apres possedez par Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne en Amerique. Et au cas qu'aucun vaisseau ou barque, avec sa charge, sera confisqué, apres que la preuve de la contravention aura este legitimement faite. Il sera, neanmoins, permis à la partie qui se sentira grevée par la sentence de confiscation, de se pourvoir au Conseil d'Estat du Roi, dont les gouverneurs ou juges auront rendu ladite sentence de confiscation, et d'y porter sa plainte, sans que pour cela l'execution de la sentence soit empeschée: Bien entendu, neanmoins, que la liberté de la navigation ne doit estre nullement empeschée, pourveu qu'il ne commette rien contre le veritable sens du present Traité.

" 6. De plus, il a este accordé, que si les sujets et habitans de l'un ou de l'autre desdits Roys, et leurs vaisseaux, soit de guerre et public, soit marchands et particuliers, sont emportez par les tempestes, ou estant poursuivis par les pirates, ou par les ennemis, ou pressez par quelque autre necessité, sont contraints, pour se mettre en seurété, de se retirer dans les ports, rivières, bayes, embouchures de rivières, rades, et costes quelconques, appertenantes à l'autre Roi dans l'Amerique, ils y seront bien et amiablement reçus, protegez, et favorablement traitez: Qu'ils pourront, sans qu'on les empêche, en quelque manière que ce soit, s'y refraichir, et même acheter, au prix ordinaire et raisonnable, des vivres, et toutes sortes de provisions necessaires, ou pour la vie, ou pour radouber les vaisseaux, et pour continuer leur route: Qu'on ne les empêchera, non plus en aucune manière de sortir des ports et rades, mais qu'il leur sera permis de partir et s'en aller en toute liberté, quand et où il leur plaira, sans etre molestez ou empêchez: Qu'on ne les obligera point à se defaire de leur charge, ou à decharger et exposer, en vente, leurs marchandises ou balots: Qu'aussi, de leur part, ils ne recevront dans leurs vaisseaux aucunes marchandises, et ne feront point de pesche, sous peine de confiscation desdits vaisseaux et marchandises, conformement à ce qui a este accordé, que toutes et quantesfois, que les sujets de l'un ou de l'autre desdits Rois seront contraints, comme il a este dit ci-dessus, d'entrer avec leurs vaisseaux dans les ports de l'autre Roi, ils seront obligez, en entrant, d'arborer la bannière ou marque de leur nation, et d'avertir, de leur arrivée, par trois coups de mousquet — à faute de quoi faire, et d'envoyer une chaloupe à terre, ils pourront etre confisquez.

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"7. Pareillement, si les vaisseaux de l'un ou de l'autre desdits Rois, et de leurs sujets et habitans, viennant à échouer, jetter en mer leurs marchandises, ou ce qu'a Dieu ne plaise, faire naufrage, ou qu'il leur arrive quelque autre malheur que ce soit, on donnera aide et secours, avec bonté et charité, à ceux qui seront en danger, ou auront fait naufrage; il leur sera delivré des saufsconduits ou passeports, pour pouvoir se retirer dans leur pais, en seurété, et sans etre molestez.

"8. Que si les vaisseaux de l'un ou l'autre Roi qui seront contraints, par quelque avanture ou cause que ce soit, comme il a este dit, de se retirer dans les ports de l'autre Roi, se trouvent au nombre de trois ou de quatre, et peuvent donner quelque juste cause de soupçon, ils feront aussi-tot connoitre, au gouverneur ou principal magistrat du lieu, la cause de leur arrivée; et ne demeureront, qu'autant de tems qu'ils en auront permission dudit gouverneur ou commandant, et ce qu'il sera juste et raisonnable, pour se pourvoir de vivres, et pour radoubir et equiper leurs vaisseaux.

"9. De plus, on est convenu, qu'il sera permis aux sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, qui demeurent dans l'isle de Saint Christophle, d'entrer dans les rivières de la Grande Baye pour faire de l'eau, et s'en fournir: Qu'il sera aussi permis aux sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique de prendre du sel aux salines dudit lieu, et de l'enlever, tant par mer que par terre, sans estre inquietez ni empêchez; pourveu, neanmoins, que lesdits sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne puisent de l'eau pendant le jour seulement, et qu'aussi lesdits sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique ne chargent du sel dans leurs vaisseaux ou barques que pendant le jour, et que les vaisseaux ou barques de l'une et de l'autre nation respectivement, qui viendront se fournir d'eau ou de sel, feront sçavoir leur arrivée, en arborant la bannière ou marque de leur nation, et en avertiront par trois coups de canon, ou, s'ils n'ont point de canon, par trois coups de mousquet. Que si aucun vaisseau, de l'une ou l'autre nation, sous pretexte de venir prendre de l'eau ou de sel, entreprend de trafiquer, il sera confisqué.

"10. Qu'aucuns sujets de l'une ni de l'autre nation ne retireront les sauvages habitans du lieu, ou leurs esclaves, ou les biens que lesdits habitans emporteront, appartenans aux sujets de l'autre nation; et qu'ils ne leur donneront aucune aide ni protection dans lesdits enlevements ou pillages.

"11. Que les commandans, officiers, et sujets de l'un des deux Rois ne troubleront ni molesteront les sujets de l'autre Roi dans l'etablissement de leurs colonies respectivement, ou dans leur commerce et navigation.

"12. Et, afin de pourvoir plus pleinement à la seurété des

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 2. p. 141.

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sujets, tant de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne que de Sa Majesté Britannique, et à tous leurs sujets qui equiperont des vaisseaux à leurs depens; comme aussi aux privilegiez et aux compagnies de faire aucun tort ou dommage à ceux de l'autre nation, sous peine d'etre punis en cas de contravention, et de plus d'etre tenus à tous dommages et interets, à quoi ils pourront etre contraints, tant par saisie de leurs biens, que par emprisonnement de leurs personnes.

" 13. Et, pour cette cause, tous capitaines des vaisseaux armez en guerre, aux depens des particuliers seront dorenavant tenus, avant qu'on leur delivre des patentes ou commissions speciales, de donner, par devant un juge competant, bonne et suffisante caution de gens solvables, et qui n'auront aucune part ni interest dans ledit vaisseau, pour la somme de mille livres sterlins, ou treize mille livres; et lors qu'il y aura plus de cent cinquante hommes, pour la somme de deux mille livres sterlins, ou de vingt six mille livres: S'obligeant de satisfaire entièrement à tous torts et dommages quelconques, qu'eux ou leurs officiers ou autres gens estant à leur service causeront, pendant le cours de leur navigation, contre le present Traité, ou autre Traité quelconque fait entre Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne et Sa Majesté Britannique, sous peine aussi de revocation et cassation de leurs commissions et lettres speciales, dans lesquelles il sera toujours fait mention qu'ils auront, comme dit est, donné caution. Et de plus, il est convenu, que le vaisseau même sera tenu de satisfaire aux torts et dommages qu'il aura causez.

" 14. Et d'autant que les pirates qui courent les mers de l'Amerique, tant Septentrionale que Meridionale, font beaucoup de tort au commerce, et causent de grands dommages aux sujets de l'une et de l'autre couronne, qui trafiquent et font commerce dans ces pays; il a este accordé, qu'il sera expressement enjoint aux gouverneurs et officiers de l'un et de l'autre desdits Rois, de ne donner, en quelque manière que se soit, aux pirates, de quelque nation qu'ils soient, aucun secours, aide, ni retraite, dans les ports et rades seises dans leurs estats respectivement; et qu'il sera expressement ordonné ausdits gouverneurs et officiers, de punir comme pirates tous ceux qui se trouveront avoir armé un ou plusieurs vaisseau en cours, sans commission et authorité legitieme.

" 15. Qu'aucun sujet de l'un ou de l'autre des deux Rois ne demandera ou prendra, d'aucun prince ou estat que ce soit, avec que l'autre aura guerre, aucun pouvoir ou commission d'armer et equiper, en cours, un ou plusieurs navires, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale ou Meridionale, et que si quelqu'un prend un tel pouvoir ou commission, il soit puni comme pirate.

" 16. Que les sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne auront

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pleine et entière liberté de pescher de tortués dans les isles de Cayman.

" 17. Que s'il survient des contestations ou differends entre les sujets de leursdites Majestez dans les isles, colonies, forts, villes, et gouvernemens qui sont sous leur domination; la paix faite par le present Traité ne sera pour cela ni interrompue ni enfrainte: mais ceux qui commanderont dans les lieux où les contestations seront arrivées, ou qui seront par eux deputez, connoitront desdites contestations survenues entre les sujets de leursdites Majestez, et les regleront et decideront. Et au cas que lesdits commandants ne puissent vuider et terminer lesdites contestations dans un an, lesdits commandants les envoyeront au plutôt, à l'un ou à l'autre desdits Rois, pour etre fait droit en la manière qu'il sera convenu entre leursdites Majestez.

" 18. De plus, il a este conclu et accordé, que si jamais, ce qu'a Dieu ne plaise, il arrive quelque rupture en Europe entre lesdits couronnes, les garnisons, gens de guerre, ou sujets quelconques de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, estant dans les isles, colonies, forts, villes, et gouvernemens qui sont à present, ou seront ci-apres, sous la domination de sadite Majesté dans l'Amerique, n'exerceront aucun acte d'hostilité, par mer ni par terre, contre les sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique, qui habiteront dans quelques colonies que ce soit de l'Amerique, ou y demeureront. Et reciproquement, audit cas de rupture en Europe, les garnisons, gens de guerre, ou sujets quelconques de Sa Majesté Britannique, estant dans les isles, colonies, forts, villes, et gouvernemens qui sont à present, ou seront ci-apres, sous la domination de Sa Majesté Britannique en Amerique, n'exerceront aucun acte d'hostilité, ni par mer ni par terre, contre les sujets de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, qui habiteront dans quelques colonies que ce soit de l'Amerique, ou y demeureront. Mais il y aura toujours une veritable et ferme paix et neutralité entre lesdits peuples de France et de la Grande Bretagne, tout de même que si ladite rupture n'etoit point arrivée en Europe.

" 19. Il a este reglé et accordé, que le present Traité ne derogera, en aucune manière, au Traité conclu entre leursdits Majestez à Breda, le 21 jour du mois de Juillet, 1667, mais que tous et chacuns les articles et clauses dudit Traité demeureront dans leur force et vigueur, et seront observez.

" 20. Et que tous les Traitez et Articles conclus et arretez cy-devant, en quelque tems que ce soit en Amerique, ou ailleurs, entre lesdites deux nations, touchant l'isle de Saint Christophle, demeureront dans leur force et vigueur, et seront observez, de part et d'autre, comme ils l'ont este ci-devant, si ce n'est en ce qui s'y trouvera de contraire au present Traité.

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"21. Enfin, il a este convenu et accordé, que le present Traité, et toutes et chacunes choses contenues en icelui, seront ratifiées et confirmées, de part et d'autre, le plutôt qu'il sera possible; et que les ratifications seront reciproquement echangées, en bonne forme, de part et d'autre, dans un mois, à compter de la datte du present Traité, et que dans huit mois, ou plutôt, s'il est possible, le present Traité sera public dans tous les royaumes, domaines, et colonies de l'un et l'autre desdits Rois, tant en Amerique qu'ailleurs.

"En foy de toutes et chacunes lesquelles choses, nous, susdites Plenipotentiaires, avons soussigné, de nos propres mains, le present Traité, et nous y avons apposé les sceaux de nos armes. Fait dans le Palais Royal de Withal, le 16 jour de Novembre, mil six cens quatre-vingt-six. Ainsi signé, Barillon d'Amoncourt, Jeffreys, C. Rochester, Sunderland, P. Midleton, Godolphin, avec les sceaux."

The rendezvous of the buccaneers was the Isle des Vaches, where about 200 of them, under Captain Grammont, in a council of war, determined that an attack should be made upon Carthagena, as they expected to be joined by 700 men, whom they believed were at Isle d'Or; in this they found themselves mistaken, and therefore agreed to attack Campechy. Previous to sailing from St. Domingo, they sent to M. de Cussy, the governor of Tortuga, for a commission to cruize against the Spaniards, without specifying their plans. But he proceeded in person to the Isle des Vaches, to their great surprize, which was increased when they heard that their designs were contrary to the King's will. Captain Grammont replied, that it was impossible his Majesty should know their plans, for the majority of the fleet did not know them themselves; but that, as he supposed M. de Cussy disliked any cruelties to be exercised upon the Spaniards, he promised, upon his faith as a captain, that none should be committed; M. de Cussy replied, that his Majesty did not approve of such expeditions, and that he had sent some frigates to reduce those who should rebel against his orders; but that he would find employment for all of them. Grammont said, if his comrades chose to renounce their plans, he had no objections; but they immediately declared that the affair was too far advanced to be abandoned; and if M. de Cussy would not give them a commission to cruize against the Spaniards, they would use the old one he had given them to hunt and fish — at the same time declaring, that any men who opposed them, they would hunt as beasts.

Accordingly, they made sail, and made the land fourteen leagues from Campechy. They embarked, without delay, 900 men in twenty-two boats, and that same night were off the town.

Histoire des Aventuriers, par Alexandre Oliver Oexmelin, tom. ii. p. 285.

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At nine o'clock the following morning, the men were landed without opposition. A Spanish ship of twenty-four guns blew up after she had fired a few guns at them, and the whole of her crew were lost. As the adventurers approached the city, they fell into an ambuscade of 800 men, which they dispersed, losing only two men killed and six wounded. They then entered the city, which they found defended at each opening by four guns. Captain Grammont immediately ordered his men to get upon the houses, which had all flat roofs, and from thence fire upon the men at the guns. The Spaniards were soon thrown into disorder, and forced to abandon the guns, forty of which were taken. Thus in a few hours, with the loss of four men, they were masters of the city.

To get possession of the fort was their next object: it was defended by eighteen twenty-four pounders, and six smaller guns, with 400 men. In a house near the fort, Captain Grammont placed ten guns; and when his battery was ready, he opened embrasures in the walls, and began the cannonade. At the same time, six hundred men, with small arms, from the houses, kept a constant fire upon the fort, but without any apparent effect, as the Spaniards kept out of sight—not daring even to hoist another flag in the place of the three which the assailants shot away. During the night, the Spaniards abandoned the fort, leaving only the gunner, who was an Englishman and a man of some family: he preferred being made a prisoner of war to abandoning his post. Captain Grammont treated him with great respect, and dismissed him with some handsome presents. He hailed the advanced guard of the buccaneers, and told them that the place was abandoned. Captain Grammont distrusted the Spaniards: he therefore ordered the Englishman to fire all the guns off into the air, and deferred taking possession of the fort until the next day. Captain Laurent was appointed governor of the fort, with eighty men to garrison it:—the rest fortified themselves in the houses, as they expected the Spaniards would attack them.

Two months these adventurers kept possession of the city, and scoured the country for ten leagues round. In one of their excursions, mounted upon horses and mules, 1300 of them fell into an ambuscade of 900 men, commanded by the governor of Merida, from which they escaped with the loss of twenty men killed, and a great many wounded. During the two months they took upwards of 600 prisoners. Captain Grammont sent to the Governor of Merida, and offered to release them all, except the commandant, the major, and another officer, if he would liberate the two "Flibustiers" whom he had taken prisoners—if

Histoire des Aventuriers, par Alexandre Oliver Oexmelin, tom. ii. p. 285.

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not, that he would put all to fire and the sword in the town The Governor of Merida returned for answer, that he might burn and massacre as he thought fit; that he had money to rebuild the city, and men to fight, if that was to be the end of it.

Captain Grammont took the Spanish officer who brought the answer with him into the city, and set fire to it in his presence: he also cut off the heads of five Spaniards, and then told the messenger to go and tell his master that his orders should be punctually executed. A more conciliating message was the result, and Captain Grammont liberated his prisoners, but he burnt the city, and blew up the fort. They arrived upon the 7th of July, 1686, and left it upon the 29th August, after celebrating the festival of St. Louis, and making a bonfire of more than two hundred thousand crowns worth of the wood of Campechy.

Although the expedition was so successful, they found no money, which was the thing they most wanted.

The buccaneers landed again in the environs of Carthagena, and took a carriage laden with precious merchandize: they advanced to the suburbs of the city undiscovered, and raised a considerable sum from the inhabitants, by threatening to set fire to their houses. Some quarrels ensued about sharing the plunder, but at last they agreed that the Governor of Tortuga should decide between them.

A party of buccaneers, who had made a valuable booty in the South Seas, settled at Cayenne, and began to cultivate the land.

1687.

Captain Phips, who in 1683 had made two unsuccessful attempts to find the wreck of a Spanish galleon in the West Indies, prevailed upon the Duke of Albemarle, and some others, to fit out a ship of 200 tons burthen, and let him have her to try again. The government would not be at any further expence about it.

Captain Phips sailed in the Bridgewater Merchant with a tender, "for his old fishing ground, which had been so well baited half a century before." At Puerto de la Plata, in Española, he built a large canoe, and sent her, with the tender, to the shoal called The Boilers. The tender anchored, and the canoe was sent to examine the shoal, which was only two or three feet under water, but steep too, so that a ship striking

Histoire des Aventuriers, par A. O. Oexmelin, tom. ii. p. 298.—tom. i. p. 305.
Bolingbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 316.
Hist. of New England, Cotton Mather, p. 40. Campbell's Admirals, vol. ii. p. 273.

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against it would sink in deep water. After a long search, the men gave it up, and were returning to Captain Phips with their bad tidings, when one of them looking over the boat's side, saw a sea-feather growing, as he supposed, out of a rock. One of the Indians was ordered to dive, and get this feather, that they might carry back something. When the diver came up, he reported the joyful news, that there were a great many guns lying upon the bottom. He then dived again, and brought up a lump of silver, called a sow, worth between two and three hundred pounds. With this prize they returned to Captain Phips, leaving a buoy upon the wreck.

At first they reported that they had been as unsuccessful as usual, but contrived to slip the sow under the table where they were sitting with the captain; so that, when he should look on one side he might see the silver: at last it caught his eye; and after enjoying his exclamations of surprise and thankfulness, all hands went to work. Fortunately, they fell first upon that part of the wreck where the bullion had been stowed, and soon got up thirty-two tons of silver. A man named Adderly, belonging to Providence, got up six tons more.

An incrustation several inches thick was formed round the bullion: this they broke off with irons. Great quantities of pearls and jewels were also found. They continued working at the wreck, which lay between seven and eight fathoms under water, until the want of provisions obliged them to leave it.

Captain Phips made Adderly and his men swear not to discover the place of wreck, or come again to it till the next year, when he expected to be there himself. He arrived in London with nearly £300,000 sterling on board, of which sum his share was less than £16,000. The Duke of Albemarle, to mark his sense of Captain Phip's honour, gave his wife a cup worth near a thousand pounds.

A medal was struck upon this occasion with the faces of the King and Queen on one side, and on the other a ship at anchor, with boats fishing on the wreck: the inscription, "Semper tibi pendeat hamus;" on the exergue, "Naufragia reparata."

One of Adderly's boys was enticed by some Bermudians to shew the place of the wreck, and very considerable gleanings were found after this harvest. The last day that Captain Phips worked at the wreck, twenty sows were found — what was afterwards got was only gleanings: the bulk of the treasure was taken by Captain Phips; which is rather remarkable, when so much was found the last day.

Sir Robert Holmes arrived in the West Indies with a

History of New England, Cotton Mather, p. 41. Campbell's Admirals, vol. ii. p. 274. Chalmers, vol. i. p. 546, 547.

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squadron, for the purpose of suppressing the pirates, and succeeded in effecting it.

The Duke of Albemarle, with his duchess, arrived at Jamaica: his grace succeeded Colonel Molesworth in the government of the island. The Mosquito Indians put themselves under the protection of the Crown of England, and their chief, King Jeremy, received a commission from the Duke of Albemarle. Since this time, when a vacancy happens in their sovereignty, the next of kin repairs to Jamaica, to prove his consanguinity, and receive his commission from the governor, as his subjects will not acknowledge him without.

One of the Duke of Albemarle's privy counsellors, a Roman Catholic, having charged one of the members of Assembly with saying, "Salus populi suprema lex," in the course of a debate, and the Assembly justifying their member, they were dissolved. The member was taken into custody by order of the governor and council, and compelled to enter into a recognizance in £4000, and afterwards indicted and fined £600, for this pretended offence. The judges and most of the principal officers in the island were displaced, and Colonel Hender Molesworth, the preceding governor, was forced to enter into security in £100,000 to appear and render himself in England. A new assembly was called, and many gentlemen imprisoned, "under pretence" of a riot. Two were imprisoned and threatened to be hanged, for moving for a habeas corpus for their friends, and a Dr. Rose obliged to give bail in £10,000, for speaking against the elections. Many of the inhabitants quitted the island. Several laws were passed, and Father Churchill was sent with them to England, to solicit their confirmation by King James.

The duke was supposed to have entered into James the Second's views in favour of the Roman Catholics, to whom a free toleration and exercise of their religion was granted.

1688.

Du Casse, with some ships from France, induced many of the settlers at Cayenne to join him in an attack upon Surinam. The expedition failed: the whole of them were either killed or taken prisoners.

Cornelius Van Aarson, Lord of Somersdyk, Governor of Paramaribo, or Middleburg, as it was now called, was massacred

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 310. Sir Hans Sloane's History of Jamaica. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 592. Bolingbroke's Voyage to Demerary, pp. 316. 343.

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by twelve of his soldiers, who were driven to desperation by his insufferable cruelty.

About this time, 600 Dutch families settled on the banks of the Surinam.

The widow of Somersdyk offered to transfer her third of the colonial allotments to William the Third of England; but the offer was not accepted.

The African Company, between the years 1680 and 1688, imported into the British West India Islands 46,396 slaves. It was computed that Barbadoes wanted annually 4000 Negroes, Jamaica 10,000, and the Leeward Islands 6000. Private traders trafficked in them, notwithstanding the Company's charter.

In Barbadoes, an act was passed, this year, for summarily punishing slaves, without trial by jury, which makes the attempt to commit specified crimes capital, as well as their actual perpetration: even the stealing, or attempting to steal, any "quick or dead thing," of the value of twelve pence; as they "many times, by attempting to steal from the inhabitants of this island stock and other goods before mentioned, of above, *or under*, the value aforesaid, do put such inhabitants, or some of their family, in terror, dread, and jeopardy of their lives; which several offenders, for danger of escape, are not long to be imprisoned, *and being brutish* slaves, deserve not, for the baseness of their condition, to be tried by the legal trial of twelve men of their peers or neighbourhood; which neither truly can be rightly done, as the subjects of England are, nor is execution to be delayed towards them, is case of such horrid crimes committed."

But the justices of the peace, who give sentence, are ordered "forthwith, by their warrant, to cause execution to be done by some Negro, to be pressed for that purpose."

And on the 8th of August, a law was passed, which says, "That if any slave under punishment by his master, or his order, shall suffer in life or limb, no person shall be liable to any fine for the same. But if any person shall wantonly or cruelly kill his own slave, he shall pay into the treasury £15. If he intentionally so kill the slave of another, besides paying the owner the value, and £25 to the public, he shall be bound to his good behaviour by the next justice of the peace, during the pleasure of the governor and council. And if another person kill another man's slave by accident, he shall be liable to the owner's action at law. But if any person kill a slave by night, out of the common road, stealing, or attempting to steal, his provisions, &c., he shall not be accountable for it!"

A party of wild Irish landed upon Anguilla, and treated the

Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 154. Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 280. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 247.

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defenceless inhabitants more barbarously than any of the French pirates who had attacked them before. Several planters afterwards removed to the island from Barbadoes, and carried on a profitable trade, but without any government, civil or ecclesiastical.

The French, under the command of the Count de Blenac, attacked St. Eustatia, then in possession of the Dutch. Survilliee, Touche, and Casting, were the officers that attacked the Cabsterre, while others attacked the Basse Terre: they carried the island without much opposition.

His Grace the Duke of Albemarle died at Jamaica.

"Sir Hans Sloane says, that when he was at Jamaica in 1688, he knew Blacks of 120 years old, and that 100 years was very common among such of them as were temperate livers."

1689.

Captain Thorn removed the inhabitants from Anguilla to Antigua: they had suffered dreadfully from the barbarity of the French and Irish.

Colonel Hewetson sailed with an expedition from Antigua, against Mariegalante; and after destroying the fort and town, and driving the inhabitants into the woods, returned to Antigua with their plunder.

Another insurrection took place among the French colonists in St. Domingo, in consequence of permission for supplying the colony with slaves being granted to some merchants of Majorca. The colonists accused their governor, De Cussy, of recommending this grant to his government, to forward his private traffic with the Spaniards. The insurgents were headed by a man named Chevalier, of whose person M. de Franquesnay obtained possession by a stratagem: he was then sent to the Cul de Sac, and hung; and two of his principal followers shared the same fate.

A dreadful mortality swept away one half of the inhabitants of Nevis.

In consequence of the revolution which had taken place in England the preceding year, the French planters in St. Christopher's, declaring themselves in the interests of the abdicated monarch, assisted by their countrymen from the other islands, attacked and expelled the English from the island, laying waste

Labat, tom. vi. p. 87. Biographical Dictionary.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p 374. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 270.
Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 279. 282, 283. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 6.
B. Edwards, vol. i. p. 460.

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their plantations, and committing such outrages as are unjustifiable among civilized nations, even in a time of open hostility. Their conduct on this occasion was deemed so atrocious, that King William assigned it among the causes which induced him to declare war against the French nation. The French continued about eight months sole masters, during which time a most dreadful earthquake happened on the island. Among many other buildings which were destroyed was the Jesuits College: it is to be remarked, that the Jesuits looked upon King James's cause as their own, and were the principal instigators of the attack upon the English.

Le Comte de Blenac, who married the sister of the Duke de la Rochefoucaut, was the commander-in-chief of the French in the West Indies at this time. He also took the island of St. Eustatia from the Dutch, and built Fort Royal in Martinico. The English, during his government, attacked Fort St. Pierre, in Martinico; but after remaining five days on shore, were obliged to reimbark. Blenac, in answer to M. Gabaret, who requested permission to attack the rear-guard of the English, replied, "Sir, I am persuaded you would destroy a great number of the enemy, but the death of a thousand of these gentlemen would not recompence the King for the loss of even one of these brave inhabitants." Whatever may have been the motive, it seems the French did not choose to go near them.

Blenac was succeeded by the Marquis de Ragny, in December, 1689.

Upon the 17th of May, 1689, William the Third and Mary, King and Queen of Great Britain, declared war against the King of the French. The following extract is from the declaration:—

"Mais que le Roi des François ait envahi nos Isles Caribes; qu'il se soit emparé, par force, de nos terres dans la province de Nouvel Yorc et de la Baye de Hudson; qu'il se soit rendu maitre du nos forts; qu'il ait brûlé les maisons de nos sujets, et enrichi son peuple du pillage de leurs biens et de leurs marchandises; qu'il ait retenu quelques-uns de nos sujets dans des cachots; qu'il en fait massacrer d'autres, et exposer le reste en mer, sur un petit vaisseau, sans nourriture, et sans les autres choses necessaires à la vie: ce sont des actions indignes d'ennemis qui n'ont pas renoncé à l'humanité. Neanmoins, il etoit si éloigné de ce declarer tel, qu'en même temps, il faisoit negotier ici en Angleterre, par ses Ministeres, un Traitté de Neutralité et de bonne Correspondance en Amerique."

King William, in his instructions to Lord Inchiquin, the

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 254.
Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 2. p. 230.
Labat, tom. v. pp. 255-7.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 626.

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Governor of Jamaica, says, "Whereas it has been represented to us, that several of our subjects have been kept in slavery and barbarously used at Mexico, La Vera Cruz, and other parts of the Spanish West Indies; you are upon your arrival at Jamaica, to send to the governors of those places, and to demand of them such our subjects as are detained there, and to use your utmost endeavours that they be set at liberty."

Upon the 15th of April, 1689, Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, declared war against the Spaniards.

Upon the 29th of April, 1689, William the Third and Mary, King and Queen of England, and the States General of the United Provinces and the Low Countries, concluded a Treaty, "touchant l'Armement par Mer," from which the following extracts are made: —

"16. Que leurs Majestez ordonneront, que dans toutes les instructions aux capitanes de leurs vaisseaux de guerre destinez, ou qui seront destinez, pour convoyer les vaisseaux marchands par tout, et aussi qui iront, de temps en temps, aux Indes Occidentales, il soit inséré un article, leur enjoignant tres expressement de proteger contre les insultes ou attaques de qui que ce soit les vaisseaux marchands appartenans aux sujets desdits Etats Generaux, qui suivront le même route que lesdits vaisseaux de guerre, et desireront de se mettre sous leur protection.

"Et qu'il sera inséré un autre article, enjoignant aussi tres-expressement ausdits capitanes, en cas que les plantations, colonies, ou autres etats quelconques, que lesdits Seigneurs Etats Generaux possedent à present, ou qu'ils possederont à l'avenir, dans les Indes Occidentales, ayent besoin de secours pour se defendre contre les attaques ou insultes de leurs ennemis, qu'aussi tost qu'ils en seront requis, ils donneront toute aide et assistance pour la defence desdits plantations, colonies, ou autres etats, contre toutes les attaques ou insultes susdites, autant que l'estat des plantations, colonies, ou autres estats, contre toutes les attaques ou insultes susdites, autant que l'estat des plantations, colonies, ou autres estats, de leurs Majestez le pourra permettre; et lesdits Seigneurs Etats Generaux ordonneront aussi, que dans toutes les instructions aux capitaines de leurs vaisseaux destinez, ou qui seront destinez, pour convoyer les vaisseaux marchands par tout, et aussi qui iront, de temps en temps, aux Indes Occidentales, il soit inséré de semblables articles, et tres-expressement à l'egard de la protection que lesdits capitanes donneront aux vaisseaux marchands appartenant et des sujets de leurs Majestez, qu'à l'egard de l'aide et assistance qu'ils donneront pour la defense des plantations, colonies, ou autres etats,

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 2. pp. 221, 222.

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que leurs Majestez possedent à present, ou qu'elles possederont à l'avenir, dans les Indes Occidentales, le tout dans la manière et forme cy-dessus prescrite."

In July, the French inhabitants of St. Christopher's, instigated by some Irish upon the island, before war was declared between England and France, entered the English ground with fire and sword, and forced the inhabitants to fly to the fort for safety. The English applied to the government of Barbadoes for assistance, and the honourable Sir Timothy Thornhill, Bart., volunteered to go at the head of a regiment to their relief. In less than a fortnight, 700 able men were raised and equipped at the cost of the island of Barbadoes, and vessels provided for transporting them to St. Christopher's. They sailed on the 1st of August, arrived at Antigua on the 5th, where they received the news that the fort at St. Christopher's was surrendered to the French on the 29th of July, and the English sent off the island to Nevis.

Sir Timothy Thornhill, therefore, landed his troops at Antigua. After a month's continuance in that island, Lieutenant General Codrington sent three sloops, with eighty soldiers, under the command of Captain Edward Thorne, to fetch off the inhabitants, with their goods and stock, from the island of Anguilla, where they were miserably abused and destroyed by some Irish, whom the French had put on shore amongst them.

Before and during Sir Timothy's stay in Antigua, the Indians in league with the French landed several times upon the island, killing the inhabitants who lived near the sea (to the number of ten), and then escaped in their swift piraguas. Guards were afterwards placed at all the bays and landing-places, and these incursions prevented.

About the middle of September, a French privateer landed at Five Islands, near Antigua, and carried off some Negroes. Sir Timothy sent out two sloops, with a company of grenadiers on board, under the command of Captain Walter Hamilton, who next day brought her in. Besides thirty French, there were six Irish on board, who were tried by a court-martial, and executed.

At this time a dreadful mortality raged at Nevis, especially among the men. The inhabitants sent to Antigua for assistance. In November, as soon as the distemper was abated, Sir Timothy removed his regiment thither.

In the beginning of December, Lieutenant-General Codrington arrived there, and it was determined, in a council of war, to

Relation of the Proceedings of the Forces in their Expedition against the French in the Caribbee Islands. By T. Spencer, jun. Sec. to Sir T. Thornhill, Lond. 1691. Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 308.

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attack St. Martin's and St. Bartholomew's. On Monday the 16th of December, Major-General Thornhill, with 300 of his own regiment, and 200 Nevisians, sailed to attack them.

Upon the 20th, Major John Stanley landed, with eighty men, on St. Bartholomew's, beat the enemy out of their breast-work, and by daylight had planted his colours upon a battery of two great guns. All the forces being landed, the major-general ordered them to take three several ways, himself leading his own guard of "gentlemen reformadoes," with two companies more, through the body of the island. After a mile's march, they discovered a quadrangular fortification of about two acres of land, encompassed with double rows of stakes, six feet high and four feet distant, the intervals being filled with earth, and a deep and wide trench without. On each corner there was a flanker, in one of which were four great guns. The entrance into it was a lock admitting but one at a time. The fortification was abandoned upon the approach of the English, who found some bread, salt fish, and two barrels of powder in it, and also a large cistern of water. It was situated in a bottom, by the side of a lane, through which the English had to pass to come at it, and on the other side was a very high hill. From the fortification the Major-General sent a party to gain the hill, which was done, and two great guns found upon it, which the enemy had abandoned.

On Sunday, a flag of truce arrived with offers of surrender, but the terms were refused, and three days allowed for the inhabitants, with their arms and ammunition, to surrender themselves: after that time no quarter was to be expected. That night the governor sent an answer, that on Wednesday he would come in, but he could not sooner, because some of the inhabitants were hid in the woods, to whom he could not communicate his design before that time. On Monday and Tuesday, the 23d and 24th, the English marched round the island, burning all the houses as they passed. On Wednesday, the governor, with a flag of truce, arrived at the fortification: between six and seven hundred prisoners came in, all of whom were transported, the men to Nevis, the women and children to St. Christopher's. All the live stock, Negroes, and goods were carried to Nevis.

In taking this island, the English had ten men killed and wounded.

While they were busied in St. Bartholomew's, Colonel Hewetson landed, with 300 Antigua men, at Mariegalante, drove the inhabitants into the woods, demolished the fort, and burnt the town.

Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 308.

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1690.

On the 19th of January, Major-General Thornhill sent ten sail of small vessels from St. Bartholomew's, to make a false attack upon the weather side of St. Martin's upon the following morning. In the night, the major-general embarked himself, with the rest of his troops, and landed his men, without any opposition, the next morning (the 20th), on the lee-side of the island, the enemy having drawn their forces to the other. The English advanced two miles into the country, got sight of the enemy, and drew up in order of battle, in a convenient plain, to meet the expected attack. After continuing an hour in this posture, the enemy retreated, set fire to a large house to prevent its serving as a place of shelter, threw salt into the cistern, and tobacco into the pond, to render the water unfit for drinking. From this ruin the English general sent Captain Birt, with a company of men, to gain the high mountain which commanded the post; which being done, 100 men, under Captain Geoffery Gibbs, were left to maintain the post, and the rest of the forces were marched to secure the avenues, and hinder the enemy from attacking the rear.

Whilst the general, with some officers, and about an hundred men, were drinking at a well in the plain, they received a volley of about thirty shot, which wounded one man. Major John Stanley was sent to clear the woods, which he did, beating the enemy from two strong breast-works they had between two hills, opposite to those the English had gained.

Major-General Thornhill encamped in the plain that night, and the next morning, the 21st, received two brass field-pieces with carriages, and two iron ones without, from his vessels: the iron ones were planted in the plain, the brass were drawn to the burnt house, and opened upon the enemy about three in the afternoon. In the evening, Captain Bartholomew Sharp was sent to open a path through the wood, that an attack might be made that way; for in the valley the enemy had four great guns planted directly against the road, which, although without carriages, they could bring to bear upon the English where they lay. Captain Sharp was discovered, and obliged to retreat; but in the night the enemy left their breast-work, from which they had been firing with great guns and small arms all day.

Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 521.
Relation of the Proceedings of an Expedition against the French in the Caribbee Islands. By T. Spencer, jun. London, 1691.

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The next morning, the 22d, leaving thirty men under the command of James Smith at the burnt house, the English marched to the breast-work, demolished it, spiked six guns which they found in the lines, and advanced a mile farther to a fine plain where they encamped for the night: they found store of cattle in the plain. The next morning, the 23d, a guard was left in the plain, and the army marched against the chief fort, about two miles off, which was taken with the loss of only one man wounded, the enemy quitting the fort after a slight resistance: it contained six great guns, mounted upon a platform, without carriages, and with banks of earth thrown up. The guns were nailed, and the army advanced about four miles, and encamped in a pleasant valley, where they found the governor's horse saddled and bridled in a garden, he having fled to the mountains with the inhabitants. This day, Major Stanley marched over the hills to the other side of the island, engaged a party of the enemy, drove them from their breast-work, demolished it, and returned to the army.

The 24th, the major-general continued his march round the island without any opposition, and at night returned and encamped at the burnt house.

On Saturday morning, the 25th, a French squadron of three great ships, and three small ones, under Monsieur Du Casse, from St. Christopher's, with 700 men on board, appeared standing in for the land. The major-general immediately sent guards to all the bays where he thought the enemy would land; but they, perceiving the English were on the island, did not anchor, but gave chase to the sloops, who were making the best of their way off. One of them was run aground—the crew got on shore, but the enemy hauled off the vessel. Major-General Thornhill sent an express to Antigua, to acquaint the lieutenant-general of his situation, and to request some ships might be sent to his assistance.

The 26th, Du Casse anchored off the windward part of the island, "hanging abroad bloody colours" The inhabitants, encouraged by his coming, returned to their fort, and began to drill the guns. In the night, Du Casse landed his soldiers, and the major-general brought his brass field-pieces from the burnt house into the plain, and planted them on the wings of the body which was there encamped. The iron pieces were planted towards each road, and strong guards placed upon "the saddle," at the burnt house, and the mountain which commanded it. In this posture the English continued until the 29th, the French not daring to attack them. Du Casse was joined by three ships more from St. Christopher's.

Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 523.

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On Thursday the 30th, Colonel Hewetson arrived from Antigua with three ships. The French ships at an anchor perceiving the English colours, weighed and stood out to meet them: about noon they engaged, and after four hours action, the French bore away. In the morning the English stood in for the land. The French were also in sight, but kept off at a distance. The major-general having sent the plunder and field-pieces on board, ordered all his out-guards to quit their posts, and march down into the plain, in order to embark, which the enemy perceiving, marched down likewise, and both parties engaged, to the great loss of the enemy, who was beaten into the woods in confusion. All the English embarked safe, except ten, who were killed in the action, and three, who were taken prisoners asleep in one of the breast-works. There were about twenty more wounded, which, with the rest, arrived safe at Nevis, on Sunday morning the 2d of February.

In June, the English fleet arrived at Nevis, at which time preparations were making for an expedition against St. Christopher's. On the 16th, the forces were mustered, and amounted in all to 3000 men; and on Thursday the 19th, the whole fleet, consisting of ten men of war, two fire-ships, twelve transports, and about twenty small craft, sailed from Nevis, and the same evening came to an anchor in Frigate Bay, St. Christopher's. In the night, eight of the frigates stood three leagues to leeward, to amuse and harass the enemy, and the next morning they returned. That day, some shot were fired from the ships at the enemy in their trenches, and some shot received in exchange from a five-gun battery, but no damage was done to the English. That night, it was determined in a council of war to land the next morning; and Major-General Thornhill, with 550 men, was landed, between two and three o'clock on Saturday the 21st, at the little salt-ponds, without any opposition, the enemy thinking it impossible to march across the hill; the "field-mark" was a match about the left arm of the men. The ascent was steep—in some places so nearly perpendicular, that the men were forced to use their hands as well as their feet. At day-break they had gained the top, where they received a volley from some scouts, who immediately retreated. The major-general, leaving one company to secure the pass upon the hill, led his men down about a third part of it before they were discovered by the enemy, who now began to fire briskly from their trenches, and wounded several. The major-general was shot through his left leg; but his men running down briskly upon the enemy, and flanking them in their trenches, and the Duke of Bolton's and the marine regiments landing at the same time in Frigate Bay, forced them to quit their post in

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disorder, and leave the English masters of the field. Fourteen dead Frenchmen were found: the English lost half the number, and Colonel Kegwin mortally wounded.

All the forces being landed, they were drawn up in four battalions; the Duke of Bolton's regiment, in the van, took the road along the sea-side. Lieutenant-Colonel John Thomas, with the major-general's regiment, marched into the country: the Antigua regiment was in reserve, and the other four regiments were to keep their posts, and wait for further orders. After an hour's march, the Duke of Bolton's regiment put to rout a small party of the enemy; but the main body of the French advancing to their support, after half an hour's hard fighting, the English were almost surrounded, when Colonel Williams coming up with the reserve, a vigorous assault was given, and the enemy driven out of the field in confusion — one part flying to the mountains, the rest to the fort.

While the English were refreshing themselves, intelligence was received by the captain-general, that the frigates had driven the French out of the fort and town of Basse Terre. The French set fire to the town, but the English sailors were in time to extinguish the flames. From the quantity of wines and spirits which the French had left in Basse Terre, the captain-general, fearing the disorders it might occasion among the soldiers, halted for the night at the Jesuits convent, a mile above the town. The next morning, Sunday the 22d, the commissary having secured the liquors, the army marched into the town, with liberty to plunder it. Monday, the army continued in the town. In the evening, the country was in flames all round, being fired by the English Negroes, who came from the mountains, where they had lain since their masters were driven off the island.

On the 24th the army marched, and that night encamped three miles from the fort; the frigates also dropt down to Old Roads. On the 26th the army encamped under cover of a high hill within a mile of the fort, and a party was sent to secure the top of the hill. The time until the 30th was spent in erecting a battery on the top of the hill, which was then opened, the first shot doing execution. The frigates also weighed from Old Roads, stood down to the fort, and battered it, the whole army advancing at the same time. In the afternoon the frigate stood up again to Old Roads; but the guns from the hill kept firing all night, when the army began their entrenchments, running, from the ditch where they lay encamped, a trench with a half-moon at the end, capable of holding 400 men.

July the 1st, Colonel Pym surprised a small fort three miles

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from the camp, and took fifty prisoners. This evening, Lieutenant-General Holt having given orders to the out-sentries, who were placed towards the fort, to fire, without challenging, at any who should come that way, himself afterwards riding by them in the twilight, to view the works, was shot in the body by an Irishman, who was one of the sentries. He was tried for so doing, and acquitted by a court-martial.

The second four larger guns were drawn up the hill, one of which split at the first fire, and the rest being badly planted, were not used. A party of the enemy drew up before the gate, but in a quarter of an hour they marched in again — the half-moon was finished, and another trench run about a quarter of a mile below it, able to contain the like number of men, and at the like distance below that, another was begun, wide enough to draw the carriages of the great guns through.

Until the 6th, the English in the day-time kept quiet in their trenches, but in the night carried on their works, the enemy firing constantly with little effect: the guns on the hill left no corner of their fort unsearched. Scouring parties were sent out against the French in the mountains, who were headed by M. Pinelle. On the 9th a proclamation was issued, that all who would come in within three days should receive protection: several families surrendered themselves in consequence. M. Pinelle sent a flag of truce, to acquaint the captain-general that he would remain quiet and give free passage to any English he should meet, but that he could not come in without leave from the governor.

The 10th and 11th, the trenches were continued, and carried within pistol-shot of the fort. Opposite the gate the English had a half-moon, on which they planted several colours. On the left of the half-moon was a battery for six guns; but before they were mounted, on Saturday the 12th, about one A.M., the drums in the fort beat a parley, and four persons marched out with a flag of truce: they were met between the trench and the fort, by Major Legard, and conducted to the captain-general. Hostages were given on both sides, but the English continued their works, and joined their trench to the enemy's trench, through which they used to come from the fort to the well.

On Monday the 14th of July, the fort was surrendered, upon the same terms that it was before delivered up to the French. After the enemy marched out the English flag was hoisted, the King and Queen's healths were drank, the great guns three times fired, and three vollies by the whole army. The English lost about 100 men in killed and wounded in retaking the island. The inhabitants were about 1800 men, besides women, children, and Negroes. The Negroes were to be divided as plunder, the

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others were transported to Española, except some few who were allowed to go to Martinico. The fort was quadrangular, consisting of four flankers, with a curtain between each: on each flanker were mounted five guns. The walls were of stone, about 20 feet high, surrounded with a deep ditch twelve feet wide. In the middle of the fort were two mounts thrown up for batteries: there was also a well; but upon firing the guns, the water "would instantly dry away."

Upon the 20th of July, Major-General Thornhill sailed with an expedition against St. Eustatia, and that same evening sent to summon the island to surrender, which was refused. The next morning the frigates engaged the fort, and the troops were landed under a high cliff, which they ascended, and met a party with Dutch colours, which proved to be Colonel Scorer, the governor of the island; for the Dutch, when the French took it, with 100 men, from Saba, who had landed three days before, not having strength enough to take the fort, designed to get what plunder they could, and go off again. He refused to join the English, because he had landed first, and so went off the next day. The English encamped within musket-shot of the fort, under a small hill. After five days' siege, the enemy sent out a flag of truce, and received for answer, if they did not within three days descend to more reasonable terms, no quarter would be granted them. Within the time prescribed they surrendered themselves and their fort, "upon quarter for life, and to march out with their baggage." The fort contained sixteen great guns: it was surrounded with double rows of stakes, the intervals filled with earth, and without that, strong palisadoes and a deep ditch, over which was a narrow bridge, admitting but one at a time: the besieged were about sixty men, and behaved gallantly. In taking this island, the English lost only eight men killed and wounded. Lieutenant John M'Arthur was left to command the island. The inhabitants were carried prisoners to St. Christopher's, and from thence transported to Española. Lieutenant Pilkington was afterwards sent down to relieve Lieut. M'Arthur.

The inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's who were found at St. Christopher's, being desirous to live under the English government, had permission to return to that island, and the captain-general gave a commission to one Captain Le Grand, a former inhabitant among them, to be their governor, to keep and defend the same for King William and Queen Mary.

Lieutenant-Colonel Nott was left commander of the garrison in St. Christopher's.

Mr. Cadwallader Jones arrived at New Providence, as governor

Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 530. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 288.

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of the Bahama Islands: a small colony had settled there from Carolina.

The Earl of Inchiquin was appointed governor of Jamaica.

The French landed at Berbice, and levied a contribution of 20,000 florins upon the Dutch.

The English attempted to establish a settlement on Crab Island: they found several remains of ancient plantations, lemon and orange trees [1] had been cultivated: in some places their rows remained unbroken, and some vestiges of art were visible in almost every part. The Spaniards of Puerto Rico did not permit the new settlers to reap their first harvest: they sent a detachment, which seized all the women and children, and carried them to Puerto Rico: all the men were put to the sword.

In consequence of an order from King William for liberating the rebels who had been transported to Barbadoes, for being concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, an act was passed in the island for that purpose.

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 312. 201. Bolingbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 164. Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 158.

[1] "Cocoa is now no longer a commodity to be regarded in our colonies, though at first it was the principal invitation to the peopling Jamaica; for those walks the Spaniards left behind them there, when we conquered it, produced such prodigious profit, with little trouble, that Sir Thomas Moddiford and several others set up their rests to grow wealthy therein, and fell to planting much of it, which the Spanish slaves who remained in the island always foretold would never thrive, and so it happened; for though it promised fair and throve finely for five or six years, yet still at that age, when so long hopes and care had been wasted about it, withered and died away, by some unaccountable cause, though they impute it to a black worm or grub which they find clinging to its roots — the manner of planting it is in order like our cherry gardens, which tree, when grown up, it much resembles. It delights in shade, so that by every tree they place one of plantain, which produces a fruit nourishing and wholesome for the Negroes. They, by houghing and weeding, keep their cocoa walks clear from grass continually, and it begins to bear at three, four, or five years old, and did it not almost constantly die before, would come to perfection in fifteen years growth, and last till thirty, thereby becoming the most profitable tree in the world, there having been above £200 sterling made in one year of an acre of it. But the old trees planted by the Spaniards being gone by age, and few new thriving, as the Spanish Negroes foretold, little or none now is produced worthy the care and pains in planting and expecting it. Those slaves gave a superstitious reason for its not thriving, many religious rites being performed at its planting by the Spaniards, which their slaves were not permitted to see. But it is probable, that wary nation, as they removed the art of making cochineal and curing venelloes into their inland province, which were the commodities of those islands in the Indians time, and forbad the opening of any mines in them, for fear some maritime nation might thereby be invited to the conquering them, so they might likewise, in their transplanting cocoa from the Caracus and Guatemala, conceal wilfully some secret in its planting from their slaves, lest it might teach them to set up for themselves, by being able to produce a commodity of such excellent use for the support of man's life, with which alone and water some persons have been necessitated to live ten weeks together, without finding the least diminution of either health and strength." — *An Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies, by Dalby Thomas. London*, 1690, *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ix. p. 422.

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The exclusive patent of the Royal African Company to supply the islands with slaves was revoked, and the trade thrown open.

About this time the Marquis de Ragny died, and Le Compte de Blenac returned to Martinico as governor.

The island of Antigua was almost desolated by an earthquake: its population was estimated at 6000 white inhabitants.

Address of the Grand Jury of Jamaica to his Majesty King William III: —

May it please your Majesty,

We, the first grand jury (at St. Jago de la Vega, this last Tuesday in November, 1690, for the body of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica,) since your Majesty's happy accession to the throne, cannot forbear rendering our humble thanks to Almighty God for his inestimable goodness and mercy, in that, when, according to the weakness of our human understanding, all hopes of enjoying any longer our religion, laws, and liberties were taken from us, he was pleased, in our utmost distress, to shew his miraculous power, in raising your Majesty to be the glorious instrument of our deliverance from that Philistine bondage that had extended itself into these the remotest of your Majesty's dominions: so that the laws of your Majesty's kingdom of England and this island, which should have been our swords and spears for the defence of our natural rights and privileges, were not to be found among us; but our task-masters, with an absolute arbitrary power, attended with a tyrannical oppression of all that durst adventure to be honest, in order to complete our ruin, would not allow us our freedom of electing our representatives to make laws, but were resolved themselves to be smiths to forge them.

Under these circumstances we might still have lain, had not your Majesty, in your great wisdom, sent his Excellency the Earl of Inchiquin for our governor; who hath already, by his great experience, made so large a progress in settling our affairs, that we doubt not but he will in a short time accomplish what is so happily begun, &c. &c.

The first rebellion of importance in record in Jamaica happened this year. Three hundred slaves, belonging to Mr. Sutton's plantation in Clarendon, broke into the dwelling-house, killed a white man, and seized the arms and provisions: they proceeded to the next plantation, and killed the overseer. Next day the militia surrounded and attacked them. Two hundred were taken, the rest were killed: several were hanged.

In June, M. Cussy, governor of the French in St. Domingo, proceeded with 1000 men to attack the city of San Jago, belonging

Labat, tom. v. p. 264. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 269. Colqu. Brit. Emp. p. 258. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 595. — vol. ii. p. 446. Charlevoix, tom. iii. p. 284.

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to the Spaniards in that island. As they approached the city, forty men and two officers were killed in a ravine by some Spaniards in ambuscade. The French succeeded in getting possession of the city, which they burnt; alleging, as a justification, that poisoned provisions were left in the town when the inhabitants abandoned it. The French returned to the Cul de Sac. Whilst they were in the town, a report was brought, that the English had obtained possession of St. Christopher's, and banished the French inhabitants. Next day the author of the report was not to be discovered; but shortly after De Cussy's return to Port de Paix, a considerable number of his countrymen arrived from St. Christopher's with the confirmation of the news. Three hundred, who had been sent in a vessel commanded by James Smith, were landed at the west end of the island, instead of Port de Paix. Smith accused the French of a design to seize the vessel, and the French accuse him of inhumanity, and of plundering even the women and children of their clothes, and landing them almost naked upon the beach.

1691.

In the beginning of this year, the English, under General Codrington, took Mariegalante, and, after laying waste the plantations, quitted the island: they soon afterwards attacked Guadaloupe: but after battering the fort of Basse Terre for twenty-two days, were forced to reimbark, leaving their guns and some of their wounded behind.

The Spaniards sent an expedition composed of six sail of the line, a frigate, and 2600 men, to attack the French at Cape François, and 700 came by land from St. Domingo to assist. Upon the 21st of January they attacked the French, under De Cussy and Franquesnay, in the Savannah de Limonade, and completely defeated them, killing both the governors, thirty officers, and 500 of their best soldiers: a corps of 300 lancers principally contributed to the victory. The Spaniards then burnt the city, and carried off all the slaves, women and children, killing all the men, except those who fled to the woods. The colonists in the west expected the same fate, but the Spaniards steered for Cuba. M. Boulaye, who had been left in the command of the north coast by De Cussy, collected 800 men, and proposed to them to attack the Spanish towns; but they refused, considering it wiser to act upon the defensive, and repair their own losses. M. Long-Champs, commander of the cavalry, headed the latter party, and Boulaye was obliged to submit.

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 290. 292, 293, 294, 296. 299, 300.
Labat, tom. vi. pp. 90, 91. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 242.

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The Sieur Dumas, the first officer in the French colony of St. Domingo, took the command upon the death of De Cussy and Franquesnay, and proceeded to restore order: he appointed a judge and king's attorney in place of those killed, and forbade the sale of liquors in the country, for the purpose of obliging the fugitive inhabitants to return to the town, many of whom had done almost as much mischief as the Spaniards. At this time a ship arrived from St. Christopher's with 300 more of the French colonists; from that island they were destined for Santa Cruz, but were not allowed to land there. Dumas distributed among them those habitations which had suffered least. Of all the colonies of the French in America, that of St. Christopher's had always been the best regulated and most polished. The dispersion which took place introduced into the other colonies manners, and sentiments, and principles of honour and religion, which were scarcely known before. It was above all in St. Domingo that these things were most wanting, and there the change produced the greatest advantage.

M. Ducasse arrived at Cape François in October, as governor of the French in St. Domingo: he had distinguished himself as captain of a slave ship, in the service of the Senegal Company. In November the Spaniards, to the number of 2000, under the command of the governor of San Jago, advanced within fifteen leagues of Cape François, but retreated again without attempting any thing. The reputation of De Graff, an old buccaneer, is supposed to have intimidated the men, who understood he was advantageously placed in a strong post to receive them.

Commodore Wren arrived at Barbadoes with eight ships, and on the 21st of February attacked the French fleet off Deseada, consisting of sixteen men of war and two fire-ships, under the command of the Count de Benac. Wren was then on his return from Jamaica with a convoy, and succeeded in preventing the enemy from capturing any of them, though he had but seven men of war with him.

Captain O'Brien was sent with a small armament from Jamaica, to dislodge the buccaneers from Española, but returned without effecting any thing. His offers to take the colony under the protection of the King of England were refused.

In Bermuda the slaves were prevented by law from cultivating any provisions for their own use, or raising any species of live stock, even though they should have their master's permission: these being the staple articles, this injustice was committed to prevent theft. "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no master or owner of any Negro or Negroes,

Charlevoix, tom. iii. pp. 300. 302.—tom. iv. pp. 2. 8. 11. 15, 16.
Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 202. 313. Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 300.

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or other slave or slaves, shall at any time hereafter give him, her, or them the liberty or allowance to plant, sow, or set any tobacco, corn, potatoes, or other provisions, for the proper use, benefit, or profit of the said Negroes or slaves, under the penalty;" and "neither shall allow any of them liberty to raise any stock, poultry, or provisions, or other things, or make any sort of cloth, to his or their own use and uses, or upon parts: and if any person shall presume to do so, the owner or possessors of any such slave, suffered to offend as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, &c., and the Negro or other slave shall be whipt at the justice's discretion." As though the encouragement of industrious habits was not more likely to prevent theft, and make good servants, than such disgraceful prohibitions.

Monsieur d'Ibberville arrived in the Mississippi, and laid the foundations of the first colony the French ever had on that river: he erected a strong fort, and returned to France for supplies.

Sir William Beeston succeeded Lord Inchiquin in the government of Jamaica.

1692.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon on the 7th of June, a dreadful earthquake destroyed about nine tenths of the houses in Jamaica. In less than three minutes, the large and populous town of Port Royal was a scene of desolation. About 3000 inhabitants, with their houses, found one common grave. The sinking of the wharfs was but a prelude to that of the town. Those nearest to the water first disappeared; the next in succession followed. In the meanwhile the streets began to gape, "opening those dreadful fissures, into which the miserable remnant of the inhabitants fell, who had escaped the previous ruin, and were fleeing for shelter in the open air." The water began to roll where the town had flourished, and swept from the sight the devastations which the earthquake had made. Several of the inhabitants were swallowed up, and returned again to the surface of the earth through distant apertures, which had no visible connection with that which first yawned to receive them. Some were returned alive, and even without any material injury. The waters rose, and filled the houses which had survived the shock to the upper story — a "preternatural tide, that was to ebb no more."

Some of the streets were laid several fathoms under water:

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 362. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 315.
Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 296. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 142.

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the harbour was agitated as in a storm — the ships parted their cables. The Swan frigate lay by the wharf, and was forced over the tops of the sunken houses, and saved some hundreds of the inhabitants. The fort and about 200 houses escaped; but part of the neck of land, about a quarter of a mile in length, was entirely submersed, with all the houses, which stood very thick upon it.

Nor was Port Royal the only place which felt the effects of this dreadful shock. The mountains at the end of Sixteen-mile Walk, whose interval yields a passage to the Rio Cobre, were closed together, and the course of that large river left dry to the sea for some days. On the north side of the island, a space of 1000 acres, with its settlements and inhabitants, was also sunk under water. A general sickness ensued, which, with the other miseries, left the island almost destitute. The Assembly ordered a perpetual anniversary fast in commemoration of this calamity.[1]

Bownes's Hist. of Jamaica, p. 7.. Edwards, vol. i. p. 232.

[1] The following description of the earthquake is from the Philosophical Transactions, vol. ii. p. 402, as given in the Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 313. "I lost all my people and goods, my wife, and two men. Mrs. B. when she felt the earthquake, bid her daughter take up the child and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret stairs, for the house sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water."

Another account says, "Between eleven and twelve we felt the tavern, where I then was, shake, and saw the bricks begin to rise in the floor. At the same time we heard a voice in the streets cry an earthquake, and immediately we ran out of the house, where we saw all the people, with lifted up hands, begging God's assistance. We continued running up the street, while on either side of us we saw the houses, some swallowed up, others thrown on heaps, the sand in the streets rising like the waves of the sea, lifting up all persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into pits. At the same time a flood of water broke in and rolled these poor souls over and over, some catching hold of beams and rafters of houses; others were found in the sand that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out: sixteen or eighteen of us who beheld this dismal sight stood on a small piece of ground, which, thanks be to God! did not sink. As soon as the violent shake was over, every man was desirous to know if any part of his family was left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my house, upon the ruins of the houses that were floating upon the water, but could not. At length I got a canoe, and rowed up the great sea side, towards my house, where I saw several men and women floating upon the wreck out at sea, and as many of them as I could I took into the boat, and still rowed on, till I came where I thought my house stood, but could hear of neither my wife nor family. Next morning I went from one ship to another, till at last it pleased God I met with my wife and two of my Negroes. She told me, when she felt the house shake, she ran out, and called all the house to do the same. She was no sooner out but the sand lifted up, and her Negro woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the earth together, when at the very instant the water came in, rolled them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a beam, where they hung till a boat came from a Spanish vessel and took them up."

The following singular inscription appears on a tomb-stone at Green Bay, adjoining the Apostle's Battery, near St. Jago de la Vega: —

Dieu sur tout.

"Here lies the body of Lewis Galdy, esquire, who departed this life at Port Royal, the 22d December, 1736, aged eighty. He was born at Montpellier in France, but left that country for his reli-

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In June, 290 buccaneers, under the command of Daviot, plundered the north coast of Jamaica: 135 were landed at St. Ann's, where they carried off fifty-two Negroes. For fifteen days the French were detained on shore by a gale of wind, which had driven their vessel off, when they were alarmed by the earthquake: they immediately took to their boats, but fifty-three were swallowed up. Some vessels were sent to clear the coast of the pirates, who fell in with Daviot off Cuba: his vessel blew up in the action, and only twenty-one persons were saved. The party on shore surrendered, upon condition of being sent to St. Domingo: and thus ended this expedition.

The island of Barbadoes was afflicted with a dreadful sickness, which reduced the inhabitants to great distress. At this time a conspiracy among the Negroes, for a general massacre of the Whites, was discovered by two of the principal conspirators being overheard talking of their design. After hanging in chains four days without sustenance, they discovered all they knew: many of their accomplices were tortured, and many executed. The French were accused of privately encouraging the conspiracy.

1693.

Sir Francis Wheeler, with a strong squadron, and 4000 men, joined by 1400 men under the command of Colonel Foulk, from Barbadoes, on the 1st of April, anchored in the Cul de Sac Marine, at Martinico. One thousand five hundred were landed and reimbarked the next day, after burning a few houses. Upon the 15th, Colonel Codrington joined the fleet with the Leeward Island forces. An attack was made upon St. Pierre's, which, after several days, was discontinued, and the troops reimbarked with great loss. Disaffection in the commanders, some of whom were Irish Roman Catholics, was supposed to have occasioned the failure.

Sir Francis Wheeler proceeded to Boston, but was unable to pursue the ulterior objects of the expedition against Canada, as,

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 20. 24. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 202, 203. History of New England, C. Mather, fol. p. 71. book 2.

gion, and came to settle in this island, where he was swallowed up in the great earthquake in the year 1692, and by the providence of God was by another shock thrown into the sea, and miraculously saved by swimming, until a boat took him up. He lived many years after, in great reputation, beloved by all who knew him, and much lamented at his death."—*B. Edwards*, vol. i. p. 194.

The author has frequently heard of this tomb-stone and its inscription at Port Royal.

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before his arrival in New England, he had lost 1800 soldiers, and 1300 sailors.

There were only sixteen parishes formed in Jamaica.

In those which afterwards formed the county of Surry, 833 families, and 6602 inhabitants.

In Middlesex, 884 families, and 8696 inhabitants.

And in all the other parts of the island, not more than 220 families, or 2000 persons.

The white inhabitants were estimated at 8000, scattered near the sea-coasts — "few, if any, attempts being as yet made to form inland plantations."

An act of Assembly established "the rates of provisions," thus:—

Beef and goat, three-pence; mutton, four-pence farthing; veal, prime parts, sixpence three farthings; other parts, five-pence three farthings; hog, lamb, and turtle, five-pence three farthings.

The town of Kingston was founded this year. The plan was drawn by Colonel Lilly—"a parallelogram one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, regularly traversed by streets and lanes alternately crossing each other at right angles, except in the upper part of the town, where a large square was left."

The Blacks in the interior having chosen Cudjoe for their generalissimo, commenced open war against the Whites.

1694.

In consequence of the distresses of the inhabitants of Jamaica from the earthquake, the French determined to attack that island, expecting to make a complete conquest. M. du Casse, with three men of war and twenty privateers, having on board 1500 troops, appeared off Cow Bay, June 27th, where he landed 800 soldiers under M. Beauregard, with orders to desolate the country to Port Morant. These barbarians obeyed their instructions to the full extent: they set fire to every settlement, tortured the prisoners, and made some behold the violation of their wives by their own Negroes before they murdered them. The militia of this part of the country had been drawn off to guard the capital. After seizing about 1000 Negroes, Du Casse moved to Carlisle Bay, where he met such resistance from the militia, part of whom had marched thirty miles without refreshment, that the French were obliged to retreat, and returned to

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 58. — vol. ii. pp. 36. 103. 340.
Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 315. 205. Edwards, vol. i. p. 232.

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Española with their booty, having lost near 700 men. The old buccaneer, De Graff, was one of the commanders upon this expedition. Du Casse was accused by his followers of appropriating too large a share of the plunder to himself and the officers; but his government approved his conduct, for they settled upon him for life 100 pistoles per annum for his services upon this occasion.

Five sail and a fire-ship sailed from Jamaica, to annoy the French in St. Domingo: they anchored in Leogane Roads the 11th of October, and battered Esterre from eight in the morning till three in the evening, burnt one vessel, and proceeded to the Isle Avache, where they destroyed the huts.

Colonel Francis Russel was appointed governor of Barbadoes, to supersede Colonel Kendall, who was made one of the Lords of the Admiralty. The Assembly voted £2000 to their new governor. At this time an epidemical sickness raged both by sea and land, which obliged the Assembly to pass an act for manning two men of war which lay in Carlisle Bay, for the protection of the island.

The Hannibal, of London, Thomas Phillips, master, arrived at Barbadoes on the 4th of November, with a cargo of Negroes: she had been two months and eleven days on her passage from St. Thomas', had buried fourteen of her crew, and 320 Negroes, which, he coolly says, "was a great detriment to our voyage, the Royal African Company losing £10 by every slave that died, and the owners of the ship £10 10s., being the freight agreed on for every Negro delivered alive ashore to the African Company's agent at Barbadoes." Phillips says, "No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they do who carry Negroes. I delivered alive at Barbadoes 372, which being sold, came out at about £19 per head, one with another."

The Hannibal was 450 tons burthen, and carried thirty-six guns. Three weeks before she arrived at Barbadoes, a hurricane had "put most of the ships in the road ashore."

His Majesty's ship Tiger, Captain Thomas Sherman, had been on that station for two years, during which time 600 men had been buried out of her, although her complement was but 200. Phillips asserts that Captain Sherman told him so.

About this time some Englishmen, with their families, removed from Anguilla to the Virgin Islands, where they made considerable improvements: they were governed by a deputy-governor and council, nominated from among themselves. There

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 37. 40. 45, 46. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 68.
Colquhoun's Brit. Emp. p. 354. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 285.
Churchill's Collection, vol. vi. p. 253.

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were no taxes. Money, when wanted for public purposes, was raised by voluntary subscription.

1695.

By the 7 & 8 W. III. c. 22. "Goods are to be imported and exported from and to the plantations in ships built in England or Ireland, or the said plantations; and navigated with the master and three fourths of the mariners of the said places, on pain of forfeiting ship and goods, &c. And all ships lading or unlading any goods at any of the plantations in America, and the masters and commanders thereof, shall be subject to the same rules, visitations, searches, penalties, and forfeitures as ships and their ladings are liable to in England; and the officers for collecting the customs there, shall have the like powers as the officers of the customs in this kingdom; and persons assisting in concealments shall be subject to the like penalties."

The French colonists of Santa Cruz, under the command of Le Sieur Galifet, joined those at St. Domingo the 2d of February. Previous to their departure from Santa Cruz, instructions had been sent from France to burn all the houses, spoil the harbour, and if any of the inhabitants refused to embark, to use force to oblige them. They had offended the French government by carrying on a contraband trade with the Danes at St. Thomas'. The colony consisted of 147 men, with women and children in proportion, and 623 Negroes.

The Assembly at Barbadoes voted £2000 to the Honourable Francis Russel, their governor, in addition to the £2000 given him the year before.

Admiral de Pointis, commanding the French expedition to Carthagena, passed within sight of Barbadoes. It was thought that the agents of the pirates had shipped off for Madagascar all the gunpowder; for at that time there was not in all the forts upon the island seven rounds of powder.

Francis Russel died, and Francis Bond, the President of the Council, succeeded him as governor of Barbadoes. Under Mr. Bond's administration an act was passed, allowing the solemn affirmation of the Quakers to be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form.

Commodore Wilmot sailed from Jamaica with 1200 troops,

Jacob's Law Dictionary, Plantations. Labat, tom. vii. p. 107. Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 80. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 117.; vol. iii. p. 162. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 205. 316.

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under the command of Colonel Lilliston, to attack the French in San Domingo, and landed them within three leagues of the Cape. The attacks upon the fort failed the first day, but the next night the French blew up the fort, set fire to the town, and marched off in the dark, leaving forty pieces of cannon fit for service. De Graff's wife and two children were taken prisoners.[1]

Port au Paix was next attacked, and the garrison abandoned the fort in the night, but fell into an ambuscade, and most of them were taken or killed. The victors destroyed the fort, and carried away eighty pieces of cannon. Nothing further was done: the land and sea officers disagreed, and the expedition returned. The Spaniards also who joined the expedition disagreed with the English, and greatly contributed to its failure.

1696.

There was an act passed this year in Jamaica, which enjoined masters to instruct their slaves, and not to "fail to exhort all male and female slaves who may be unbaptised, to receive the sacrament of baptism." There was no penalty for non-compliance.

Though inefficient in this respect, the act is remarkable, as containing the only efficient religious slave-law which can be found: it prevents the slave being made a free man by his admission into the Christian church. The first founders of slavery in the West Indies held it to be incompatible with the condition of a Christian man, and such as Pagans or Infidels could alone be lawfully subjected to, and that, consequently, baptism was a virtual enfranchisement. These legislators, therefore, dealt sincerely and efficiently with this subject, when they enacted, "that no slave shall be free by becoming Christian."

Lord Coke held the opinion, that Pagans were to be treated as perpetual and irreclaimable enemies.

By the same act, if a slave who had been three years in the island ran away, and continued absent from his master twelve months, he was declared to be rebellious, and transportation to be his punishment.

By sect. 23. directions were given for proceeding against slaves, upon complaints of "felony, burglary, robbery, burning of

Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 65. Stephen on West Indian Slavery.

[1] He had married her, because one day, when she fancied herself offended by him, she went with a pistol in her hand to reduce him to reason. This action appeared to him so gallant, that he judged the Amazon worthy to be his wife.—*Charlevoix*, tom. iv. p. 57.

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houses or canes, rebellions, conspiracies, *or any other capital offence whatsoever.*"

By sect. 24. "Compassing or imagining the death of a white person," by any slave or slaves, was made punishable with death. But, except in cases of murder, only one of the criminals was to suffer death, as exemplary to the rest.

It will be seen (by the act of 1744) that breaches of this restriction were declared to be and to have been legal.

Sect. 32. had a retrospective action: it enacted, that "if any Negro, or any slave or slaves, before the making of this act, *have maliciously given or attempted to give*, or shall hereafter maliciously give, or attempt to give, to any person whatsoever, whether free or slave, any manner of poison, although the same was never taken, or if taken, death did not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said slave or slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the facts (being slaves), shall be guilty of murder, and shall be condemned to suffer death *by hanging, burning, or such other ways* or means as to the justices and freeholders shall seem convenient."

Stolen goods found in the custody of a slave, such slave, on conviction of receiving, knowing them to have been stolen, to suffer death, transportation, dismembering, or other punishment, at the discretion of two justices and three freeholders.

All masters of slaves to have one acre of ground well planted with provisions for every five slaves, under penalty of forty shillings for every acre deficient.

A slave killing a rebellious slave, or taking him, to receive forty shillings, and a coat with a red cross upon it.

Pregnant convicts to be respited from execution until after delivery.

Nicholas Trott, Esquire, who had succeeded Mr. Jones as governor of New Providence, built a fort at the town of Nassau. Notwithstanding which, Avery the pirate forced the inhabitants to let him have what provisions he wanted; but afterward, Governor Trott so improved the defences of the island, that the French were several times repulsed, and obliged to retire with loss.

1697.

The British Parliament enacted, that private traders should have liberty to trade for slaves upon the coast of Africa; but

Stephen on West Indian Slavery, pp. 287. 320.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 285. Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 154.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 78.; vol. ii. pp. 485. 490. Jacob's Law Dict. Plantation.

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allowed the African Company ten per cent. from them, towards defraying their extraordinary expences.

Sir William Beeston, the principal commissioner of the Vice-admiralty Court at Jamaica, settled the fees: —

On the condemnation or acquittal of every vessel, £3 10s.

On the first £100 value of vessel and goods condemned, whether captured from the enemy, or seized for breach of the acts of trade, £3.

And for every other £100 value, £1 per cent.

By 9 & 10 W. III. "No governor abroad shall be a factor or agent, under the penalty of £500."

Extract from the "Traité de Paix entre Louis le Quatorzième, Roi de France, et les Seigneurs Etats Generaux des Provinces-Unies de Pais-Bas. Fait à Ryswick, le 20 Septembre, 1697."

"8. Tous les pays, villes, places, terres, forts, isles, et seigneuries, tant au dedans qu'au dehors de l'Europe, qui pourroient avoir été pris et occupés depuis le commencement de la present guerre, seront restitués, de part et d'autre, au même etat, qu'ils etoient pour les fortifications lors de la prise, et quant aux autres edifices, dans l'etat qu'ils se trouveront, sans qu'on puisse y rien detruire n'y deteriorer, sans aussi qu'on puisse pretendre aucun dedommagement pour ce qui auroit pu estre demoli."

"14. Il a été accordé et convenu, qu'arrivant cy-apres quelque interruption d'amitié ou rupture entre la couronne de France et lesdits Seigneurs Etats desdites Provinces-Unies (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise!) il sera toujours donné neuf mois de temps apres ladite rupture aux sujets de part et d'autre, pour se retirer avec leurs effets, et les transporter ou bon leur semblera. Ce qu'il leur sera permis de faire, comme aussi de vendre ou transporter leurs biens et meubles en toute liberté, sans qu'on leur puisse donner aucun empêchement, ni proceder pendant lesdit tems de neuf mois à aucune saisie de leurs effets, moins encore à l'arrest de leurs personnes."

Upon the 20th of September, 1697, a treaty of peace between Louis the Fourteenth, King of France, and Charles the Second, King of Spain, was signed at Ryswick. By the 26th article, in case of a rupture between the two powers, the subjects of both parties are to be allowed six months to transport their effects and persons wheresoever they may choose.

The following articles of the treaty "concluded in the royal palace at Ryswick, the 20th day of September, 1697," between

Du Mont, tom. vii. partie 2. pp. 381. 408.
Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, Oct. 1727. p. 312.

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William the Third of England and Louis the Fourteenth of France, are those which relate to the West Indies: —

"Article 7. The Most Christian King shall restore to the said King of Great Britain all countries, islands, forts, and colonies, wheresoever situated, which the English did possess before the declaration of this present war: and in like manner, the King of Great Britain shall restore to the Most Christian King all countries, islands, forts, and colonies, wheresoever situated, which the French did possess before the said declaration of war. And this restitution shall be made on both sides within the space of six months, or sooner, if it can be done. And to that end, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, each of the said Kings shall deliver, or cause to be delivered, in his name, for that purpose, all acts of concession, instruments, and necessary orders duly made and in proper form, so that they may have their effect."

Article 10. allows captures to be made after the signing of the treaty, for the space of twelve days, as far as Cape St. Vincent; ten weeks from the said Cape to the Equator; and six months beyond the Line throughout the whole world.

"Article 12. But if (which God forbid!) the differences now composed between the said Kings should at any time be renewed, and break out into open war, the ships, merchandises, and all kind of moveable goods, of either party, which shall be found to be and remain in the ports and dominions of the adverse party, shall not be confiscated or brought under any inconveniency; but the whole space of six months shall be allowed to the subjects of both the said Kings, that they may carry away and transport the foresaid goods, and any thing else that is theirs, whither they shall think fit, without any molestation.

Upon the 12th of January, an action took place twelve leagues to windward of St. Domingo, between the French and Spanish squadrons. The French under M. des Augiers captured "El Christo," with a vice-admiral on board.

Upon the 21st of April, one of M. de Gennes' squadron arrived at Guadaloupe, and soon afterwards M. de Gennes himself. He had been upon a voyage of discovery to the Straits of Magellan: it was the first voyage which the French ever made to those Straits; and although the English, Spaniards, and Dutch had often been there, M. de Gennes could not get through, but gave up the attempt, and made sail for Bahia de Todos los Santos, where he remained four months, and then sailed for Cayenne, from whence he went to cruize off Martinico, and

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 90. 80. 176, 177. Viages al Magallanes, partie 2. p. 274.

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took some prizes from the English; but M. de Gennes was short of provisions: his crew were five days living upon cacao and sugar, which they thought stupified them.

With characteristic modesty, M. de Gennes gave names to a bay and a river in the Straits of Magellan, and to the river he gave his own name!

The capture of Carthagena by M. de Pointis.

M. de Pointis' fleet consisted of the following vessels: —

Le Sceptre	Commanded by	M. de Pointis.
Le St. Louis	————	M. de Levy.
Le Fort	————	M. le Vicomte de Coetlogon.
Le Vermandois	————	M. du Buisson.
Le Furieux	————	M. la Mothe Michel.
L'Apollon	————	M. Gombaud.
La Mutiné	————	M. Maffiat.
Le St. Michel	————	M. Marolles.
L'Avenant	————	M. Francine.
La Galliote	————	M. de Monts.
La Providence, corvette ...	————	M. du Bouchel.
La Diepoise, transport	————	M. Tanberleau.
La Ville d'Amsterdam	————	M. Monier.
Four Dispatch Boats.		

At St. Domingo he was joined by

Le Christ	Commanded by	M. de la Motte d'Airan.

The whole having on board 4658 men, exclusive of about 700 adventurers or buccaneers, and two companies of Negroes, who were embarked on board the following private ships of war: —

Le Pontchartain	Commanded by	M. Monjay, and had on board M. du Casse, the Governor of St. Domingo.
La Ville de Glamma	Commanded by	————
La Serpente	————	M. Godefroy.
La Gracieuse	————	M. Blouc.
La Pembrock	————	M. Galet.
Le Cerf-volant	————	M. Pierre.
La Mutiné	————	M. Pays.
Le Brigantin	————	M. Sales.
Le Jersé	————	M. Macary.
L'Anglois	————	M. Colong.

The Negroes were under the command of Captain Paty. The inhabitants and adventurers formed a separate corps, under the command of M. du Casse—the whole together amounting to about 6500 men. Le Vicomte de Coetlogon was appointed general of artillery, and the other captains of the line-of-battle ships, lieutenants-general under M. de Pointis.

Histoire des Aventuriers, tom. ii. p. 301. Par A. O. Oexmelin. Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 122. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 317.

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Upon the 6th of April, the fleet anchored at the Isles de San Blas, fifteen leagues to windward of Carthagena; where they were detained by bad weather until the 11th, when they made sail, and upon the 12th of April, at two P.M., anchored before Carthagena.

The galliot bombarded the whole night, and the shells fell into the city. This was the first bomb vessel ever seen in the West Indies. She produced a great effect upon the spirits of the Spaniards, who began to despond when they saw the damage she did.

The 14th, the fleet anchored before Bocca Chica. This fort had thirty-three guns mounted: it had four bastions, and was defended by a dry fosse cut in the rock. The ramparts were bomb-proof, and the walls shot-proof. The St. Louis opened her fire upon it at the same time that the galliot and two other small vessels began to bombard it. Under their fire the troops landed, and advanced within a quarter of a league of the fort without opposition. By the advice of the buccaneers, 3000 men crossed through the wood by a path so difficult, that only one man could pass at a time, and took possession of the road leading from Carthagena to the fort. Here they fortified themselves on both sides, for the purpose of cutting off the communication between the fort and the city. Whilst the troops were at work, the advanced guard gave the alarm, and the whole advanced in single file to a small village within musket-shot of the fort, where they took six Negroes prisoners. Five guns were fired from the fort, which killed five men.

The next morning, at day-light, the adventurers saw a Spanish piragua making for the fort: they immediately took some other boats which they found upon the beach, pursued and captured her. They made twenty prisoners, two of whom were monks of the highest rank. They said that the garrison consisted of only 200 men, but that reinforcements would be thrown in that evening. One of these monks was sent with a flag of truce, a drummer and a trumpeter, to summon the governor to surrender, upon pain of having all the garrison put to the sword. A drum from the fort brought the answer, a refusal, with an expression of surprise at the summons.

The Negroes having cleared the road, a battery of mortars and guns was raised against the fort. The artillery, the troops, and the buccaneers, who were excellent sharp-shooters, opened upon the fort, which returned the fire. At two P.M. two half-galleys attempted to throw supplies into the fort: they were unable to stand the fire opened against them, therefore tacked and returned to Carthagena. The buccaneers, in their efforts to stop the galleys, advanced so near the fort, that they found shelter under

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the covered way; and from thence prevented the garrison from working their guns, killing every man who made his appearance upon the batteries, which were en barbette.

The grenadiers had already gained the draw-bridge — the scaling-ladders were placed, and the troops were advancing to the assault, when D. Francisco Ximenes, the governor, hoisted a white flag, and asked to capitulate. He tried for favourable conditions, but was told that the garrison must surrender prisoners of war. As thirty ladders were placed, and the men ready to mount if these terms were not accepted, the garrison threw their arms over the ramparts, and opened the gates. The assailants entered immediately, and secured the garrison, about 100 men, in a chapel: there were also 200 wounded. When the governor delivered the keys of the fortress to M. de Poincy, he said, "I put into your hands the keys of all the Spanish Indies." About forty of the adventurers were killed, and as many wounded. M. du Casse was wounded in the thigh, and M. Canet, the first engineer, in the arm.

The next day, the 17th, the fleet entered the harbour, and the Spaniards burnt all their vessels, to prevent their being taken.

M. de Pointis sent a summons to Don Diego de los Rios, the governor of Carthagena, and offered him very advantageous terms. The governor replied, that he neither wanted guns nor men nor courage to defend his post — that he should do his duty; and if, in the end, he should find himself pressed, he would endeavour to profit by the obliging offers which had been made to him!

The adventurers were now embarked, to cross over to attack the convent of Nuestra Senhora de la Popa — to occupy the heights and roads, and to stop every thing that might come out of the town. As M. du Casse was wounded, M. Galifet was appointed to command them; but it was not without some difficulty that they were brought to obey their new commander. The convent stood upon a mountain about gun-shot from Carthagena: the monks had abandoned it, and carried off all their valuables.

The army also marched to the Fort Santa Cruz: the men suffered extremely from the want of water upon their march, and arrived near it before sun-set. This fort could mount sixty guns, and had a wet ditch: it was accessible from the land-side only by a narrow road, where the mud was half way up their legs. To the great surprise of the assailants, the garrison, which had been weakened to strengthen the city, hoisted a white flag, and surrendered without firing a shot!

Fort St. Lazare was the next obstacle to be surmounted: it was on the other side of the city, and commanded the suburbs. The adventurers had advanced to within gun-shot of it. M. de Pointis sent a detachment of grenadiers to summon the city, and kept up

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a conference with the garrison, amusing them, whilst his troops were defiling round the fort without danger. At six P.M. a reconnoitring party of fifty men were pushed to the foot of the fort: several men were killed on this service.

The next day, roads were cut in a hill, by which the fort could be approached, under shelter of a wood, to within pistol-shot; and within that distance, behind an eminence, the army were placed, covered from the fire of the Spaniards. The adventurers from a small mountain commanded the garrison so completely, that they could pick off the men behind the embrasures. The Spaniards lost their commander, abandoned the place in disorder, and retired into the city. Scaling-ladders were then laid, and the fort taken.

Fort St. Lazare was only musket-shot from "Gezemanie" — so the suburbs were called: it had only six guns mounted. The next day, four more were placed in it, and a fire opened upon a bastion to the left, which incommoded the assailants. The sharp-shooters were again of great service in clearing the streets, and forcing the besieged to seek shelter in their batteries; from whence, however, they did considerable damage to their enemy. Preparations were now made for forming the siege of the city. On the 21st, two six-pounders were mounted in a chapel, musket-shot from "Gezemanie;" they were soon obliged to be withdrawn, and were mounted in fort St. Lazare. Thirty men were killed or wounded in this attempt. The fire from the city was so successful, that M. de Pointis ordered the camp to be removed behind Fort St. Lazare, where the men were sheltered: he himself was wounded in the breast by a musket-ball, and obliged to commit the conduct of the siege to M. de Levy. The 22d, 23d, and 24th, the men worked night and day in making the batteries and landing the artillery.

On the 26th, four batteries were completed: the breaching battery had four thirty-six pounders.

The second battery had six guns — five eighteen pounders, and one thirty-six pounder.

The third had three eighteen pounders.

The fire from these batteries was evidently efficacious. The galliot in the roads, and the mortars on shore, continued to bombard the city all night.

The next day, information was received, or said to have been received, that an army of Indians were coming to succour the city: 350 adventurers were detached to watch them. After plundering the country for four leagues, they returned with fifty prisoners, several oxen, 4000 crowns, and other plunder.

The 28th and 29th the cannonade continued. At five P.M. De Coetlogon attempted to gain the draw-bridge, but failed.

On the 30th, at three P.M., the breach was reported practi-

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cable: all the batteries were ordered to play upon it, and preparations made for storming the suburbs. M. du Casse marched at the head of the grenadiers, although his wound required rest; the adventurers, commanded by M. Macharis, followed, and then the rest of the army — they issued from the trenches at the end of the bridge. The bastion of St. Catharine, in the city, commanded the spot, and killed a great number. Planks were laid over the draw-bridge, which the besieged had broken to pieces upon the night of the 28th, after it was cut down, and the assailants passed on to the breach under a tremendous fire. It was only practicable for one man at a time. Here the Spanish lancers did great execution with their long lances: they were nine and ten feet long, and the men could throw them twelve or fifteen yards with unerring certainty. The batteries were lined with these men. Several officers were killed and wounded, Vice Admiral the Comte de Coetlogon was mortally wounded. The commander-in-chief's nephew, Le Chevalier de Pointis, Ensign de Vaisseau, had his knee broken. Many were wounded in pursuing the Spaniards, when they abandoned "Gezemanie," to save themselves in Carthagena. If the daylight had lasted one hour longer, the assailants would have entered the city with the fugitives.

The French gave no quarter, 200 Spaniards who sought refuge in a church, were put to the sword; indeed, every person that could be found, except the governor, who had himself carried in his easy chair to the breach, to animate the men, and only left it when he saw all was lost.

After the French were masters of "Gezemanie," [Charlevoix calls it "Hihimani,"] they approached the bridge which communicated with the city, as close as possible. The besieged made two sorties, but were driven back both times with loss.

An intrenchment was thrown up across the street opposite the bridge, to cover the guard from the incessant fire of the city. The rest of the troops were sheltered in the houses, and two days were passed in dressing the wounded, in turning the guns of Gezemanie upon the city, and in making batteries to breach the walls. The garrison had six months provisions. The city was surrounded with a fosse filled with water, and there were eighty pieces of cannon upon the ramparts.

Another alarm was given of the approach of 2000 Indians, and 500 adventurers were sent to oppose them, but none were to be seen. Two white flags were hoisted in the city.

The 2d of May, the Sceptre and Vermandois battered the city all day. At three P.M. the besieged demanded to capitulate; but a message was sent to the governor, that no conference would be held with him, unless he ordered the Indians to retire. Shortly afterwards all firing ceased, and M. du Casse was sent

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into the city to hear their proposals; but the governor would treat only with M. de Pointis. Four Spaniards of high rank were deputed to know his sentiments. After a long dispute, M. de Pointis told them, that if the propositions he had made were not accepted, they might retire. They asked until the next day, as they had not power to conclude the negociation.

The 3d of May, the governor sent to say he would sign the capitulation. The inhabitants of the city, terrified at the example of Gezemanie, were clamorous for the surrender, and forced him to accept the following terms:—

"Art. 1. The governor, with the troops and militia composing the garrison who wish to follow him, shall march, drums beating, match lighted, and with two pieces of cannon. The governor may also carry with him all his effects.

"2. No damage shall be done to the churches.

"3. The guns, all the treasure and other property belonging to the Catholic King, shall be immediately placed in the hands of M. de Pointis, by those who have the charge of them, with their account books.

"4. Every person who chooses may quit the city, leaving all their goods, except such clothes and money as may be left them to travel with, and slaves according to their rank.

"5. The merchants shall carry their account books to M. de Pointis, and shall deliver up all the money and other effects, which they may have in charge for their correspondents.

"6. The inhabitants who may choose to remain under obedience to His Most Christian Majesty shall enjoy the same privileges, rights, and immunities which they enjoyed under His Catholic Majesty. They shall be left in peaceable possession of their goods, with the exception of gold, silver, and precious stones, which they shall be held bound to give a faithful account of; in which case one-half shall be left with them—otherwise the whole shall be taken away."

After the articles were signed, a detachment of adventurers was to occupy one side of the bastions which the governor had given up, and one side of the gates of the city—the troops entered immediately, seized the ramparts, and all the avenues.

The soldiers and sailors were forbidden to enter any of the houses upon pain of death. The admiral's carpenter was caught plundering: he confessed his guilt, and had his head cut off upon the spot.

Upon the 4th of May, the governor, followed by 700 men under arms, marched out. M. de Pointis entered immediately afterwards, and proceeded to the cathedral, where he heard Te Deum chaunted. After this ceremony, he went to his lodgings at the consedorie, a magnificent house, where the royal treasures were deposited.

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Notwithstanding the inhabitants brought their money, some individuals to the amount of 400,000 dollars, a general search was made throughout the town, and a vast quantity of the precious metals found. Every article of the capitulation was broken by the conquerors. The churches were plundered, the women violated. De Pointis is said by his countryman (Charlevoix) to have tolerated actions which dishonored the French name in America.

Some of the inhabitants, in consequence of the excesses of the soldiers, hired parties of the adventurers to protect their houses, and in many instances this was faithfully done.

M. de Pointis declared that his orders were to keep possession of the three forts, and appointed M. de Galifet, governor of the city, with ten companies of infantry, eighty Negroes, and 150 adventurers, to guard the harbour. But the excesses of the troops, and the climate, soon obliged the conquerors to abandon all hopes of keeping the place. Their numbers diminished daily: 800 died in six days.

The plunder was therefore embarked. Eighty-six brass guns were shipped from the batteries — the iron ones were burst. The fortifications were blown up. Upon the 27th, Fort St. Lazare was blown up, and part of Bocca Chica upon the 28th, and upon the same day the fleet anchored off it.

M. du Casse waited upon M. de Pointis for the adventurers' share of the plunder, which, to his surprise, amounted to only 40,000 dollars.

Upon the 1st of June, after entirely destroying the fort at Bocca Chica, the fleet sailed to water at La Grande Riviere.

After M. du Casse had made his report to the adventurers, they resolved to return to Carthagena, declaring that the dog, De Pointis, had left their share there, and swearing that they would never return to San Domingo again. De Pointis was too ill to attend to any thing. Du Casse made an ineffectual attempt to persuade them that he would get justice done them by the King: no regard was paid to him. They returned to the unhappy city, shut up all the men in the cathedral, and demanded five millions to ransom their lives. Some were frightened, others tortured. In one day more than a million of dollars were brought. After remaining four days, the adventurers reimbarked with their plunder, having first divided the gold and silver, which amounted to a thousand crowns a man. The merchandize was to be divided when they arrived at the Isle Avache.

They had only proceeded about thirty leagues, when they fell

Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 173.

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in with the combined English and Dutch fleets. "Le Christ," commanded by M. Cotuy, with 250 men, and more than a million of money (crowns I suppose), was captured by the Dutch. Le Cerf-volant, Captain Pierre, equally richly laden, was taken by the English; a third was driven on shore at San Domingo, and burnt; and a fourth was driven on shore near Carthagena, where her crew were obliged to work at rebuilding the fortifications which they had ruined. The five others, commanded by the Captains Blanc, Pays, Sales, Macari, and Blouc, with difficulty got into different ports in Española. In July, however, the English squadron, under Admiral Meese, landed at Petit Goave, and carried off 120,000 livres, in gold and silver, of this cruelly-acquired plunder, and burnt forty-two houses in the town. Forty-nine of the English were killed, and seventeen taken prisoners.

Du Casse was honoured with the cross of St. Louis for his services at Carthagena, and orders were given that 1,400,000 livres should be distributed among the freebooters for their share, out of what De Pointis had carried away.

Notwithstanding the extreme repugnance of many of the inhabitants, he removed them all from Port de Paix to the plain of Cape François.

Nicholas Webb, Esquire, arrived at Providence as governor of the Bahama Islands, to succeed Mr. Trott. The population of the islands was estimated at 1000 souls.

Admiral Nevil, the commander of the English fleet, in compliance with his instructions, called at the Havannah to take the galleons under convoy to Europe; but the Spaniards were jealous, and refused to admit him into the harbour: he then proceeded to Virginia, and died, it is said, of a broken heart. He had been unsuccessful in a chase after Admiral De Pointis, whose ships were full of the plunder gained at Carthagena, and very badly manned.

1698.

Ralph Grey, Esquire, arrived at Barbadoes the 26th of July, as governor of the island. The Assembly voted him £2000, and £500, for the rent of a house, the governor's house being out of repair.

Colonel Codrington dying, was succeeded, as captain-general of the Leeward Islands, by his son Christopher.

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 289. 317. 206. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 117. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 205. Edwards, vol. i. p. 547.

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In the beginning of this year, news of the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick arrived at St. Domingo, most opportunely for the French, as it prevented the approach of an army of 550 Spaniards, who had already penetrated to the plain of the cape, and had commenced their ravages, which the French, from their recent losses, were in no state to oppose.

All the gold and silver plate from the churches at Carthagena which could be collected was, by order of the French King, sent back. The governor of the French in St. Domingo had directions to use his utmost endeavours to suppress the pirates; and a new company was formed, under the name of the Company of St. Louis, or of the Isle Avache, for clearing and peopling that part of St. Domingo. This company was to have the exclusive commerce with this part of the island for thirty years.

The first settlement on the banks of the Essequebo, was founded by the Dutch this year, nearly 100 miles from the mouth of the river. The land was granted gratis, under express stipulations that a given portion should be under cultivation in a given time, with the promise of a larger grant when the terms of the first were complied with. A fine was to be levied for non-compliance, if not paid, the land and improvements were to be sold. The governor was appointed, and the code of laws given by the Dutch West India Company, subject to the approbation of the States-General.

Governor Beeston reported the inhabitants of Jamaica to be 7365 Whites, and 40,000 Blacks.

The official return of the population in Barbadoes, states the number of white men at 2330, and 42,000 slaves. In 1676, there were 10,000 white men upon the island, capable of bearing arms. An act, passed in 1697, for the encouraging the importation of white servants, recites, that they had been *ill used*. This extraordinary diminution in twenty-two years is a shocking proof of it.

The first minute account of the inhabitants of the Bermudas was in the lists of 1698: they state it at 3615 whites, and 2247 slaves.

Six sail arrived in the West Indies with a colony of Scotch, who were landed upon the 4th of November, within a league of the Isla del Oro, on the coast of Darien; and, in pursuance of a treaty, they were joined by the chief men and leaders of the natives: they called the settlement "New Edinburgh, in

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 134.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, p. 392.

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Caledonia," and petitioned King William for protection, as he had granted them letters patent for establishing their company. The scheme was so popular in Scotland, that £400,000 were subscribed to carry it on. The names of the company were Lord Bellhaven, William Patterson, David Nairne, James Smith, James Cheisly, William Sheppard, Robert Blackwood, James Balfeur, James Fowlis, Thomas Coutts, Abraham Wilmer, Daniel Van Mildert, Robert Williamson, Anthony Merry, Paul Docminique, Robert Douglas, Thomas Skinner, Hugh Frazier, James Bateman, Walter Stewart, and Joseph Cohen d'Azevedo, incorporated under the firm of the African Company. Both the Spanish and French kings protested against the settlement as an invasion of the Spanish dominions. In answer to this, the colonists alleged, that the Spaniards had abandoned the country, because they could not subdue the natives; and that the natives being left to themselves, it was lawful for the Scots to treat with them.

But the East India Company and the West India colonies were jealous of the new colony; and King William is accused of having sent secret orders to all the islands, to forbid all commerce with the Scots at Darien. The Dutch East India company also pressed the King to prevent the settlement.

The scheme was originally proposed by Mr. William Patterson, who had examined the country himself, and was well acquainted with Dampier, Mr. Wafer, and several old buccaneers. All the land carriage necessary for communicating between the two seas might be performed with ease, along the ridge of mountains, by mules, or even carriages, in one day. Mr. Fletcher of Salton was the first person who patronized Patterson, and introduced him to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Stair, and the other patrons of the undertaking. In the original articles of the Company, it had been agreed that Patterson should get two per cent. on the stock, and three per cent. upon the profits; but when he saw the amount of the subscriptions (for, in addition to the Scotch, the English subscribed £300,000, and the Dutch and Hamburghers £200,000 more), he gave a discharge of both claims to the Company. "It was not," he said, "suspicion of the justice or gratitude of the Company, nor a consciousness that my services could ever become useless to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals experienced in life, which made it a matter of common prudence in me to ask a retribution for six years of my time, and £10,000

Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, p. 309.
Annual Register for 1788, p. 212, from Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. ii.

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spent in promoting the establishment of the Company. But, now that I see it standing upon the authority of Parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all claim to retribution, happy in the noble concession made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it." The Dutch, Hamburgh, and London merchants were frightened by King William's conduct, and withdrew their subscriptions.

Upon the 26th of July, the expedition sailed from Leith, 1200 men, among whom were younger sons of many of the most noble and most ancient families in Scotland, and sixty officers who had been disbanded at the peace, and carried with them private men, generally raised on their own or the estates of their relations, in five large ships. They arrived at Darien in two months, with the loss of only fifteen of their people, and fixed their station at Acta, calling it St. Andrew. One of the sides of the harbour being formed by a long narrow neck of land which ran into the sea, they cut it across, so as to join the ocean and the harbour. Within this defence they erected a fort, planting upon it fifty pieces of cannon. On the other side of the harbour there was a mountain a mile high, on which they placed a watch-house: and this was a favourite spot of the highlanders. The Scots, trusting to being supplied from the colonies, had not brought provisions enough with them: want of these brought on diseases. "But the savages, by hunting and fishing for them, gave them that relief which fellow Britons refused." They lingered eight months, expecting assistance from Scotland, during which time almost all of them either died or quitted the settlement. Patterson, who had been the first that entered the ship at Leith, was the last who went on board at Darien.

1699.

A second supply of men and provisions were sent from Scotland to "New Edinburgh," but one of the ships was burnt, and by this accident losing most of the provisions, these also left the place. A third reinforcement was sent, stronger and better supplied: these split into factions, were attacked by a feeble party of Spaniards, and surrendered by capitulation: some escaped to Jamaica, where a proclamation had been issued forbidding their being assisted. Thus the whole plan was abandoned.

Sir William Beeston, governor of Jamaica, died upon the

Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, p. 394. Long's Jamaica, vol i. p. 296.

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island. The assembly in that island passed "an act to oblige patentees of offices to reside in the island."

By the Statute 11 & 12 W. III. c. 12. "If any governor, deputy-governor, or commander-in-chief of any plantation or colony within his Majesty's dominion beyond the seas, shall oppress any of his Majesty's subjects within their respective governments, or be guilty of any other crime or misdemeanor, contrary to the laws of this realm, or those in force within their governments; such oppressions shall be inquired of, heard, and determined in the Court of King's Bench in England, or before such commissioners, and in such county of this realm as the King shall appoint, and by good and lawful men of such county; and the like punishments shall be inflicted as are usual for such offences here in England."

1700.

The population of Grenada was estimated at 251 Whites, fifty-three free people of colour, and 525 Negro slaves. The whole culture consisted of three plantations of sugar, and fifty-two of indigo; and there were but sixty-four horses, and 569 head of horned cattle, upon the island.

The population of Guadaloupe consisted of 3825 Whites, 325 savages and free people of colour, and 6725 slaves. There were sixty small plantations of sugar, sixty-six of indigo, and a small quantity of cocoa and cotton. The cattle amounted to 1620 horses, and 3699 horned beasts.

Elias Hasket, Esquire, succeeded Mr. Webb in the government of the Bahamas; but soon after his arrival, the inhabitants put him in irons and sent him off the island, and by their own authority appointed Mr. Lightwood in his place.

Major General Selwyn arrived at Jamaica, as governor, to succeed Sir William Beeston.

A French squadron of three sail of the line, under the command of Captain de Modene, was fired at by the English at Nevis, and a boat sent off to request him to salute the English flag; to which he replied, that as the thing appeared to him reasonable, his squadron should all salute. With this answer the English officer returned to Nevis, and the shot were taken out of all the guns in the batteries, to return the expected salute.

Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pp. 320. 290. 320. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 80. Jacob's Law Dict. Plantations. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 53. 387. Labat, tom. vii. p. 3.

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Commodore Modene having placed his own ship near the largest battery, and the two others close to the town, all three opened a heavy fire upon the place; and as most of the inhabitants were collected near the spot to see the expected salute, several of them were killed and wounded, and a great number of the houses damaged. Some merchant vessels in the road fired at the French, but received themselves more injury than they occasioned. This transaction Labat terms a "correction fraternelle!"

Labat, tom. vii. p. 3.

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A

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES.

1701.

" ASSIENTO, ou Privilege pour l'Introduction et le Vente des Esclaves Negres dans l'Amerique Espagnole, contenant les conditions auxquelles il est accordé à la Compagnie Royale de Guinée, etablié en France, pour le tems de dix ans. A Madrid, le 27 d'Août, 1701.

" M. du Casse, Chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Louis, Chef d'Escadre des Armées Navales de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne, Gouverneur du Petit Gouave, et autres lieux en dependants dans l'Isle Espagnole, autrement appellée par les François Saint Domingue, s'oblige tant, en son nom, que pour toute la Compagnie Royale de Guinée, etablié en France en vertu du pouvoir de ladite Compagnie, qu'il a representé d'executer et remplir toutes les conditions mentionnées au present Traité de l'Introduction des Esclaves Negres dans tous les pays, terres fermes et isles de l'Amerique, appartenantes à Sa Majesté Catholique.

" 1. Ladite Compagnie Françoise de Guinée, ayant obtenu la permission de leurs Majestez Tres-Chretienne et Catholique, de se charger de l'Assiento, ou Introduction des Esclaves Negres dans les Indes Occidentales de l'Amerique appartenantes à Sa Majesté Catholique, afin de procurer, par ce moyen, un avantage et une utilité reciproque à leursdites Majestez, et aux sujets de l'une et de l'autre Couronne, offre et s'oblige, tant pour elle, que pour ses directeurs et associez, solidairement d'introduire, dans

Du Mont, tom. viii. p. 83.

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lesdites Indes Occidentales appartenantes à Sa Majesté Catholique, pendant le temps et espace de dix années qui commenceront au premier May, de l'année prochaine 1702, et finiront à pareil jour de l'année 1712, 48,000 Negroes pieces d'Inde, des deux sexes et de tous ages, lesquels ne seront point tirez des pays de Guinée, qu'on nomme Minas et Cap-Vert, attendu que les Negres desdits pays ne sont pas propres pour lesdites Indes Occidentales; c'est-à-dire, quatre mille huit cens Negres chaque année.

"2. Pour chaque Negre piece d'Inde, de la mesure ordinaire, et suivant l'usage etabli ausdites Indes, au sujet du payement des droits, qui sera regulièrement suivi et observé, ladite Compagnie payera trente-trois ecus et un tiers d'ecu, chaque ecu de la valeur de trois livres tournois, monnoye de France; ou qui est la même chose, que trente trois piastres et un tiers de piastre: dans lequel payement de trente trois ecus et un tiers d'ecu sont et seront compris generalement tous droits d'entrée, sortie, ou autres qui appartiennent, ou peuvent appartenir, à Sa Majesté Catholique, sans que sadite Majesté en puisse pretendre ni imposer aucuns autres.

"3. Ladite Compagnie payera d'avance à Sa Majesté Catholique, pour les pressants besoins de son etat, la somme de six cens mille livres tournois de France, en deux payements egaux, dont le premier sera fait deux mois apres que Sa Majesté aura approuvé et signé le present Traité, et le second deux mois apres le premier: et ladite Compagnie ne pourra etre remboursée des six cens mille livres d'avance que pendant les deux derniers années de ce Traité, et elle prendra son remboursement, tant sur les droits qui seront payez à Sa Majesté Catholique, pour l'entrée des Negres, pendant lesdits deux derniers années, que sur les profits que Sa Majesté pourra faire, sur l'interest qu'elle a dans la fourniture desdits Negres: ainsi qu'il sera ailleurs expliqué.

"4. Ladite Compagnie sera obligée de payer à Sa Majesté Catholique lesdites avances dans Madrid ou à Paris, au choix de sadite Majesté; aussi-bien, que les droits de chaque année pour l'introduction des Negres, sans pretendre se prevaloir de ce qui à été dit ci-dessus, qu'elle feroit le payement desdits droits aux Indes, attendu que sadite Majesté aime mieux les recevoir à Madrid ou à Paris.

"5. Les payements des droits dus chaque année à sadite Majesté, se feront de six en six mois, dont le premier de Novembre de l'année prochaine 1702, et les autres seront faits successivement de six en six mois, jusqu'à la fin du present Traité, sans aucun retardement, pretexte, ni interpretation, con-

Du Mont, tom. viii. p. 83.

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traire, bien entendu toute fois que ladite Compagnie ne sera obligée de payer lesdits droits que pour le nombre de quatre mille Negres pieces d'Inde, par chaque année. Sa Majesté faisant, comme elle le fait par ces presentes, don et gratification, dans le meilleure forme qu'il est possible, des droits qui pourroient lui appartenir pour les huit cens Negres pieces d'Inde, restants desdites quatre mille huit cens que ladite Compagnie, pourra introduire chaque année; et ce en consideration des avances que ladite Compagnie fait à sa Majesté, sans interest, de la somme de 600,000 livres, et des risques qu'elle courra, pour faire tenir les payements des droits de sa Majesté dans Paris ou Madrid: ce que sa Majesté a desiré, qui fut precisement expliqué, tant pour l'avantage particulier qu'elle en doit retirer, que pour faciliter et rendre plus evidents les comptes qui seront faits de ladite fourniture des Negres.

" 6. Comme, en cas de guerre, ladite Compagnie a sujet de craindre d'etre troublée, dans l'introduction desdits Negres, et qu'elle s'expose à un danger evident de perdre ses navires et leur chargement, Sa Majesté Catholique declare, que pendant tout le temps que la guerre durera, ladite Compagnie ne sera pas obligée à introduire plus de 3000 Negres pieces d'Inde chaque année. Sadite Majesté lui laissant la liberté de pourvoir remplir les 1800 restans, pour faire le supplement aux 4800 qu'elle a permission d'introduire chaque année, dans les années suivantes: et si, par quelque autre accident, elle ne pouvoit encore remplir, pendant chaque année, ledit nombre de 3000 Negres, elle jouira pareillement de la faculté de le remplir dans les années suivantes, en justifiant le nombre qu'elle aura manqué de remplir: Mais ladite Compagnie sera toujours obligée de payer à Sa Majesté Catholique la somme de 300,000 livres tournois, pour les droits desdits 3000 negres pieces d'Inde, de six en six mois, pendant chacune desdites années que la guerre durera, soit qu'elle les fournisse, ou ne les fournisse pas; et si elle en fournit au-delà desdites 3000 pieces d'Inde, elle payera les droits du surplus en la manière ci-dessus expliquée.

" Et en marge dudit sixiéme article est ecrit—

" J'ajoute, que si, pendant les dix années que le traité doit durer, la guerre ne cessoit point et qu'elle empêchat ladite Compagnie de fournir ladite quantité de Negres à laquelle elle est obligée par le present Traité, elle ne laissera pas d'etre tenue de payer entièrement les droits de sa Majesté, mais elle aura la liberté de remplir son obligation pendant les trois années que sa Majesté lui accorde pour regler et terminer ses comptes, et retirer tous les effets qui lui appartiendront, sans qu'elle soit obligée de payer aucuns autres droits, tels qu'ils puissent etre.

Du Mont, tom. viii. p. 89.

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"7. Il a été pareillement convenu, que même en tems de paix, ladite Compagnie ne sera pas absolument et necessairement obligée à introduire, pendant chaque année, lesdits 4800 negres pieces d'Inde, à cause des differents accidents qui peuvent l'en empêcher, et qu'elle aura la liberté de remplir dans les années suivantes et pendant tout la durée de ce Traité, le nombre qu'elle n'aura pas fourni pendant chacune desdites années; mais ladite Compagnie sera toujours tenue et obligée de payer à sa Majesté, pendant chacune desdites années, les droits qui lui appartiennent pour lesdits 4000 Negres pieces d'Inde, de six en six mois, comme si elle les avoit introduits; ainsi, qu'il a été ci-dessus expliqué.

"8. Ladite Compagnie aura la liberté de se servir des navires de Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne de ceux qu'elle pourra avoir en son propre, ou de ceux des sujets de Sa Majesté Catholique equipez de François ou Espagnoles, à son choix; et en cas qu'elle fut obligée de se servir d'autres equipages que desdits François ou Espagnols (ce qui n'est pas à presumer), tous lesdits equipages seront de la Religion Catholique Romaine. Il sera pareillement loisible à ladite Compagnie, d'introduire les Negres auxquels elle est obligée par le present Traité, dans tous les ports de la Mer du Nord, dans quelques navires qu'ils viennent pourvu qu'ils soient alliez à cette couronne, de la même manière qu'il a été accordé aux precedens assientistes, a condition toutefois que tous les capitanes et commandants desdits navires et leurs equipages feront tous profession de la Religion Catholique Romaine.

"9. Comme l'on a reconnu, qu'il etoit tres-prejudiciable aux interêts de Sa Majesté Catholique et de ceux de ses sujets, qu'il ne fut pas loisible aux assientistes d'introduire leurs Negres generalement dans tous les ports des Indes, etant certain que les provinces qui en manquent souffrent de grandes miseres, par le defaut de culture de leurs terres, ce qui les oblige à mettre tout en œuvre pour en introduire en fraude, ce qui cause un tres-grand prejudice aux droits de Sa Majesté Catholique; il a été expressement arrêté que ladite Compagnie pourra introduire et vendre ses Negres dans tous les ports de la Mer du Nord, à son choix: Sa Majesté Catholique derogeant, comme elle deroge expressement par ce Traité: à la condition par laquelle les precedents assientists etoient exclus de les pouvoir introduire par d'autres ports que ceux qui etoient designez par leur Traité: à la charge toutefois, que ladite Compagnie ne pourra introduire ni debarquer sesdits Negres que dans les ports, ou il y aura actuellement des officiers roïaux de Sa Majesté Catholique pour visiter les navires de ladite Compagnie et leurs chargements, et donner

Du Mont, tom. viii. p. 83.

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des certificats des Negres qui seront introduits: il a été pareillement convenu, que les Negres qui entreront dans les ports des isles du Vent, Sante Marthe, Cumana, et Maracaybo, ne pourront etre vendus par ladite Compagnie chacun plus de trois cens piastres, et qu'elle les donnera même, s'il est possible, à meilleur marché afin de donner moyen aux habitans desdits lieux de les pouvoir acheter et payer: Mais à l'egard de tous les autres port de la Nouvelle Espagne et de Terre Firme, il sera loisible à ladite Compagnie de les vendre le plus cher et le plus avantageusment qu'elle pourra.

" 10. Comme il est permis à ladite Compagnie de faire entrer ses Negres dans tous les ports de la Mer du Nord, pour les raisons qui viennent d'etre expliquées, il a été pareillement convenu, qu'elle pourra les introduire dans le port de Buenos Ayres; et pour cet effet, Sa Majesté Catholique lui permet d'y faire entrer, pendant chacune desdites dix années, que le present Traité doit durer, deux navires capables de porter sept ou huit cens Negres des deux sexes, pour les y vendre à tel prix qu'elle avisera bon etre, en vué des avantages et de l'utilité que les provinces voisines dudit Buenos Ayres en retireront: Mais si ladite Compagnie en portoit au-delà desdits sept ou huit cens, elle ne pourra les vendre ni debarquer; et le gouverneur et autres officiers de Sa Majesté Catholique ne pourront le lui permettre, sous quelque cause, pretexte, et motif que ce puisse etre.

" Et en marge dudit 10 article est ecrit ce que suit:—

" Je consens, qu'au lieu de la permission qui m'etoit accordée par le present article, d'introduire sept ou huit cens Negres à Buenos Ayres, le nombre soit reduit à cinq ou six cens.

11. Pour conduire et introduire les esclaves Negres dans les provinces de la Mer du Sud, ladite Compagnie aura, comme elle a par ce present Traité, la liberté de frabriquer ou acheter en echange des Negres, ou autrement, soit à Panama, ou dans quelque autre port et arcenal de la Mer du Sud, deux navires, fregates, ou hourques, de 400 tonneaux ou environ, pour embarquer ses Negres à Panama, et les conduire dans tous les autres ports du Perou, et rapporter le produit de la vente d'iceux, soit en marchandises, soit en reaux, barres d'argent, ou lingots d'or, qui soient quintez et sans fraude; ladite Compagnie ne pourra etre obligée à payer aucun droit pour ledit argent et or, reaux, barres, ou lingots, soit d'entrée, soit de sortie, attendu qu'elle doit etre exempte de tous droits, de la même manière que si lesdits reaux, barres d'argent, ou lingots d'or, appartenoient à sa Majesté. Ladite Compagnie aura pareillement la permission, comme elle lui est accordée par le present Traité, d'envoyer d'Europe à Portobello, et de faire passer de Portobello à Panama, les cordages,

Du Mont, tom. viii. p. 83.

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voiles, bois, fers, et generalement tout autre sorte de peleterie agrets, et apparaux necessaires pour la construction, equipement, armement et entretien desdits vaisseaux, fregates, ou hourques seulment, bien entendu, que, sous quelque pretexte que ce soit elle ne pourra vendre ni debiter lesdits apparaux en tout ou en partie, sous peine de confiscation, et de tel autre chatiment qui sera juste, tant contre les vendeurs que les acheteurs, et d'etre privée sur le champ et pour toujours de ladite permission, à la charge aussi qu'apres l'accomplissement du present Traité, ladite Compagnie ne pourra se servir desdites fregates, hourques, ou navires, ni les faire repasser en Europe, a cause des inconvenients qui en pourroient arriver; mais qu'elle sera obligée de les vendre, trocquer, ou donner, comme bon lui semblera."

Mr. Grey, the governor of Barbadoes, was obliged to leave that island for the benefit of his health.

This year, not more than 100 sail of merchant ships were employed by the French in the whole trade to their colonies.

A society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was incorporated this year (the 13th of William III.) by letters patent under the King's privy seal. The state of the colonies is thus described in the first article: —

"Whereas we are credibly informed, that in many of our plantations, colonies, and factories beyond the seas, belonging to our kingdom of England, the provision for ministers is very mean, and many other of our plantations, colonies and factories are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers, and the public worship of God; and for lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our loving subjects do want the administration of God's word and sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity: and also, for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to popish superstition and idolatry, &c.: therefore his Majesty, considering it as his duty to promote the glory of God by the instruction of his people in the Christian religion, ordains certain provisions to be made for the sufficient maintenance of orthodox clergy to reside in such colonies, and for the propagation of the gospel in those parts. And for accomplishing these ends, the king engages, for himself, his heirs and successors, to erect, settle, and permanently establish a corporation, authorized to receive, manage, and dispose of the charity of his loving subjects, as divers persons will be induced to extend their charity to the uses and purposes aforesaid."

Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 201. — vol. ii. p. 118.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 518.

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This expectation was realized. Large sums were subscribed and bequeathed to it.

The scene of action which this society chose for its operations, at first, was the British colonies in North America.

This charter was obtained through the exertions of Archbishop Tenison, who annually subscribed £50 to the society. There were also several sums of money sent to the society by persons who desired their names might be concealed.

1702.

Upon the 8th of May, 1702, the Dutch published a manifesto, containing their reasons for declaring war against France and Spain.

May the 4th, 1702, Anne, Queen of England, declared war against France and Spain. The Declaration, among other things, complains "de l'entrée dans la Mediterranée, et des ports de l'Espagne, dans les Indes Occidentales, par la moien de ses flotes, dans le dessein d'envahir par tout les libertez de l'Europe, d'empêcher la liberté de la navigation et du commerce."

July the 3d, 1702, Louis XIV., King of France, declared war against the Emperor, England, the States General of the United Provinces, and their allies.

July the 15th, the English appeared off St. Christopher's with a fleet of twenty sail, with troops on board, under the command of Major-General Hamilton, who immediately sent a flag of truce to request the French governor, the Comte de Gennes, with six of his officers, to meet an equal number of English upon the frontiers, there to receive some important information. After some hesitation, the Count de Gennes consented, and found General Hamilton waiting to receive him. General Hamilton told him that war was declared between their two countries, and that General Codrington had orders from the Queen of England to summon him to deliver up the French possessions in St. Christopher's, and that he would be allowed two hours to consider of the proposal. De Gennes immediately summoned his officers, laid before them General Hamilton's demand, and requested their opinion. The council consisted of seventeen persons: out of these, twelve gave it in writing as their opinion, that as they had only two hundred and forty-five men carrying arms, it was most advisable to surrender upon the best terms that could be obtained.

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 306. Du Mont, tom. viii. partie i. pp. 112. 115. 118. Labat, tom. vii. pp. 465. 468.

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Articles of capitulation were accordingly drawn up, and General Hamilton received the four officers who brought it in a house upon the frontier.

The garrison were allowed to march out with the honors of war; and the Irish who had settled in the French quarters were to embark with the French unmolested. They were all to be sent to Martinico in vessels furnished by the English. The number of slaves which the officers desired to take with them were reduced one-half. The post of Guillon was to be delivered up that evening, and Basse Terre the next morning, instead of the next day at noon.

In consequence of this capitulation, the post of the ravine Guillon was delivered to the English; but the Count de Gennes, because the articles had not been accepted exactly as he had offered them, and because the post of Guillon had been given up without his orders, refused to sign the capitulation, until all the principal officers and inhabitants sent a petition requesting him to do so.

At eight o'clock next morning, July the 16th, the English took possession of Basse Terre; and Captain Lambert, of the French Militia, was allowed an escort of a trumpeter, and one of General Hamilton's aides-de-camp, to recall the inhabitants who had retired to the mountains. On the road they fell into an ambuscade, laid by the English to prevent the passage of M. de Courpon, with a French force from Sandy Point. The aide-de-camp was mortally wounded, and the trumpeter killed, before the mistake was discovered. Courpon, with his detachment, had passed in the rear of the ambuscade without being discovered, and arrived at Basse Terre some hours after the English were in possession of the town. The Count de Gennes was kept as an hostage for the safe return of the vessels which carried off the French inhabitants.

Edward Vernon, Esq. afterwards Admiral of the White, was in the fleet under Commodore Walker.

Upon the 7th of August, Admiral Benbow, with seven sail of the line appeared off Leogane in St. Domingo, and succeeded in taking or destroying a store-ship and four merchant vessels in Esterre roads, and another under the batteries, near Petite Reviere: from thence he stood over to Santa Martha, after a French squadron of four sail of the line, and six smaller vessels, under the command of M. du Casse, who was carrying the governor, the Duke of Albuquerque, to Mexico. Upon the 19th of August, the two squadrons came in sight of each other, twelve leagues

Labat, tom. vii. pp. 485. 488. Naval Chronicle, vol. ix. p. 169.
Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 199. 203. Gent. Mag. 1756, p. 414.
Tindal's History of England, vol. iii. book 26. p. 593.

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from Santa Martha. The action continued at intervals until the 24th, when, at 2 A. M., Benbow, in the Breda, came alongside the sternmost of the French, and soon afterwards lost his right leg by a chain shot: he refused to remain below, but was laid upon the quarter-deck until the action was over. At day-light the French took the ship which had engaged Admiral Benbow in tow, and stood away before the wind. The Breda was disabled in her rigging, but continued to chase them, keeping the signal for action flying; but Captain Kirby, of the Defiance, went on board the Breda, and pressed the admiral to desist from any further engagement. Most of the other captains being of Kirby's opinion, the admiral was obliged to give up the pursuit, although he was very near the enemy.[1]

Tindal's History of England, vol. iii. book 26. pp. 592, 593, 594.

[1] The following extract is from a journal kept on board the Breda:—

"On the 24th, at two in the morning, we came up within hail of the sternmost. It being very little wind, the admiral fired a broadside with double and round below, and round and partridge aloft, which she returned. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot, and he was carried down; but presently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day, when appeared the ruins of a ship of about seventy guns; her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides bored through and through with our double-headed shot. The Falmouth assisted in this matter very much, and no other ship. Soon after day, the admiral saw the other ships of the enemy coming towards him, with a strong gale of wind easterly: at the same time the Windsor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, ahead of the enemy, ran to leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broadsides, passed her, and stood to the southward; then the Defiance followed them, passed also to leeward of the disabled ship, and fired part of her broadside. The disabled ship did not fire above twenty guns at the Defiance before she put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-sails, and ran to leeward of the Falmouth (which was then a gunshot to leeward of the admiral, knotting her rigging), without any regard to the signal for battle. The enemy seeing our other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood with them. They brought to with their heads to the northward; but seeing those three ships did not tack, bore down upon the admiral, and ran between the disabled ship and him, firing all their guns; in which they shot away his main-top-sail-yard and shattered his rigging much. None of the other ships being near him, nor taking any notice of the battle signal, the captain of the Breda hereupon fired two guns at those ships ahead, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, seeing this great disorder, brought to and lay by their own disabled ship, re-manned and took her in tow. The Breda's rigging being much shattered, she lay by till ten o'clock; and being then refitted, the admiral ordered the captain to pursue the enemy who was then about three miles distant, and to leeward, having the disabled ship in tow, steering N.E. the wind at S.S.W. The admiral, in the mean time, made all the sail after them he could; and the battle signal was always out. But the enemy taking encouragement from the behaviour of some of our captains, the admiral ordered Captain Fogg to send to the captains to keep their line, and to behave themselves like men, which he did. Upon this Captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and pressed him very earnestly to desist from any farther engagement, which made the admiral desirous to know the opinion of the other captains. Accordingly he ordered Captain Fogg to make the signal for all the

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Upon his arrival at Jamaica, Admiral Benbow ordered Admiral Whetstone to hold a court-martial, and try Captains Kirby, Wade, Constable, and Hudson, for cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty. Kirby and Wade were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot; Constable to be dismissed his Majesty's service, and Hudson died some days before the trial. The sentence was executed upon Kirby and Wade immediately upon their arrival at Plymouth, the 14th of April, 1703. Admiral Benbow was so distressed by the conduct of the captains, that in a letter to his wife he says, "The lop of his leg did not trouble him half so much as the villainous treachery of some of the captains, which hindered him from totally destroying the French squadron."[1] He died on the 4th of November, aged 50.[2]

M. Deslandes was appointed Chief Justice of the French in St. Domingo, Commissaire Ordonnateur, and Intendant. Before this time, the governor's authority sometimes degenerated into despotism.

William Selwin, Esq. succeeded Sir William Beeston as governor of Jamaica.

Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 210. Atkins's West Indies, p. 249.

other captains to come on board, which they did; and most of them concurred with Captain Kirby in his opinion: whereupon the admiral perceiving they had no mind to fight, and being not able to prevail with them to come to any other resolution, though all they said was erroneous, he thought it not fit to venture any farther. At this time the admiral was abreast of the enemy, and had a fair opportunity of fighting them; the masts and yards in a good condition, and few men killed except those on board the Breda."—*Naval Chronicle*, vol. xx. pp. 186. 187.

[1] Du Casse, after his arrival at Carthagena, wrote to Admiral Benbow—the following is a translated copy:—

"Sir,

"I had little hopes, on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin: it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by—they deserve it!

"Yours,

"Du Casse."

Naval Chronicle, vol. xx. p. 189.

[2] Admiral Benbow was buried in Kingston Church, Jamaica, near the altar. The following inscription is on a "blue stone, laid horizontally:"—

"Here lie the Remains
of
JOHN BENBOW, ESQ.
Admiral of the White:

A true pattern of British Courage, who lost his life in defence of his Queen and Country, Nov. 4, A.D. 1702, of a wound received in his leg, in an engagement with Monsieur du Casse.—He died lamented."—*Naval Chronicle*, vol. xiv. p. 122.

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1703.

Upon the 12th of March, the English, under General Codrington, attacked the island of Guadaloupe. Colonel Byam, with his division, who were landed at Les Petits Habitants, soon dispersed the force opposed to them, as did Colonel Whetham, who was landed to the northward of "La Bayliffe," and carried the enemy's entrenchments by the bayonet, and in an hour afterwards took the town of La Bayliffe, and the Jacobin church, which had been converted into a fortress. The next day the English got possession of the town of Basse Terre, forcing the garrison to retire to the castle and fort, which they defended until the 3d of April, and then blowing them up, retired to the mountains.

The English now laid waste the island in all directions; but, by some unhappy differences between the commanders, all their successes were rendered fruitless. The French received a reinforcement of 700 men under M. Gabaret, sickness began to attack the English troops, and the island was abandoned without any thing more being done.

Vice-Admiral Graydon, with the Resolution, Montague, Nonsuch, and Blackwall, arrived in the West Indies, and collecting what troops were disposable in the different islands, proceeded to Placentia, which he found too well defended for him to attempt an attack. Upon his passage out, Admiral Graydon passed Du Casse's squadron, which had escaped from Admiral Benbow. Captain Cleland, in the Montague, engaged the sternmost of the enemy for some time, but was recalled by signal from Admiral Graydon, whose orders did not allow him "to lose any time in this passage, by chasing or speaking with any ships whatsoever."

An address to Queen Anne was afterwards voted by the House of Lords, stating, that Vice-Admiral Graydon meeting with four French ships in his passage to the West Indies, and letting them escape without attacking them, had been a prejudice to the Queen's service, and a great dishonour to the nation; and that Admiral Graydon, having behaved himself so ill in the West Indies, might be employed no more in her Majesty's service: and that an address be presented to the Queen, to remove him from all places of trust in the government; and that her Majesty would be pleased to order her attorney-general to prosecute him.

M. Auger, the governor of Guadaloupe, succeeded M. du Casse as governor of St. Domingo.

Tindal's History of England, vol. iii. book 26. pp. 594. 611. 643.
Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 206.

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Part of the inhabitants of St. Christopher's, who had been expelled from that island by the English, arrived at St. Domingo. They were most of them natives of America, regular in their conduct, well instructed in their religion, and contributed greatly to polish the manners of the colony into which they were incorporated.

The greatest part of Port Royal, in Jamaica, was reduced to ashes by fire on the 9th of January. There were large quantities of gun-powder in the different warehouses, and the houses were covered with shingles. Most of the inhabitants removed to Kingston.

Westmoreland parish (in Jamaica) was formerly a part of St. Elizabeth, and was made a separate district in 1703.

By an act passed this year, every owner of slaves in Jamaica was obliged to maintain fourteen white servants for every 300 negroes, besides one for every sixty head of cattle. Every master of a ship importing thirty white men servants, was for that voyage exempted from paying all port charges.

A French and Spanish army attacked New Providence, drove out the English inhabitants, carried off the Negroes, and demolished Fort Nassau. After this it became the rendezvous and retreat of pirates.

1704.

The Compte de Gennes was tried at Martinico, convicted of cowardice for his conduct at St. Christopher's, sentenced to lose his cross of St. Louis, and to be degraded from his rank as a nobleman. From this sentence he appealed to the Royal Counsel, but was taken by the English on his passage to France, and died at Plymouth. His title, honours, and a handsome pension were continued to his widow and children by the French King, who thus evidently disapproved of the sentence.

The Jesuits superseded the Capuchins in the cure of souls among the French in St. Domingo.

Sir William Mathews succeeded Governor Codrington at Antigua.

Colonel Thomas Handaside succeeded William Selwin, Esq. as governor of Jamaica.

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 209. 211. Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii. p. 664
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 381.; vol. ii. pp. 144. 299.
Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 363. Colquhoun's Political Survey, p. 372.
Labat, tom. vii. pp. 492. 494. Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 353.
Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 249.

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1705.

In March, the French King issued an ordonnance, intituled, "Declaration du Roy contre les Negres libres qui retirent les manoirs, recelent leurs vols et les partagent avec eux."

And another, intituled, "Ordonnance du Roy au sujet des gardiens nobles, et bourgeois usufruitiers, amodiateurs et autres."

Upon the 13th of October, M. Auger, the governor of the French in St. Domingo, died at Leogane.

The African Company, in eight years ending this year, imported to the British West Indies only 17,760 slaves, while the separate traders in that time imported 71,268.

In an act passed this year in the Leeward Caribbee Islands, it is declared, "That the common law of England, as far as it stands unaltered by any written laws of these islands, or some of them confirmed by your Majesty, &c. is in force in each of these your Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands, and is the certain rule whereby the rights and properties of your Majesty's good subjects inhabiting these islands are and ought to be determined; and that all customs, or pretended customs or usages contradictory thereto, are illegal, null, and void."

This declaratory law is without any exception as to slavery; and the colonial legislators maintain, that the protection given by law to English slaves, while such characters existed in England, belongs to the enslaved Negroes. They assert also that the English law of villeinage is the same, or at least resembles their own slave code.

The truth of this representation will be seen by comparing the two systems. The English lord could not delegate to any one his power of arbitrary correction. The West India planter may and does delegate it to managers, overseers, and every subordinate agent, and this charge of a Negro's person always implies the right of whipping him at discretion; for the frivolous limitation of it to thirty-nine lashes with the cart-whip *at one time*, or *for one offence*, is in point of fact no limitation.

Murder and mayhem were punished the same when the sufferer was a villein as when he was a free man; but in some of the colonies, the murder of a slave was punishable only by a fine of £100 currency, £57 2s. 10½d. sterling; and castration or dismemberment, by a fine of from £20 to £100 currency.

Parliamentary Paper, "Further Papers," 1826, p. 33.
Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 211. Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 154.
Stephen on West Indian Slavery, pp. 16. 18, 19.

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What is far more important, the villein had civil rights and legal remedies. He could maintain all manner of actions as fully as a free person. He was a competent prosecutor in criminal cases. But a Negro slave can maintain no action whatever against any man; and can in no case be received as a witness, except in criminal prosecutions against persons of his own condition: and the colonial assemblies admit that this incapacity frustrates the effect of laws made for their protection.

A villein could only be claimed by prescription, or by his own confession, or that of his ancestors, in a court of record.

By the law of villeinage, the rule as to the condition of the issue was "partus sequitur patrem:" in the colonies it is "partus sequitur ventrem."

The illegitimate children of villeins could not be slaves. In the colonies, few, if any, of the slaves are married: there the attainder of African blood is purged only by impure cohabitation, and the enfranchisement of the progeny is a premium on concubinage. A female slave marrying a Negro or Mulatto attaches slavery on her offspring; but let her breed be by a white keeper, and they, if she be a mestize, will be free; if she be a Mulatto or Negro, her daughter or grand-daughter will have the same reward for prostitution. By what colonial law slavery is declared hereditary and perpetual, has never yet (1823) been shewn. Neither is there any act of parliament that has excluded the posterity of imported Africans from the birth-right of British subjects, and ordained that they shall for ever be the property of the person by whom their mother or ancestress was bought. But it is a sad and opprobious truth, that British laws have sanctioned the importation and sale of imported Africans.

The colonial assemblies refer to the law of villeinage, an institution obsolete before the slave-trade began, but which would invalidate every existing title to slaves, except to such as were brought from Africa before the abolition; for the issue of villeins followed the condition of the father, and not of the mother: if a female villein married a free man, the children were born free.

Nor could the owners of the fathers assert a title to their issue, because none of the Creole slaves have been born in lawful wedlock, and out of it the father is not recognised as such by the law.

Well would it have been for the Negroes if the law of villeinage had been the law for them: masters then would take care to provide wives for their male slaves, instead of wilfully keeping a shocking disproportion between the sexes, and married

Stephen on West Indian Slavery, pp. 22. 122, 123, 124.

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men, or men of decent morals, would have been preferred for managers, &c. — for the procreation of Mulatto children would have been an evil to the owner of the mother; whereas at present he gains by having a slave that will be in part at least maintained by its father, and for whom he may expect a large price for its enfranchisement. The father's parental feelings are often a convenient pledge for his continuance in office, and for his good conduct also. This departure, therefore, from the rule of our old common law slavery, and the adoption of that of the civil law, "partus sequitur ventrem," has been fatal to the morals of our islands, and to the interests of the native population.

1706.

By a royal edict, dated the 29th of April this year, it was ordered that the governor of Santa Cruz should command in chief in St. Domingo, during the absence of the governor of Tortuga.

M. de S. Andre, in Le Prince, in company with Le Fidele, La Sphere, and Le Dudlow, and several merchant vessels, to avoid an English squadron, entered into the harbour called L'Hôpital, two leagues from the Cul de Sac. S. Andre found the harbour a good one, and named it after the ship he commanded, "Le Port du Prince."

A French fleet, of five sail of the line, and twenty smaller vessels, in March, made a descent in St. Christopher's: they were repulsed in their attack upon the fort, but they burnt the plantations and plundered the inhabitants. Information being given them that an English fleet was expected, they quitted the island, carrying off 300 slaves, and went to Nevis, where the inhabitants, upon their landing, fled to the mountains, and were pursued by the soldiers. After an unsuccessful resistance, they capitulated the next day, March 24th. By the capitulation the inhabitants were to be prisoners of war, but to remain on the island, and to procure a like number of French prisoners, to be released by way of exchange.

The French broke the capitulation in several respects, treated the inhabitants most barbarously, and forced them to a second agreement upon the 6th of April, by which the English were in six months to send to Martinico a certain number of Negroes, or money in lieu of them. The French carried off with them

Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 212. Tindal, vol. iii. book 26. p. 791.
Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 8. Edwards, vol. i. p. 461.
Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 352.

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between 3000 and 4000 slaves. £103,000 was voted by the English parliament to relieve the sufferers.

In July, Mr. Park arrived at Antigua, to succeed Sir William Mathews as governor.

1707.

The Count de Choiseul Beaupre was appointed, by the French government, governor of St. Domingo: he made great exertions to incorporate the flibustiers, or buccaneers, and get them to act against the English: he sent M. de Nolivos to the Spanish Main, with orders to publish an amnesty in favour of those buccaneers who had retired among the Sambres and natives at Bocator. Several returned, and were re-established in their former privileges.

The inhabitants of Nevis were nearly ruined by a dreadful hurricane.

	Whites.	Negroes.
The population of Antigua was	2892	12,892
Montserrat	1545	3570
Nevis -	1104	3676
St. Kitts -	1416	2861

Between the 29th of June, 1698, and 25th of December, 1707, 6750 Negroes, in forty-nine vessels, were imported into Antigua; and to Montserrat, in the same period, 1604 in eighteen vessels.

By Stat. 6 Ann. "Persons serving on board, or retained to serve on board, any trading ships, in any part of the plantations of America, or any persons being on shore there, may not be impressed by any ships of war, unless such persons shall be deserters from such ships, on the penalty of £20."

In the same year, cap. 30, an act was passed, endeavouring to reduce all the silver coin current in the American colonies to one standard.

This act, Mr. Long says, "was not attended with the success expected from it; for trade will break through every restraint of this nature."

From the 24th of June, 1698, to December 25th, 1707, 34,583 Negroes were imported into Barbadoes. Governor Crew said, in

Edwards, vol. i. p. 476. Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 213.
Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 8.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Jacob's Law Dict. Plantations. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 581.

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1708, that it annually required 3640, or about seven per cent., to keep up the stock.

The average price of a Negro was £23 8s.

1708.

Upon the 28th of May, Commodore Wager, with the Expedition, Kingston, Portland, Vulture fire-ship, and Anne sloop, got sight of a fleet of seventeen sail of galleons coming from Carthagena. The Spaniards despising Commodore Wager's force, waited for him in line of battle, off the small island of Baru. Two of the seventeen were French ships; they stood off under all sail, and had no share in the action; two more were sloops, and one a brigantine, which stood in for the land. At sun-set, Commodore Wager came alongside the Spanish admiral: in an hour and a half afterwards the Spanish ship blew up. Commodore Wager then stood after their rear-admiral, and brought her to action at about ten P.M. The Kingston and Portland (who had lost sight of the rest of the fleet, and had followed the commodore's lights), came up, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who hailed for quarter at two in the morning.

At day-light on the 29th, the Kingston and Portland were sent in chase of three sail, four leagues off, on their weather quarter, Commodore Wager's ship, the Expedition, being too much disabled to go. On the 30th, the Kingston and Portland left off chase, but were again, by signal, ordered to continue it, which they did, and lost sight of the commodore and his prize. On the 31st they returned, and told the commodore that the ship they had chased was the vice-admiral's, into whom they had fired their broadsides, but that they were forced to tack and leave her, as they were close to the Salmadinas (a shoal off Carthagena).

Captain Bridges of the Kingston, and Captain Windsor of the Portland, were afterwards dismissed the service, by the sentence of a court-martial, for their conduct upon this occasion.

The Spanish admiral's ship was the St. Joseph, of sixty-four brass guns and 600 men, and had on board five millions of pieces of eight: the rear-admiral had only twenty-four guns mounted, and 350 men; the vice-admiral had sixty-four brass guns, and between 4 and 500 men, with four millions of pieces of eight on board: one of the others had forty guns. The remainder were chiefly laden with cacao. The two French ships had one hundred thousand pieces of eight on board.

Tindal, vol. iv. book 26. p. 101, 102.

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A grain of fine gold, which weighed nine ounces, was found in the River Yaque in St. Domingo, and sold to an English captain for 140 piastres.

The French and Spaniards, from Petite Goave, landed upon New Providence, surprised the fort, took the governor prisoner, burnt the town of Nassau, all but Mr. Lightgood, the governor's house — destroyed the fort, spiked the guns, plundered the inhabitants, and carried off the governor and half of the Negroes; the rest saved themselves in the woods: but in October the French returned and caught the most of them. After this second visit, the English inhabitants abandoned the island. The proprietors appointed Mr. Birch as governor, who arrived after all the inhabitants were gone: he remained there two or three months, and then left the place uninhabited.

Various endeavours were used to procure a reinforcement of white people at Jamaica, but without success. Between June, 1698, and June, 1708, 44,376 Negroes were imported into that island, being about 4437 yearly, "though many of them were annually exported."

1710.

Colonel Codrington devised, by his will, two plantations in Barbadoes and part of Barbuda, in value about £2000 per annum, or upwards, to the Society de Propaganda Fide, for the purpose of instructing Negroes belonging to Barbadoes and the other Caribbees in the Christian religion, and for erecting and endowing a college in Barbadoes, in which the liberal arts should be taught, particularly physic and surgery.

Upon the 7th of December, about 500 armed men appeared in the town of St. John's, Antigua. Colonel Park, the governor, had converted the government-house into a garrison, and stationed in it all the regular troops in the island; his previous conduct had outraged the feelings of all the inhabitants: complaints had been sent to England against him, and the Queen had sent orders for him to resign his command to the lieutenant-governor. The triumphant joy of the inhabitants, upon the receipt of this order, provoked the governor to desperation; but upon the approach of the inhabitants, coming forward to execute on his person that punishment which his enormities merited, his courage forsook him—he sent the provost-marshal to say he was ready to meet the Assembly at Parham, and to consent to what-

Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 324. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 265.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 592. Edwards, vol. i. p. 481.

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ever laws they should think proper to pass for the good of the country; offering, at the same time, to dismiss his soldiers, provided six of the principal inhabitants would remain as hostages for the safety of his person. The Speaker of the Assembly and one of the council proposed themselves as two of the hostages required; but the people, apprehensive of delay, called out for immediate vengeance, and marched forwards in two divisions: one of these, led by Mr. Piggot, attacked the government-house with great fury, and after an obstinate resistance broke into it. The governor shot Piggot dead with his own hand, but received at the same moment a wound which laid him prostrate: his attendants then threw down their arms; and the enraged populace, seizing the living carcase of the governor, tore it into pieces, and scattered the bloody fragments in the street. On the governor's side an ensign and thirteen soldiers were killed; and a lieutenant and twenty-four men wounded. Thirty-two of the people were killed and wounded, besides Mr. Piggot.

Some of the insurgents were sent to England, and tried upon the act of Henry the Eighth.

The English government, after a full investigation, was so satisfied of Colonel Park's misconduct, as to issue a general pardon for all persons concerned in his death; and two of the principal actors therein were promoted to seats in the council.

Mr. Thomas Manning devised the bulk of his estate to trustees, for the purpose of founding a free-school near Beckford-town, Jamaica, for maintaining and educating poor children of the parish till the age of fourteen. Mr. Long says, this and similar foundations have not answered the good ends of their institution.

1711.

The Count de Choiseul Beaupre, governor of St. Domingo, on his passage to France in the Thetis, was taken by an English squadron, in the latitude of the Havannah. The count died of the wounds he received in the action at the Havannah, the 18th of May, 1711. M. de Valernod commanded as governor of St. Domingo, after the departure of the Count de Choiseul; but, dying the same year, he was succeeded by M. de Gabaret, who was removed from the government of Martinico to that of St. Domingo.

Edwards, vol. i. p. 482. Rights of Great Britain asserted, 4to. edit. Lond. 1776.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 303. Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 214.

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Lord Archibald Hamilton succeeded Colonel Thomas Handaside as governor of Jamaica.

The Assembly of Jamaica passed "an act to prevent any person from holding two or more offices of profit in the island;" and for regulating the fees.

The Assembly of Jamaica passed a law, which enacts, that slaves destroying fish by poisoning, using nets of meshes less than one inch and a quarter, destroying turtle eggs, or killing pigeons in the months of May, June, or July, are punishable with thirty-one lashes on the bare back, on conviction before a justice of the peace.

No slave to keep any horses, mares, mules, asses, or cattle, on penalty of forfeiting the same.

No slave to hire himself out to work to another without leave of his owner — penalty, whipping not exceeding thirty-one lashes.

Slaves selling beef, veal, mutton, salt fish, or any manufactured goods, except baskets, ropes of bark, earthen pots, and such like, to be whipped.

Selling sugar or sugar-canes without a ticket, to be whipped.

Free persons or slaves buying such goods, to forfeit £10 and be whipped, not exceeding twenty lashes.

An act was passed in St. Christopher's, "for the better government of Negroes and other slaves," — which states, that the conduct of the slaves had been more insolent than heretofore, and their villanies more frequent; therefore any justice of the peace may issue a warrant for apprehending any slave complained of, and, with one other justice of the peace, "without a jury, hear, examine, try, award, and appoint pains, penalties, and inflict, or cause execution to be done, as to *life* or limb, by warrant under their hand."

Any person carrying another's slave off the island guilty of felony — or dealing with them for sugar, syrup, molasses, indigo, tobacco, ginger, cotton, copper, brass, pewter, or any other merchandize, shall be fined not exceeding £20.

Any slave struggling with a white person shall be publicly whipped; and if the white person be hurt or bruised by such slave, the slave "shall be adjudged to death, dismembering, or such other punishment as two justices in their discretion shall think fit."

The act then states the reward for bringing in a runaway Negro, and the fine for employing them:

And then enacts, That "any person who shall kill a slave, in just defence of his person or property, or in pursuit of his slave,

Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 249.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 80. 101.; vol. ii. p. 486.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, St. Christophe, D.

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being runaway — such person shall not be liable to any prosecution whatsoever, either in law or equity.

A condemned slave is to be appraised, but never valued at more than five thousand pounds of sugar; and, if he has but one limb, at less, according to the conscience of the appraiser.

Three thousand pounds of the sugar to be given to the owner of the slave, and two to the person robbed or injured, if the damages amount to as much. The provost-marshal to have five hundred pounds of sugar for every slave he executes.

No person to sell any liquor of any sort to any slave, under the penalty of £3; and slaves playing at dice, or drinking in a public-house, to be whipped not exceeding thirty stripes.

A reward of twenty pieces of eight is to be given for apprehending any slave absconded, with the intention of withdrawing himself into the French quarters.

A justice refusing to perform his duty to be fined £20 currency — a constable not exceeding ten.

In April, the French King issued an ordinance, intituled, "Reglement du Roy au sujet de la competence des juges ordinaires à l'egard des chatiments imposes aux Negres Esclaves par l'Ordonnance de Mars, 1681."

And on the 20th of April another, enacting, "notwithstanding the 54th article of Code Noir, a private agreement, making the tenant answerable for the deaths of slaves, and giving him the benefit of births, to be binding."

Also a regulation of the King, respecting the competency of the ordinary judges with regard to punishments inflicted upon slaves by ordonnance of March, 1685.

1712.

The French attacked the Dutch colony of Berbice. The colonists bought them off with a considerable composition, paid partly in goods and money, partly in a bill of exchange drawn upon the house of Van Peere in Holland. For the acceptance of this, the French took two hostages of rank, and as these died soon afterwards, the proprietors refused to honor the draft. The money was paid by three great mercantile houses, and one fourth of it by the Van Peeres, who thus transferred three fourth shares of the colony to the other merchants as co-proprietors, who formed a company at Berbice, administered exactly in the same manner as the Surinam society.

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, pp. 33. 42.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 345.

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The commodore of the French squadron was named Cassard, and Baron Mouars commanded the troops. The contribution levied was 300,000 florins. They ascended the river beyond the town, and set fire to several estates: a great many Negroes deserted in consequence of the confusion occasioned by the invasion.

Upon the 28th of August, the island of Jamaica was dreadfully shaken by an earthquake. Savanna la Mar, a small sea-port in the parish of Westmoreland, was overwhelmed by the sea, which in a few moments swept both man and beast from the face of the earth. Not an individual survived to relate the calamity — not a single habitation escaped the deluge! The town, with its inhabitants and wealth, was, in the most literal sense of the word, washed away.

Montserrat was invaded by a French force, and suffered dreadfully from the depredations of the troops.

The militia at Jamaica comprehended all the males from sixteen to sixty, and amounted to 2722.

The population of Barbadoes was officially returned at 12,528 Whites, and 41,970 Negroes.

M. le Compte d'Arquian succeeded to the government of St. Domingo upon the death of M. de Gabaret, and was himself superseded, the same year, by the Count de Blenac, who was named governor of St. Domingo, and lieutenant-general of the islands.

Upon Friday the 6th of June, Queen Anne went in state to the House of Peers; and the following was part of her speech relative to the West Indies: —

"The division of the island of St. Christopher's between us and the French having been the cause of great inconvenience and damage to my subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of that whole island, and France agrees to this demand.

"But the part which we have borne in the prosecution of this war entitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted and obtained, that the Assiento, or Company for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with Negroes, shall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it has been enjoyed by the French for these ten years back."

The French King issued an ordinance, 30th of December, directing "slaves to be fed and clothed, agreeably to the regulations laid down on that subject; and expressly forbidding all

Bolinbroke's Demerary, pp. 165. 343. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 232, 497.
Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 305.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 215. Tindal, vol. iv. book 26. p. 267.
"Further Papers," 1826, p. 42.

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persons, under penalty of 500 livres, from inflicting torture on slaves of their own authority."

Also an "arret," "concerning the freedom of slaves."

1713.

The French King issued an "arret," which "derogates from art. 35. of Code Noir, and renders the approval of a governor necessary to make affranchisements legal."

And the French general and intendant of St. Lucia issued an ordinance, on poisoning the rivers.

The treaty of peace between France and England was signed at Utrecht the 11th of April. The 11th, 12th, and 14th articles relate to the West Indies: the 11th stipulates, that "all damages to the Hudson's Bay Company, by depredations of the French in time of peace, shall be satisfied according to the estimates of commissaries, to be named at the requisition of each party. The same concerning the damages last year in the island of Montserrat, and concerning the things complained of by the French, relating to Nevis and Castle of Gambia.

"12. The island of St. Christopher's, all Nova Scotia or Acadia, Port Royal or Annapolis, shall be delivered to the English, and the French excluded from all kind of fishing in the seas, bays, or other places on the coasts of Nova Scotia, that is, on those lying towards the East within thirty leagues, beginning from Sable Island, and thence stretching along towards the south west.

"14. A year shall be allowed to the French to remove and carry off their effects from the places to be yielded up by this treaty, and the free exercise of their religion to those that are willing to remain there."

Upon the 13th of July, the treaty of peace between Spain and England was signed at Utrecht. The 8th, 9th, and 12th articles relate to the West Indies.

"8. That there be a free use of navigation and commerce, as it was in the reign of Charles the Second of Spain, and also according to the treaties of commerce which are now, or will forthwith be, made at Madrid. And whereas it is by common consent established as a fundamental rule, that the exercise of navigation and commerce to the Spanish West Indies shall be as in the time of the said Charles the Second; that therefore this rule may be observed inviolably, it is especially agreed, that no licence shall at any time be given to the French, or any

Parliamentary Paper "Further Papers," 1826, p. 42. Tindal, vol. iv. b. 26. p. 391.

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other nation, to introduce Negroes, goods, merchandizes, or any things whatsoever into the Spanish American dominions, except what may be agreed by the treaty of commerce aforesaid, and the privileges granted in the Assiento de Negroes, mentioned in the 12th article, except also what the Catholic King or his successors shall promise by any contract after the Assiento de Negroes is determined. It is further agreed, that none of the Spanish dominions in America shall ever be alienated from the crown of Spain to the French or other nation. On the contrary, the Queen of Great Britain will endeavour and assist the Spaniards, that the ancient limits of their American dominions be settled as in the time of Charles the Second.

" 12. The Catholic King grants to the South Sea Company, with exclusion of all others, the contract for introducing Negroes into his American dominions, commonly called El Pacto del Assiento de Negroes, for the space of thirty years, beginning from the 1st of May, 1713, with the same conditions enjoyed by the French, together with tracts of land on the River of Plata, sufficient for the subsistence of those who are in the service of the Company, and of their Negroes. The ships of the Company may also come close to land, but a Spanish officer shall be appointed to take care that nothing be done contrary to his master's interests; and all belonging to the Company shall be subject to the inspection of the officer, as to matters relating to the tracts of land: and disputes to be referred to the governor of Buenos Ayres. The contract of the Assiento, concluded at Madrid the 26th of March, 1713, with all its conditions, not contrary to this article, is deemed as part of this treaty." [1]

By the 40th article of the Assiento Treaty, it was stipulated, " that in case of a declaration of war between the two crowns, the South Sea Company shall have a year and a half to withdraw their effects from India and Spain."

By article the 42d, his Catholic Majesty allows the Assiento Company to send a ship of 500 tons yearly to trade to the West Indies during the continuation of the contract, in consideration of the loss which former Assientists sustained; and that they shall not, directly or indirectly, attempt any unlawful trade, under any pretence whatsoever.

The lords commissioners of trade and plantations reported, in the year 1717, that in this year 2189 tons of logwood were imported.

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, 1727, vol. xxxiv. pp. 80. 367.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 269.

[1] " The French got the sugar-trade from us, after the Treaty of Utrecht, by being allowed to transport their people from St. Christopher's to the rich and fresh lands of St. Domingo."—*Du Pratz*, vol. i. p. 353. *Translator's Notes.*

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1714.

The Count de Blenac, governor of St. Domingo, had his title changed to that of Governor-General of the Leeward Islands, and three governors were appointed in that island under him — one at St. Louis for the south coast, one at Leogane for the west, and the governor of Santa Cruz had the north side.

M. de Choiseul had formed the design of re-establishing the buccaneers, and a great number of them were collected in St. Domingo; but the frequent change of governors prevented its execution. Almost all the freebooters turned planters: and thus finished this famous association, which only wanted discipline, leaders with extensive plans, and abilities to pursue them, to have conquered both the Americas.

The Van Hoorn, or Berbice Company, applied to the Dutch East India Company for leave to import slaves from Asia. This was not conceded; but an agreement took place to furnish annually, from the 10th of September, 1714, 240 Negroes from Angola or Ardra (one third of them to be females), at 165 florins a-head; if more Negroes were wanted, these were to be paid for by the Van Hoorn Company, at the rate of 250 florins a-head.

About this year, the Count de Cerillac, finding he could no longer expect a revenue equal to his wishes from the ruined colony of Grenada, made over all his right and property in it to the French West India Company. The trading vessels of Martinico, laden with the rich manufactures of France, and the products of their own colony, destined for the Spanish coasts, were ordered to touch at Grenada. There they were to take in water, and at the same time supply the inhabitants, many of whom were new settlers from Martinico, with slaves, &c.

An open mercantile account was established between the two islands, and Grenada began to flourish.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations reported, in 1717, that in this year Great Britain imported 4848 tons of logwood.

The House of Lords presented an address to Queen Anne, to put the island of Providence in a state of defence: they said, it would be of fatal consequence if the Bahama islands should fall into the hands of an enemy. Nothing was done in consequence of this address.

Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 215. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 165.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 53. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 269. 285.

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1715.

In November, the Bedford, of 600 tons, sailed for Carthagena, upon account of the South Sea Company. There the Spanish officers measured her cargo and made it 2117½ tons, exclusive of 65 tons of iron, which were not landed. The over-measurement of 1517 tons more than the tonnage granted, of the most valuable part of the cargo, was confiscated, and condemned to be sold, and the remaining 600 tons reserved for his Catholic Majesty's decision. The Company's factors, by paying a large sum, prevented the goods being sold; and, by the interposition of the court of Great Britain, obtained an order from the court of Spain for the vessel to be re-measured; and then they made out but 525 tons, including the 65 tons of iron.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations reported, in 1717, that Great Britain imported this year 5863 tons of logwood.

The number of men enrolled for the militia in Jamaica was 2679, being forty-five less than in 1712.

All the plantations of cacao-trees in St. Domingo were suddenly destroyed: they had been first planted in that island by M. Ogeron, at Port Margot, in 1666, and their produce was now a very considerable article of exportation. There were several conjectures as to the cause of their sudden destruction, but the majority of persons suspected that the inhabitants of Martinico had employed persons to effect it, because, as their island produced little else than cacao, the quantity produced at St. Domingo injured their sale.

Coffee was first introduced into St. Domingo this year.

1716.

The Spaniards took Campeachy, and sixty-two sail of English vessels which were there for logwood: the loss was estimated at £170,000 sterling.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations reported, in 1717, that Great Britain imported 2032 tons of logwood this year.

M. de Blenac was succeeded by the Marquis de Chateau Morand, as governor-general of the Leeward Islands.

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxvi. p. 238.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 269.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement, No. 15.
Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 217, 218. Baron de Wimpfon's St. Domingo, p. 167.
Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1742, p. 589.

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One hundred of the prisoners taken at Preston in Lancashire, who had been confined in the Savoy, were shipped off for the West Indies.

Peter Heywood, Esq. succeeded Lord Archibald Hamilton as governor of Barbadoes.

1717.

The population of the Spanish part of Española was reckoned at 18,410 souls, among whom were 3705 carrying arms, exclusive of about 400 French, who were employed in their coasting vessels, and scattered in the different villages.

The Danish government at St. Thomas sent a colony to Crab Island.

The English Board of Trade and Plantations solemnly reported, that English subjects had an undoubted right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, in which trade they said "the subjects of the crown of England had been maintained and supported by former kings, his Majesty's royal predecessors." They gave it as their opinion, that some time before, and long after the year 1670, the subjects of England were possessed of, and quietly enjoyed, part of the country of Yucatan, uninhabited by the Spaniards; and, consequently, the right of British subjects to cut logwood, and even to settle in that country, was not only certain and apparent, but was also settled and confirmed by treaty.

Proclamation for the Suppression of Pirates.

"GEORGE REX.—Having been informed that several subjects of Great Britain have committed, since the 24th of June of the year 1705, divers piracies and robberies in the seas of the West Indies, in the neighbourhood of our plantations, which have caused very great losses to the merchants of Great Britain, and others merchants in those parts, notwithstanding the orders which we have given to place on foot forces sufficient to reduce these pirates. Nevertheless, to accomplish this more efficaciously, we have found it fitting, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to publish this our royal proclamation, promising and declaring by this present, that all and each of the pirates who shall submit before the 5th of September, 1718, before one of our secretaries for Great Britain or Ireland, or before any governor or sub-governor of any of our colonies beyond the seas,

Tindal's History of England, vol. iv. book 27. p. 504.
Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 249. Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 336.
Coke's West Indies, vol. iii p. 159. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 268.
Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. p. 35.

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shall have our gracious pardon for the piracies which they may have committed before the 5th of January next ensuing. We enjoin and most expressly command all our admirals, captains, and other sea officers, as well as all our governors and commandants of our forts, castles, or other places in our colonies, and all other officers, civil and military, to seize all pirates who shall refuse or neglect to submit themselves conformably to this present. We declare further, that all persons who may discover or arrest, or cause to be discovered and arrested, one or more of these pirates, after the 6th of September, 1718, in such a manner that they shall fall into the hands of justice, to be punished according to their crimes, shall receive for recompence, that is to say, for each commander of a ship, the sum of £100 sterling; for each lieutenant, master, quarter-master, carpenter, and gunner, £40 sterling; for each sub-officer, £30; and for each private, £20. And if any soldier or sailor belonging to their troops or ships, during the time above mentioned, shall seize, or cause to be seized, any one of these commanders, he shall have for each £200 sterling. Which sums shall be paid by the lord treasurer, or by the commissioners of our treasury for the time being, upon being required by this present. Given at Hampton Court, the 5th of September, 1717, in the 4th year of our reign."

The notorious Edward Tench, commonly called Blackbeard the Pirate, in "La Revanche de la Reine Anne," a French vessel of forty-six guns, captured the "Great Allen," Captain Taylor, and, after stripping her, and landing her crew upon the island of St. Vincent's, burnt her. A few days afterwards, Blackbeard fell in with his Majesty's ship Scarborough, and, after an action of several hours, beat her off. The Scarborough was very short of hands, and very sickly. Tench quitted the station, and went off Jamaica, where he plundered and destroyed several vessels: from thence he made sail for Charlestown.

The government of the Bahamas was resumed by the crown. The inhabitants were represented as very few and very poor, and as having decreased from 400 men to fewer than 200.

The first precise account of the Virgin Islands was returned this year, 1717.

	Whites.	Negroes.
The population of Anguilla was -	427	824
Spanish-town -	317	308
Tortola - -	159	176
Crab Island -	230	62

Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. pp. 36. 40.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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Captain Hume, of his Majesty's ship Scarborough, sailed from Barbadoes, after a gang of pirates, under the command of —— Martel, who, after taking several vessels off Jamaica and Cuba, and also to windward, repaired to Santa Cruz to refit. They had hauled their vessels into shoal water behind a small island off the north-east end of the island, made two batteries, one of four guns and the other of two, to command the entrance, and placed one of their vessels of eight guns across it.

The 27th of January, 1717, Captain Hume got correct information of the situation of the pirates, and made sail for their harbour; he anchored sufficiently near the vessel in the channel to sink her about four P.M., and continued to cannonade their largest vessel of twenty-two guns, which was on the other side of the island, until dark, when Captain Hume weighed from his insecure anchorage to keep under weigh off the entrance. Upon the 20th, the Scarborough had drifted so far off, that the pirates determined to attempt passing her. They got aground in the attempt; and finding that the Scarborough was coming up, nineteen of them escaped in a small boat: the rest got on shore, after setting fire to the vessel, in which twenty Negroes were burnt to death. Martel, with those that escaped on shore, are supposed to have perished in the woods.

This year the legislature of Barbadoes enacted, that if any slave who had been one year upon the island ran away, and was absent for thirty days, he was to have *one of his feet cut off!*

The Assembly at Jamaica established £150 per annum, as a perpetual fund for keeping the wall on the south side of Port Royal in repair; and by Act 64. sect. 12. no Mulatto or Negro (free Mulattoes, Negroes and Indians having settlements, and ten slaves therein, always excepted) shall keep any horses, mares, mules, asses, or neat cattle whatsoever, on commons, on penalty of forfeiting the same.

Sect. 13. allows two justices in every precinct to licence any free Mulatto or Negro to keep such stock during good behaviour.

Sect. 14. enacts, that every free person of colour, not having a settlement with ten Negroes, shall furnish himself with a certificate of his freedom, and wear a public badge of a blue cross upon his right shoulder; otherwise to be used as a slave passing without a ticket.

Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. p. 36. Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 287.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 145. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789.

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1718.

The Marquis de Chateau Morand, governor of St. Domingo, declared war against the Spaniards in that island, by marching to the middle of the river of Massacre, which was considered as the boundary line between the two nations, and firing a pistol.

The immediate consequence of this was, that the Spaniards received the runaway slaves from the French plantations; and the President of the Royal Audience declared that they were all confiscated to the Spanish government, by the declaration of war made by the French governor.

Peace being soon afterwards declared, the Spanish president, in pursuance of orders received from his court, collected all the French slaves he could find, and was going to send them by sea to the French part of the island; but the populace rose upon their conductors and gave the slaves their liberty: these settled themselves in the Spanish part of the island, and became a point of refuge for all the runaways from the French. Hostilities between England and Spain were commenced in the Mediterranean by the fleet under Admiral Byng, and the Spanish fleet under Admiral Don Antonio de Castaneta, upon the 11th of August.

By the King of Spain's order, all the effects of the South Sea Company in the West Indies were seized; their prime cost was £850,000 sterling. Many of the Spaniards, who had bought goods and Negroes of the Company's factors would not pay their debts; the loss of the Company was much increased by the Negroes dying in their settlements. Their factories at La Vera Cruz, Panama, Portobello, Carthagena, and Buenos Ayres, and two agents at Madrid, put them to a great expence, the loss the Company suffered by this seizure was estimated at a million sterling.

The English governor of the Leeward Islands sent Mr. Howell, with several settlers from the different islands, to form a colony upon Crab Island. Eighteen months afterwards (see 1719) the Spaniards landed with an overwhelming force, and carried off all the settlers to Puerto Rico.

Fifteen hundred persons died about Cape François of the Mal de Siam.

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 218, 219. Tindal, vol. iv. book 27. p. 569.
Gentleman's Magazine, March, 1739, p. 133.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 295.

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Sir Nicholas Laws succeeded Peter Heywood, Esquire, as governor of Jamaica.

The House of Lords addressed the King relative to the Bahama Islands:- they stated, that no means had been taken to secure those islands as they had advised—that the pirates had a lodgment and a battery upon Harbour Island, and that the usual retreat and general receptacle for pirates was at Providence. Hereupon his Majesty gave directions for dislodging the pirates, making settlements and a fortification for its security and defence. A proclamation was also issued, which Colonel Bennet, the governor of Bermudas, sent to the pirates, who gladly accepted of the mercy offered, and promised to surrender themselves as soon as they could get a passage to the English colonies; adding, that they did not doubt but their fellows who were at sea would gladly follow their example. Captain Henry Jennings and fifteen others followed the sloop to Bermudas, and surrendered themselves. Captains Lassie, Nichols, Hernigold, and Burges, and 114 men, surrendered themselves also.

Captain Woods Rogers arrived at New Providence in July, to reduce the pirates, with his Majesty's ships Rose, Milford, and another. Vane, one of the captains of the pirates, sent a fire-ship against the Rose, and obliged her to cut her cables to escape the danger. Upon the appearance of the other two vessels, Vane, with fifty men, made off in a sloop. The Milford and the other man-of-war got aground, and Vane escaped. On the 27th of July, Captain Rogers landed, took possession of the fort, and read his Majesty's commission in the presence of about 300 persons. Above 100 soldiers were landed with Captain Rogers, which, with the inhabitants, who were all accustomed to fire-arms, was considered force sufficient to defend the island. Rogers appointed six persons who came with him to be of the council, also six of the inhabitants who had never been pirates; and thus the appearance of government was restored. Two hundred pirates surrendered, received certificates of their surrender, and took the oaths of allegiance, as did, voluntarily, the greatest part of the inhabitants.

At St. Lucia, "the general and intendant issued an ordinance, that slaves convicted of poisoning the rivers were to be exposed to the pillory during three market days, and one month's imprisonment, for the first offence; and for a repetition, to be flogged and marked."

The Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, upon a supposition that there was a rich mine in the island of St. Lucia, made

Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1737, p. 217. Du Pratz, vol. i. p. 24. Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 249. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 285, 286. Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii. p. 680.

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a grant of that island in property to the Marshal d'Estrées, who immediately sent over an expedition to fortify and colonize the island. On their arrival they found it inhabited by soldiers and sailors, deserters from the army and navy of both nations, who all joined the new settlers; but the British court expostulating upon this, and shewing clearly that the right was in the crown of Great Britain, the grant was recalled.

1719.

The Marquis de Sorel succeeded the Marquis de Chateau Morand, as governor-general of the French Leeward Islands.

The Danes sent some colonists from St. Thomas to the island of St. John's.

By the 6th of Geo. I. chap. 5. it is declared, that the King's Majesty, with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, "and other British conquests and dependencies, in all cases."

A French force from Martinico, under the command of Major Paulian, landed at St. Vincent, to assist the Red Caribs in driving out the Negroes. He landed without much opposition, and began to burn the Negro huts and destroy their plantations, expecting the Indians would attack them from the mountains: they, however, did not assist their allies; and the Negroes, by retreating to the woods in the day-time, and sallying in the night, destroyed so many of the French, among the rest their commander, that the survivors were obliged to retreat: they afterwards, by persuasion and presents, made peace with both Indians and Negroes.

The Spaniards at Puerto Rico sent an expedition to Crab Island, and carried off all the English, who had attempted to settle a colony upon that island, under the command of Mr. Howell, about eighteen months before.

Charles Vane, the pirate, who escaped from Commodore Rogers at New Providence, after committing numerous depredations, and getting turned out of his vessel for cowardice by John Rackam, was shipwrecked upon an island in the bay of Honduras, where he was seized by Captain Holford, an old acquaintance, carried to Jamaica, and there executed.

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 42. Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 219. Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 160. Jordan's Examination of the Slave Registry Bill, pp. 55, 56. Edwards, vol. i. p. 413. Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1737, p. 217. Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. p. 154.

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The governor of Jamaica sent to Cuba to demand the restitution of several Negroes piratically taken from the island; and received the following answer: "That as to those and other fugitives, they were there as the other subjects of their lord the King; and being brought voluntarily to their holy church, had received the water of baptism."

1720.

The four Dutch houses who were the proprietors of Berbice resolved to extend their association, by forming a capital of 3,200,000 florins, divided into transferrable shares, the property of which communicated the colonial rights formerly enjoyed by the four associates. These shares were never bought up.

Among the numerous speculations which swarmed at this time, were "a subscription for effectually settling the island of Blanco and Saltortugas," and one for a settlement on the isle of St. Croix.

Governor Hamilton reported the population of

	Whites.	Negroes.
Antigua at -	3672	19,186
Montserrat -	1688	3772
Nevis - -	2358	5689
St. Kitts - -	2740	7321
Virgin Islands -	1122	1509

The governor of St. Lucia ordered "all Mulattoes and Indians, of either sex, slaves, who work at the cultivation of the ground, to dress in conformity with the ordinance of 1685, and wear linen "de vitre or morlaix," for shirts and trowsers, or petticoats of Indienne or ginga, and not to wear any other dress, on pain of imprisonment, and confiscation of their clothes; and that all Mulattoes, Indians, or Negroes, of either sex, also slaves, who serve their masters or mistresses as domestics, to wear linen de vitre or morlaix, or old clothes, equivalents, belonging only to the masters or mistresses, with necklace and ear-rings of silver, &c. according to the quality of the master or mistress, &c. under the same penalty.

The French King issued an ordinance, dated 7th July,

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 85. Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3, p. 347. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15. Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 43.

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1720, intituled, "Ordonnance de MM. le General et Intendant, sur la remonstrance du Procureur-general, qui prescrit la verification des titres de tous les gens de couleur qui se pretendent libres."

Upon the 26th of January, Mr. Law, the governor of Jamaica, wrote to the alcalde of La Trinidad, in Cuba, to complain of the piracies committed by a troop of banditti, who pretended to have commissions from him, and resided in his government, and particularly to demand Nicholas Brown and Christopher Winter, two traitors, to whom he had given protection.

Mr. Law also assured him, that if any of the pirates were taken upon the shores of Jamaica, he would hang them all: he demanded ample restitution for all the Negroes which Brown and Winter had taken from the north side of Jamaica, and for the other effects which they had carried off since the peace.

Lieutenant Laws, of his Majesty's ship Happy, was sent by Admiral Vernon with this letter.

Upon the 8th of February he received an answer from Benette Alfonse del Monzana, stating that the Negroes and vessels which had been seized were smugglers; that the English fugitives, having turned Roman Catholics, were become Spanish subjects; but if they behaved themselves improperly, they should be punished. He therefore requested Mr. Law to quit the harbour and coast immediately, as he was resolved not to permit him to have any further intercourse with the shore.

Mr. Law, in his reply, the 20th February, said he was determined not to quit that coast before he had retaliated; and if he met with any vessels belonging to Trinidad, he would treat them as pirates, since the governor had made a pretence of his religion for protecting such scoundrels.

Upon this, Monzano threatened to treat all the English who should fall into his hands as pirates, if Mr. Law did so to the Spaniards. He had plenty of men, he said, and if Mr. Law commanded at sea, he commanded on shore, and should do his duty as a soldier. But if Mr. Law wished for any thing from the shore, he willingly consented to his having it: and so the negotiation ended.

The number of Whites in Jamaica were computed at 60,000; but Mr. Long says these accounts were certainly exaggerated.

November the 19th, John Rackam, George Featherstone, Richard Corner, and six others, were condemned to death at Jamaica for piracy. Two others were condemned also; who when asked if they had any thing to say before sentence was

Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. pp. 49. 162. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 385.

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passed upon them, declared themselves women and with child. They were accordingly sent to be examined. Their names were Mary Read and Anne Bonny. The former died in prison — the latter was repeatedly reprieved, and finally escaped. They were extraordinary women: and when Rackam was taken, stood upon deck longer than any of his men. Before he was executed, Anne Bonny was allowed to see him, but the only consolation she gave him was telling him, "I am sorry to see you in this situation, but if you had fought like a man, you would not have been hung like a dog." The secret of their sex was unknown to each other for some time, until Anne Bonny falling in love with Mary Read, occasioned a mutual disclosure. Rackam, who intrigued with Anne Bonny, became jealous of her supposed lover, and threatened to kill him: to prevent which, Anne was obliged to let Rackam into the secret, which was still a secret to all the rest of the crew, until Mary fell in love with one of their prisoners. She fought a duel to prevent him from risking his life, and killed her man — engaged the young man's affections as a friend, and then informed him of her sex. A solemn promise of marriage passed between them, and by him she was with child when she was condemned. Upon her trial she denied ever having had connexion with any other man than her former husband and this man, nor could any of her acquaintance say that she had.

October the 12th, 1720, an order in council was issued, declaring, "That the proper jurisdiction of the court held before the governor and council of Barbadoes, in matters cognizable in any of the courts of common law in the said island, is only to correct the errors and grievances arising in the proceedings of the said courts, and not to proceed originally in any causes, except upon petitions in matters of equity, — and ordering their excellencies to govern themselves accordingly."

This order was issued in consequence of "divers complaints against Robert Lowther, Esq. governor of Barbadoes."

1721.

Henry Worsley, Esq. was by letters patent, dated January 11th, 1721, appointed governor of Barbadoes.

The 20th of January, 1721, his Majesty in council issued an order removing eight justices from the commission of the peace in Barbadoes, for having given two sentences "which were arbitrary and cruel."

Caribbeana, vol. i. pp. 40. 344. 394.

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They had examined witnesses and determined matters of fact without a jury. The sufferer, Barnard Cook, was accused of having spoken scandalous words reflecting on the modesty of two men's wives; and though he was never convicted thereof, nor could be prosecuted criminally for it, the justices sentenced him to be publicly whipt by the common whipper of slaves; and he actually received fourscore lashes, save two, upon his bare back.

Cook blamed the governor, Robert Lowther, who "threatened a revenge against him;" but as he brought no proof thereof, his Majesty in council dismissed that part of the accusation. In his petition, Cook stated that the governor's nephew, Mr. John Frere, wrongfully detained his estate from him, notwithstanding a royal letter in his favour.

The names of the unjust justices were Guy Ball, Francis Bond, Thomas Maycock, jun., Robert Bishop, George Barry, John Fercherson, Stephen Thomas, and W. Kirkham, Esq. Their dismissal was not ordered until two years after the offence.

The following articles are those which relate to the West Indies, in the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, concluded at Madrid, June the 13th, 1721:—

"Art. 2. The treaties of peace and commerce, concluded at Utrecht the 13th of July and the 9th December, in the year 1713, wherein are comprehended the treaty made at Madrid in the year 1667, and the cedulas therein mentioned, shall remain confirmed and ratified by the present treaty, except the 3d, 5th, and 8th articles of the said treaty of commerce, commonly called explanatory, which have been annulled by virtue of another subsequent treaty made at Madrid the 14th of the month of December, 1715, between the ministers plenipotentiary named for that purpose by their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, which treaty remains likewise confirmed and ratified; as also the particular contract, commonly called Assiento, for the importation of Negro slaves into the Spanish Indies, which was made the 26th of March of the said year 1713, in consequence of the 12th article of the treaty of commerce at Utrecht, and likewise the treaty of declaration concerning that of the Assiento, made the 26th of May, 1716: all which treaties mentioned in this article, with their declarations, shall remain in their force, virtue, and full vigour, in every thing wherein they shall not be contrary to this: and to the end they may have their entire effect and accomplishment, his Catholic Majesty will cause his circular orders or cedulas to be dispatched to his viceroys, governors, and other ministers to whom it shall belong, of the ports and towns in America, that the ships employed for the traffic of Negroes by the

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxv. p. 214.

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Royal Company of Great Britain, established at London, may be admitted, without hindrance, to trade freely, and in the same manner as they did before the last rupture between the two crowns; and the above-mentioned cedulas shall be delivered as soon as the ratifications of the present treaty shall have been exchanged: and at the same time his Catholic Majesty will give his orders to the council of the Indies, that the Junta, composed of ministers taken out of council, and appointed for the cognizance (exclusive of all others) of the causes that respect the Assiento, may again have its course, admit of, and consult upon those affairs, according to the rule established at the time of its appointment. And as to what regards the observation of the treaties of peace and commerce, circular orders shall be dispatched to all the governors of Spain, to the end that they may, without any of their interpretations, cause them to be observed and accomplished; as in like manner shall be given, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, the orders which shall be demanded and judged necessary for the accomplishment of every thing that has been stipulated and agreed between the two crowns in the above-mentioned treaties of Utrecht; and particularly as to what may remain unperformed of the points settled by the 8th, 11th, and 15th articles of the treaty of peace, which mention the leaving to the Spaniards the free commerce and navigation to the West Indies, and the maintaining the antient limits of America, as they were in the time of King Charles II.; the free exercise of the Catholic religion in the island of Minorca, and the cod fishing in the seas of Newfoundland, as well as with regard to all other articles which may not hitherto have been put in execution on the part of Great Britain.

"3. Forasmuch, as by the several articles of the treaty of commerce of Utrecht, it was agreed, that all the goods confiscated at the beginning of the former war should be restored, in regard the confiscation thereof had been made contrary to the tenor of the 36th article of the treaty of 1667, his Catholic Majesty, in like conformity, will order, that all the goods, merchandizes, money, ships, and other effects, which have been seized, as well in Spain as in the Indies, by virtue of his orders of the month of September, 1718, or of any subsequent orders at the time before the war was declared between the two crowns, or after it was declared, be speedily restored in their same kind, as to those which shall be still in being, or, if they are not, the just and true value of them at the time that they were seized, the valuation whereof, if by omission or neglect it was not then made, shall be adjusted according to the authentic informations that the owners shall pro-

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxv. p. 214.

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duce before the ordinary magistrates of the towns and places where the said effects shall have been seized: and as it is certain that the orders of his Catholic Majesty, although they directed that inventories of those goods and effects should be made and drawn up, and accounts and declarations should be kept, have not, however, been executed in that manner in several places, it has been agreed, that if the proprietors make it appear, by legal proofs, informations, and other documents, that any of them have been omitted in the said inventories, his Catholic Majesty will give express orders that the value of those things which shall have been omitted be paid by the treasurer, or other persons through whose neglect such omission shall have been made.

"4. It is mutually agreed, that his Britannic Majesty shall give orders to his governors, officers, and other ministers to whom it shall belong, to cause to be restored all the goods and effects of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, which they shall prove to have been seized and confiscated in the dominions of his Britannic Majesty upon occasion of the last war, in the same manner as it has been settled in the foregoing article in favour of the subjects of his Britannic Majesty."

The King of Spain ordered the effects of the South Sea Company to be restored; but the product of what was restored did not exceed £200,000 sterling, and consequently the Company lost full £800,000.

The coffee plant was carried from Surinam to Cayenne, and began to be cultivated there.

The first commission on record at Jamaica for the Vice-Admiralty Court, to be held "by one person, or a sole judge," was given this year, 1721. Previous to this it was held by two or more commissioners.

There was a free-school founded at Walton, in St. Ann's parish, Jamaica: boys grounded in classics were to leave at fourteen years of age.

The population of the Bermudas was returned at 4850 Whites, and 3514 slaves.

The French King issued an ordinance that "minors, although emancipated, cannot dispose of their Negroes who work on their estates, until they shall have attained the age of twenty-five—the said slaves, however, still considered as moveables."

Gentleman's Magazine, March, 1739, p. 134.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 77.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, pp. 43. 129.

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1722.

The Assembly of Barbadoes settled on Governor Worsley £6000 a-year sterling, for the support of his government, and laid a tax of two shillings and sixpence per head on Negroes.

The number of inhabitants upon the Bahamas, according to the "lists transmitted in," were Whites, 830; slaves, 310.

Upon the 28th of August, the town of Port Royal was overwhelmed by the sea: twenty-six merchant vessels and 400 persons perished in the harbour: Mr. Atkins, purser of his Majesty's ship Weymouth, gives the following description of the hurricane:—

"The present hurricane was about a week after our arrival —began at eight in the morning, two days before the change of the moon — gave at least forty-eight hours notice, by a noisy breaking of the waves upon the Kays[1], very disproportioned to the breeze, a continued swell without reflux of the water — and the two nights preceding, prodigious lightnings and thunder; which all the old experienced men foretold would be a hurricane, or that one already had happened at no great distance.

"I was ashore at Port Royal, and found all the pilots returned from the windward part of the island (where they customarily attend the coming down of ships), and observing upon the unusual intumescence of the water, so great the day before, and beat so high, that our boats could not possibly put on shore at Gun Kays, to take the men off that were set there, to the number of twenty, for trimming up our casks; themselves making signals not to attempt it. Betimes next morning, the wind began in flurries at N.E. and flew quickly round to S.E. and S.S.E., where it continued the stress of the storm, bringing such quantities of water that our little island was overflowed four feet at least: so that, what with the fierce driving of shingles (wooden staves, used instead of tiling upon their houses) about our ears, and the water floating their boats, empty hogsheads, and lumber about the streets, those without doors were every moment in danger of being knocked on the head or carried away by the stream. Within it was worse; for the waters sapping the foundations, gave continual and just apprehensions of the houses falling, as in effect half of them did, and buried

Long's Jamaica. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement. Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, Lond. 1735, pp. 238. 265. Campbell's Survey, vol. ii. p. 664. Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 356.

[1] See Note, vol. i. p. 8.

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their inhabitants. Nor indeed, after the storm had began, was it safe to open a door, especially such as faced the wind, lest it should carry the roofs off; and escaping thence, there was no place of retreat, we remaining in a very melancholy situation, both from wind and water. *The perils of false brethren was nothing to it.*

" It may be worth notice, what became of the purser in this common danger. I was regardless at first, as suspecting more of timidity in the people — till finding myself left alone proprietor of a shaking old house, the streets full of water and drift, with shingles flying about like arrows, I began to meditate a little more seriously upon my safety, and would have compounded all my *credit* in the victualling (office), my hoops and bags, for one acre (as Gonzalo says in the Tempest) of barren ground, long heath, or brown furze, to have trod dry upon!

" Our neighbours had retreated towards the church, as the strongest building and highest ground, which I was luckily too late to recover; but endeavouring to stem upwards for a safer station, was taken into a house in the lower street, with an old woman wading in the same manner from her ruined habitation. We were no sooner in, but new fears of this also falling, thrust us into the yard (the water then at eleven o'clock breast high), where we helped one another upon a low brick-built out-house, that being more out of the wind, and surrounded by others, kept the waters still. The unhappiness of those who suffered in stronger houses was their facing the wind, which brought the sea upon them with violence. A platform of one and twenty guns and mortars were drove, some of them, to the market place: the two lines of houses next the sea, with the church, were undermined and levelled with the torrent; and in their ruin was our safety; for although we had a greater depth, they were by such a bank made motionless. The whole rise of the water was computed at sixteen or eighteen feet, very admirable, at a place where it is not ordinarily observed to flow above one or two. At five in the evening the waters abated, and with so quick a retreat as to leave the streets dry before six; when every one was congratulating his own safety, in condolencies upon the loss of their friends.

" Of fifty sail in this harbour, only four men-of-war and two merchant-ships rid it out, but with all their masts and booms blown away. All the men we left at Gun Kay were washed off and perished, except one Indian that drove into harbour, upon a broken gallows that had been there erected. Wrecks and drowned men were every where seen along shore; general complaints of loss at land (least at St. Jago), which made it a

Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 240.

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melancholy scene; and to finish the misfortune, the slackness of the sea-breezes, calms, and lightning, stagnating waters, broods of insects thence, and a shock or two of earthquake that succeeded to the hurricane, combined to spread a baneful influence, and brought on a contagious distemper, fatal for some months through the island."

And B. Edwards says, that as, upon the same day of the month, ten years before, another hurricane had shaken the island, the anniversary of the day was, by an act of the Assembly, set apart for fasting and humiliation.

In March, his Majesty ship Greyhound, Captain Walron, was seized by treachery in one of the ports of Cuba. He had invited some Spanish merchants on board to dinner: they came with their servants, in all about eighteen persons; five or six of them were at table with the captain, and the rest upon deck, when the crew went to dinner. The Spaniards, when the men were all below, laid the gratings on. At the same time those at table with the captain shot him: they also killed the serjeant and another man, and dangerously wounded the lieutenant, who escaped through the cabin windows. They were thus masters of the vessel; but before they got her under weigh, an armed launch, which Captain Walron had sent away some days before, returned. As soon as the Spaniards saw her coming, they abandoned the Greyhound, taking with them about £10,000, and escaped on shore.

A Guarda Costa, belonging to Puerto Rico, commanded by Mathew Luke, an Italian, took four English vessels, and cut the throats of all their crews. In May, the same vessel was taken by his Majesty's ship Launceston, and carried to Jamaica, where the whole of her crew, except seven, were executed as pirates. One of the men boasted that he himself had killed twenty Englishmen.

The Guarda Costa mistook the Launceston for a merchant vessel, boarded her, and only found out her mistake when it was too late to escape.

Of the Guarda Costas at St. Domingo. — Mr. Atkins says, "These privateering fellows when they are not acting by lawful commission, they know the governor's mind, and bring in ships on a pretence they are trading with the King of Spain's subjects in a clandestine and prohibited manner: if they find any pieces of eight, it is a condemnation; an encouragement, in searching a ship, to deposit some there themselves. Or if this trick fails, they are yet detained, and on various pretences lengthened out with law suits till ruined. We called, after weighing from Barbadoes, at Santo Domingo, the chief town of Española,

Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. p. 46. Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, p. 223.

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where we found three English masters of ships under these hardships. They had got the better in law, but with such charge and delay, that it had spoiled their ships and voyages; and, lest that should not do it effectually, their damages are against the captains of the privateers, who are perhaps the governor's servile dependants, and not worth a groat."

Mr. Atkins was there in August this year.

The following description of Jamaica was written in 1722, by the purser of his Majesty's ship Weymouth:—

"The Creoles (those born here), which are properly the natives of the island, the ancient ones being all extirpated, or fled the cruelty of the Spaniards before our possession, are a spurious race: the first change, by a Black and White, they call Mulatto; the second, a Mustee; and the third, a Castee — the faces, like a coat of arms, discovering their distinction. They are half Negrish in their manners, proceeding from the promiscuous and confined conversation with their relations, the servants at the plantations, and have a language equally pleasant, a kind of Gypsey gibberish, that runs smoothest in swearing. The English subjects are computed at seven or eight thousand, the Negroes at 80,000; a disproportion that, together with the severity of their patrons, renders the whole colony unsafe. Many hundreds of them have at different times run to the mountains, where they associate, and commit little robberies upon the defenceless and nearest plantations; and which, I imagine, they would not have done but for the cruelty of their usage, because they subsist very hard and with danger, by reason of parties continually sending out by government against them, who have £5 a head for every one killed, and their ears are a sufficient warrant for the next justice to pay it: if the Negro be brought in a prisoner, he is tormented and burnt alive.

"The natural remedy against this evil is an increase of hands. They have large savannahs, both in the north and south sides, supposed formerly to have been fields of Indian wheat, that afford good pasturage, and breed a great number of cattle, with a great waste of land still left, capable of large improvements into sugar plantations or tillage; but here lies the objection to any further encouragement: — If the present proprietors can export 11,000 hogsheads of sugar annually, and the price with that number is kept low at market, whoever contributes towards making 11,000 more is depreciating his own estate, lending a hand to ruin himself. Tillage and grazing, though not employing the land to one tenth part of its value in such colonies, would yet interfere with the present interest also, by lowering the price of provisions: wherefore the security from such augmentation of

Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, pp. 244, 245, 246.

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people (the merchants being judges) gives place to profit, a neglect that must be reaped, in the end, by undertakers of more generous sentiments. This convinces me, that although trade be wealth and power to a nation, yet if it cannot be put under restrictions, controlled by a superior and disinterested power, that excess and irregularity will be an oppression to many by increasing the difficulties of subsistence, and with it men's disaffection. Here is a distant evil, the cure of which lies in an expense that nobody likes, nor for such dislike will ever blame himself in time of danger. The merchant and planter think, if less sugars were made, it would be better, provided (every one means) the bad crop do not happen upon their own plantations; and thus, for the same reason, the Dutch and other companies burn their spice, India goods, tobacco, &c. viz. to keep up a price: for rendering things common or cheap, or assisting towards the same liberty, would border too much on the Christian precepts. The sloop-trade hence to the Spanish West Indies, under the protection of our men-of-war, has been reckoned at £200,000 per annum. In 1702, orders came to the governor to hinder it, on account of a treaty between us and the Dutch for that purpose, who have since gone into it themselves from Curissao; and in 1716, a yet greater obstruction was put by the peculiar privileges of the Assiento factors; however, they continue on, and complain of no other illegalities than the Spanish seizures, of late years very frequent, and, together with this branch of trade, their want of Spanish wrecks, privateering, and fall of sugars, makes the island not so flourishing as in times past.

"S. Nicholas Laws, a Creole, gives way as governor to the Duke of Portland, who arrived in that quality (with his duchess and family) about the middle of January this year. He had put into Barbadoes on the passage, and met a generous reception.

"Here they have doubled the salary, a compliment to his nobility, and that too little, it is said, for his splendid and magnificent way of living. His table singly has already raised the price of fowls from four to six bitts."

Upon the 22d of June, letters patent were granted to his Grace the Duke of Montague, which gave him the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent's; and, for the advantage of the new colonies which he was to settle, the duke was constituted captain-general of those islands, which, until this time, were included in the commission, and remained under the government of the governors of Barbadoes.

His grace appointed Captain Uring his deputy-governor, and

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 316.

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provided seven sail to carry over the colonists, and obtained of his Majesty the Winchelsea man-of-war, to convoy, attend, and protect the planters.

Captain Uring arrived at St. Lucia on the 15th of December, and anchored in Pigeon Island bay, where the master of a Barbadoes sloop from Martinico gave him a copy of the following mandate by the King of France, which had been published by order of the French general in all the churches and towns: —

The French King's mandate to the Sieur Chevalier de Feuquire, Governor and Lieutenant-General of the Windward Islands in America.

"His Majesty having been informed that the King of England has given the islands of St. Vincent and St. Lucia to the Duke of Montague, has made his complaint of it to the court of England, and has alleged that neither the one nor the other of these islands belong to that crown. The first of them ought to remain to the Caribbees, according to conventions made with that people: and the second does belong to France, who has been willing to suspend the settlement of that island, on the request of the King of England. Notwithstanding those reasons, his Majesty hath not been informed that there has been any revocation of this grant; on the contrary, he understands that the Duke of Montague is preparing to send and take possession of those islands, and to transport numbers of families thither. This undertaking being contrary to the rights of his Majesty, his intention is, that in case the English should take possession of St. Lucia, and settle there, the Sieur Chevalier de Feuquire shall summon them to retire in fifteen days, in regard that island belongs to France; and if they do not depart, he shall compel them to it by force of arms. He shall take care to charge some of the wisest and most experienced of his officers with this expedition. His Majesty desires there should be as little effusion of blood as possible, nor will he have any pillage made; he only wishes the English would retire, and not possess themselves of a country which belongs to him.

"Done at Versailles, the 21st of September, 1722."

Signed, &c.

The next morning, Captain Uring weighed from Pigeon Island bay, and went to the Petite Carenage, where he landed fifty men to clear away the trees from the point that lay fit for a battery of guns to command the entrance of the harbour. The same day, he sent Mr. Faulkner to Martinico, with dispatches from the Duke of Montague and the Admiralty, to Captain C. Brown of his Majesty's ship Feversham, and Captain Brand

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 316.

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of his Majesty's ship Hector, who were then at Martinico, and proceeded to land the colonists and stores.

On the 22d of December, the Hector and Feversham arrived at St. Lucia, and soon afterwards a French sloop, with a letter from the French general to Governor Uring, and a copy of the mandate. Mr. Uring immediately applied to Captains Brown and Bland, to know if they would assist him if he was attacked by the French: they, however, sailed for Barbadoes without giving him a positive answer.

Mr. Uring wrote to the governor of Martinico to acquaint him with his orders, and proposed suspending all acts of hostility until they could hear from their respective courts; and he also wrote to the president of Barbadoes, stating what had occurred, and requesting his assistance: to which the president answered, that he was ready to give him all the assistance in his power.

The French, however, landed about 3000 men; several of Mr. Uring's men were sick, and several deserted to the French; he had not eighty men left to bear arms, when he concluded a treaty with the French general, the Marquis of Champigny: it contained the following articles:—

"1. That the English should quit the island of St. Lucia within seven days, provided that the ships of the English nation should at all times have liberty to come into the ports of the said island, and wood and water there, and serve their other occasions, as the French also might.

"2. That the English colony should be at liberty to reimbark all their cannon, stores, arms, baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without molestation.

"3. That all deserters should be given up.

And lastly, That immediately after the English had evacuated the island, the French forces also should evacuate it, and that the island should remain in the same state it was, till the controversies between the two crowns relating to this island were decided.

Captain Uring accordingly embarked his people, and sailed to Antigua, sending the Winchelsea man-of-war, and Captain Braithwaite, in the Griffin sloop, to St. Vincent's to see if it was practicable to make a settlement there.

In the mean time, a considerable reinforcement arrived at Barbadoes from the Duke of Montague, with orders to attempt a settlement upon St. Vincent's if the planters were driven from St. Lucia.

Upon the 16th of October, Le Philippe, a ship belonging to the French India Company, anchored at Cape François, with

Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 222.

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three directors, to reside at the three principal ports of the colony, Cape François, Leogane, and St. Louis: each director had a sub-director and several clerks. The inhabitants were but little disposed to receive them, for various reasons. The Company only agreed to supply the islands with 2000 Negroes annually, and the district of Cape François required between 3000 and 4000 to keep it in cultivation. The Company were also blamed for a decree, by which the "Billets de Banque" were reduced to one quarter of their value, to the ruin of several of the most opulent planters, who had taken them in payment for their property. To this was added, the report of an injudicious conversation, which was said to have taken place at a great dinner given to the officers of the Philippe, previous to her sailing, and an order concerning the diminution of foreign gold and silver coin, which was published at Cape François on the 21st of November; upon the evening of which day, the women collected together in great numbers, and proceeded to the Company's house, as they said, to oblige the Company's agents either to embark on board the Bellonne, or to throw them into the sea. Madame Sagona headed the troop, which marched in good order with drums beating, swords by their sides, and a pistol in their hand. They immediately broke all the doors and windows in the house with stones, then threw every thing out of it into the street, and proceeded to search for the directors, who contrived to make their escape. Upon the 23d, the women returned again, and pulled down the house. The Comte d'Arquian, with some troops, in vain attempted to prevent it. They then proceeded to "La Fossette," a country-house belonging to the Company, about a mile from the city, which they burnt to the ground. Some men disguised in women's clothes were of the party, and others with their faces whitened with flour, and with black moustachios. Upon the 24th, the revolt became more general; and M. d'Arquian, the governor, escorted the sub-director and others on board their vessel, fearing that he should not be able to answer for their personal safety. At the request of the inhabitants, the order respecting weighing the gold and silver was countermanded.

The colony now became apparently tranquil; but on the morning of the 17th of December, several guns were fired before daylight, which was a signal for the inhabitants to meet in arms above the cape.

M. d'Arquian, who had not 200 soldiers, despairing of being able by force to arrest the progress of 2000 well armed men, went himself, accompanied only by M. de Chatenoye, to try what persuasion would do. The rebels declared that the King had

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 226. 230. 233, 234. 238. 241.

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not more faithful or zealous subjects, but they would have no company, and the Bellonne, on board of which ship the directors were embarked, must go to sea next day. M. d'Arquian, by promising, on his word of honour, that she should sail the day afterwards, pacified them, and they dispersed; but they afterwards burnt some store-houses belonging to the Company.

On the 19th, the Bellonne sailed, with all the Company's agents on board.

To repair the damage done to the fort at Port Royal, Jamaica, by the hurricane, an order in council was issued in that island, which directed,

"That all masters of sloops and vessels employed as sugar drogers in and about this island shall, before they are permitted to pass his Majesty's fort at Port Royal, be obliged to bring one load of stones each, in order to repair the damages done to the fortifications by the late violent hurricane; and that no vessel shall have permission to pass the said fort upon any other occasion, till the master of such vessel has first produced to the commanding officer thereof a certificate, under the hand of the engineer, of his having complied with this order."

The Spanish court having information that eighteen sail of vessels were fitting out in Holland to trade on the coast near Portobello, sent a squadron of men-of-war to intercept them. Several of the Dutch vessels were taken, others "fought it out stoutly, and the rest were chased off the coast:" they proceeded to Jamaica to refit.

1723.

In April, his Majesty's ship Winchelsea discovered three sail belonging to some pirates at an anchor at Tobago. A brigantine, called the Good Fortune, commanded by Thomas Ansty, escaped by superior sailing; but the pirates set the other two vessels on fire, and sought refuge in the woods. Fenn, the captain of the largest vessel, his gunner, and two or three more, were taken in the woods two days afterwards, carried to Antigua, and there executed. The rest of the pirates who were on shore stole a small vessel from the harbour, and made their escape to England.

Ansty escaped the Winchelsea, only to fall by the hands of his own crew. Some new hands who had been forced to

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 248, 244.
Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxv. Feb. 1727-8, pp. 124. 133.
Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. p. 267.

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join the pirates contrived to kill Ansty and his principal officers, and to put the rest in irons. After which they proceeded with the brig to Curaçoa, where the pirates were hung.

Another party of pirates, under the command of George Lowther, were repairing their vessel upon a small island between Marguerite and De Rocas, and were discovered there by Captain Walter Moore, of the South Sea Company's ship Eagle. Some of the pirates sought shelter on the shore, some remained on board, and demanded quarter. Captain Moore landed a party of twenty-five men, and followed the fugitives; but after five days' search, they only found five: with these Captain Moore proceeded to St. Christopher's, where most of them were hung. The governor of Cumana sent a party of men to search the island for the remainder of the pirates: four more were taken, and condemned for life to slavery. Lowther was found dead, with a pistol near him, from which it was supposed he had destroyed himself.

At this time, and for some years previous, the West Indies was swarming with these miscreants, who extended their depredations to the shores of America, Newfoundland, Africa, Brazil, and even to the East Indies. The cruelties committed upon their prisoners by some of them ought not to be related: their gallant exploits and mad amusements are highly interesting. To follow them upon their cruizes, when they quitted the West Indies, would be inconsistent with the plan of this work, and without doing so, the account of their exploits must be very incomplete.

The Report of Captain John Braithwaite to Nathaniel Uring, Esq.

"In pursuance of a resolution in council, and your order for so doing, the day you sailed with his grace's colony for Antigua, I sailed with the Griffin sloop, in company with his Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, to St. Vincent. We made the island that night, and the next morning running along the shore, saw several Indian huts; but as yet no Indians came off to us, nor could we get ashore to them, by reason there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening two Indians came on board, and told us we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor, they would bring their general on board. Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for the sloop. One, whom they called general, came on board, with several others, to the number of twenty-two. I entertained them very handsomely, and made the chief some trifling presents; but found him to be a person of no consequence, and that they called him chief to get some presents from me. Here two of the

Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. p. 287. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 317.

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Indians were so drunk, that they would not go ashore, but staid on board some days, and were well entertained.

"After this, little winds and great currents drove us off for several days; but at last we came to an anchor in a spacious bay, to the leeward of all the island, the draft of which I ordered to be taken by our surveyor, for your better understanding the place, being the only one where a settlement could be made. The ship and sloop were scarce come to an anchor, before the strand of the shore was covered with Indians, and amongst them we could discover a white man, who proved to be a Frenchman. I took Captain Watson in the boat with me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went on shore. As soon as I came amongst them, I asked why they appeared all armed, for every man had a cutlass; some had muskets, pistols, bow and arrows, &c. They, with very little ceremony, enclosed me, and carried me up the country for about a mile, over a little rivulet, where I was told I was to see their general. I found him sitting amidst a guard of about an hundred Indians: those nearest his person had all muskets, the rest bows and arrows, and all observed a great silence. He ordered me a seat, and a Frenchman stood at his right hand for an interpreter. He demanded of me, what brought me into his country, and of what nation? I told him English; and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to say any thing else before a Frenchman: but told him, if he would be pleased to come on board our ships, I would leave Englishmen in hostage for those he should be pleased to take along with him. But I could not prevail with him, either to come on board, or suffer me to have wood or water. He said he was informed we were come to force a settlement; and we had no way to remove that jealousy but by getting under sail. As soon as I found what influence the Frenchman's company had upon him, I took my leave, after making such replies as I thought proper, and returned to my boat under a guard; and when I came to the shore, I found the guard was increased, by a number of Negroes, all armed with fusees. I got into my boat without any injury, and went on board to Captain Orme, and told him my ill success.

"Immediately after, I sent ashore the sloop's boat with a mate, with rum, beef, bread, &c. with some cutlasses; and ordered a Frenchman, who went with the mate, to desire the guard to conduct them to their general, and to tell him, that though he denied me the common good of water, and a little useless wood, nevertheless I had sent him such refreshments as our ships afforded. Our people found the Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian general seemed pleased, received what was

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 317.

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sent him, and in return sent me bows and arrows. Our people had not been long returned, but the general sent a canoe with ten chief Indians, who spoke very good French, to thank me for my presents, and to ask pardon for his refusing me wood and water, and assured me I might have what I pleased — and they had orders to tell me, if I pleased to go ashore again, they were to remain as hostages for my civil treatment. I sent them on board the man-of-war, and with Captain Watson went on shore. I was well received, and conducted as before; but now I found the brother, the chief of the Negroes, was arrived with 500 Negroes, most armed with fusees. They told my interpreter they were sure we were come to force a settlement, or else they would not have denied me what they never before had denied any English, viz. wood and water; but if I thought fit, I might take what I pleased, under a guard. Finding them in so good humour, I once more introduced the desire I had to entertain them on board our ships, and with some difficulty I prevailed with them, by leaving Captain Watson ashore under their guard as a hostage. I carried them on board the King's ship, where they were well entertained by Captain Orme, who gave the Indian general a fine fusee of his own, and to the chief of the Negroes something that pleased him. Captain Orme assured them of the friendship of the King of England, &c. The Negro chief spoke excellent French, and made answers with all the French compliments.

"Afterwards, I carried them on board the duke's sloop; and after opening their hearts with wine, for they scorned to drink rum, I thought it a good time to tell them my commission, and what brought me upon their coast. They told me, it was well I had not mentioned it on shore, for their power could not have protected me; that it was impossible — the Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad to retire. They likewise told me, that two French sloops had, the day before we came, been amongst them, and gave them arms and ammunition, and assured them of the whole force of Martinico for their protection against us. They told them also, that they had driven us from St. Lucia, and that we were come now to endeavour a settlement there, and, notwithstanding all our specious pretences, when we had the power, we should enslave them; but they declared they would trust no Europeans: that they owned themselves under the protection of the French, but would as soon oppose their settling among them, or any act of force from them, as us. They had lately given an example by killing several: and they further told me, it was by very large presents the French ever got in their favour again, but they resolved never to put it in their power, or

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 317.

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of any Europeans, to hurt them. They advised us to think what they said was an act of friendship. This being all I could get from them, I dismissed them, with such presents as his grace ordered for that service, with a discharge of cannon, and received in return as regular vollies of small shot as I ever heard.

"In the night the Winchelsea drove from her anchors, which, as soon as I perceived, and had received Captain Watson from the shore, I got under sail, and stood to the man-of-war.

"This is a faithful report of all I, John Braithwaite, can recollect."

The French inhabitants of St. Domingo still continued determined not to allow the West India Company to exercise their grants. In January, another of their slave ships, called Le Duc de Noailles, arrived at Cape François: she was ordered to depart; but her captain and crew declared she was in such a miserable state, that if they were not allowed to trade, they would run the vessel on shore, and trust to the mercy of the inhabitants. In consequence of this, the captain was allowed to dispose of his cargo. The inhabitants of Leogane opposed this sale, threatened to destroy the houses of those who had purchased the slaves, and obliged them to pay 200 livres a head, for the benefit of the colony, for each slave they had bought. Other vessels arrived — the disputes between the inhabitants increased — and the governor-general sent home for assistance.

Four sail of the line were sent out, with the Comte de Champmelin, to settle the affairs of the island, and the Chevalier de la Rochallard to succeed the Marquis de Sorel.

A council was immediately assembled, and the exclusive right of the Company to supply the island with slaves insisted upon. No open opposition was made to the decrees of the new governor, and some few of the most refractory were punished as examples.

What a picture of the situation of the slaves is given in the following extract from an act passed this year by the Legislative Assembly of Antigua! It declares, that "several cruel persons, to gratify their own humours, against the laws of God and humanity, frequently kill, destroy, or dismember their own and other persons' slaves, and have hitherto gone unpunished, because it is inconsistent with the constitution and government of this island, and would be too great a countenance and encouragement to slaves to resist white persons, to set slaves so far upon an

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 262. 271. 275, 276. 302. 305. 308.
Stephen on West Indian Slavery.

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equality with the free inhabitants, as to try those that kill them for their lives; nor is it known or practised in any of the Caribbee islands, that any free person killing a slave is triable for his life."

The act then states, that for wilfully killing a slave, the penalty shall not exceed £300, nor be less than £100, and imprisonment until the fine is paid; and in case of dismembering, the fine is fixed not to exceed £100, or be less than £20, currency.

In consequence of some masters of the small vessels, which, by the order in council at Jamaica, were to have brought stones to repair the fortifications, applying to be allowed to pay a piece of eight per ton instead, an order in council was issued to the commanding engineer, "to receive money in lieu of stones, whenever the masters of the sugar drogers should desire it."

This afterwards gave rise to great complaints and accusations of peculation against the officer supervising the works at Port Royal.

Part of Westmoreland, in Jamaica, was formed into a separate district this year, and called Hanover parish.

On the 6th of December, 1726, the King of France issued an ordinance: —

"Art. 1. All plantations to have 500 fosses of manioc planted for each slave, under penalty of fifty livres fine for each 500 fosses deficient.

"2. The captain of militia of each quarter, accompanied by four inhabitants, in the month of December of each year, to visit every estate, to take an account of the number of domestics, as well as quantities of 500 fosses of manioc.

"8. Persons convicted of not having executed articles 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27, of the Letters Patent, in form of Edict of March 1685, respecting the subsistence and dress of slaves, condemned to pay a fine of 500 livres."

1724.

M. de Champmelin visited the different quarters of the French possessions in St. Domingo, and found all the inhabitants ready to submit to his orders, and grateful for the pardon he had brought out. He anchored at Cape François, upon the 20th of January.

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789.
Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxv. p. 125.
Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 365. Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 43.
Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 314.

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The royal edict for banishing the Baron de Courseuils and Madame Sagona was registered, and obeyed without opposition. Madame Sagona embarked soon afterwards in a frigate for France, where she was not allowed to settle in a sea-port. M. de Champmelin now published the royal order revoking the grants to the India Company. The island had submitted to the enforcing them, and therefore the abolition was an apparent act of grace, and not of compulsion.

Having settled the affairs of the island, and surveyed and taken charts of Port du Prince, M. de Champmelin returned to France. Thus, without any effusion of blood, was this affair settled; and Charlevoix says, that it was never more clearly seen, that if the French sometimes forget the respect due to their sovereign, when you know how to manage them, the greatest resources may be found in the inexhaustible fund of true attachment which they naturally have for their sovereign.

The population of Barbadoes was 18,295 Whites.

July the 14th, M. Gilmar, a Romish priest, made a public recantation (in St. Michael's church, Barbadoes) of the errors of the Church of Rome, and soon afterwards preached in the same church to a Protestant auditory.

The population returns for the Bermudas, state it at 4678 Whites and 3657 slaves.

Edward Low, a notorious pirate, was put by his crew into an open boat, with three of his partizans, and turned adrift without any provisions. The next day, a vessel bound to Martinico fell in with the boat, and carried the men to that island, where Low was hung as a pirate. Low had enraged his crew by shooting one of the officers when he was asleep; and it was for this act of cowardice they sent him adrift.

He was an atrocious wretch; his cruelties off the Azores, in the Bay of Honduras, and off the coasts of North America and Newfoundland, had deserved death an hundred times.

Governor Hart reported the population of

	Whites.	Militia.	Negroes.
Antigua at -	5200	1400	19,800
St. Kitts - -	4000	1200	11,500
Nevis - -	1100	300	6000
Montserrat -	1000	350	4400
Anguilla - -	360	85	900
Spanish Town -	340	78	650
Tortola - -	420	100	780

Charlevoix, tom. iv. pp. 317. 321. Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 350.
Caribbeana, vol. i. p. 368. Histoire des Pirates, tom. iv. p. 305.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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The general and intendant at St. Lucia issued an ordinance, declaring "slaves liable to be flogged and imprisoned for going on the high-roads to meet sellers of vegetables, and other articles destined for the use of towns. To be flogged, if detected mixing water with milk offered for sale."

If flogging were the punishment for this crime in England, the beadles would have full employment.

1725.

The Maroon or Bush Negroes, in the neighbourhood of Surinam, committed great depredations upon the colonists' estates.

Governor Hart reported, that between the 20th December, 1721, and 25th December, 1725, there were imported into

	Negroes.		Vessels.
Antigua - -	5600	in	44
Nevis - -	1267	—	13
Montserrat - -	1776	—	12

1726.

The Marquis de la Paz, in a letter to Mr. Stanhope, dated St. Ildefonso, Sept. 30th, 1726, complains of the squadrons commanded by the Admirals Hosier and Jennings going to the seas of the Indies, and appearing on the coasts of the King of Spain's kingdom; and says, "The complaint which has for its subjects the conduct of the Guarda Costas, and which traduces their operations as infractions of commerce, and of the treaties, is in all respects the most unjust that could be formed; because those ships have not done any thing but in discharge of their duty, by hindering, as much as possible, only the unlawful and clandestine commerce of all nations in the West Indies, from which they are so solemnly prohibited by virtue of repeated treaties, the articles of which have hitherto been infringed to the prejudice of his Majesty, and of his rights, of which it is attempted to defraud him, with so much insolence, in his lawful dominions; it not appearing, that on the part of his Britannic Majesty, the least remedy has been used against the conduct of his subjects, and those of other powers in those parts."

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 43.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 344.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, Feb. 1727, p. 128.

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Admiral Hosier appeared off Portobello, on Trinity Sunday, with four sail of the line and eight frigates. Upon the 14th of December, Vice-Admiral Hosier, in a letter to the Admiralty from Jamaica, stated, "That by reason of the great mortality and sickness on board the ships, they had been obliged to repair to that island, where the sick men had been put on shore:" he had orders to prevent the Spanish galleons from sailing, or if they should come out, to detain and send them to England.

The Assembly at Jamaica agreed to settle a perpetual revenue of £8000 a year on the crown, on condition,

1. That the quit-rents, then estimated at £1460 per annum, should form a part of the sum.

2. That the body of their laws should receive the royal assent.

3. That all such laws and statutes of England as had been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws of the island, should be and continue laws of Jamaica for ever.

This compromise matured the political constitution of Jamaica.

On the 22d of October, about nine A.M. a hurricane came on in Jamaica: it continued till half after twelve at noon. The houses at Kingston, Spanish Town, and Port Royal, suffered very much; many were thrown down. The east end and middle of the island suffered most: the hurricane hardly touched the west side. In the harbours of Kingston, Port Morant, Port Royal, and St. Anne's, above fifty vessels were destroyed: with the crews of these vessels Admiral Hosier remanned his ships.

From the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, to 1726, the Spaniards captured or plundered forty-seven English vessels in the West Indies, valued at £141,000.

The Sovereign Council of Martinique issued an arrêt on the subject of slaves seized, épaves, or criminals.

"Art. 1. Inhabitants are allowed to send their slaves to prison, accused or suspected of crimes.

"2. The master of slaves to give in, twenty-four hours after their imprisonment, a charge against them.

"3. If the masters do not give in the charge or complain within the twenty-four hours, they are to support the expenses of jail and feeding, from the day of the slaves' confinement to the day of the presentation of the requête.

"4. In the event of the slaves being condemned and punished for the crime, the masters are bound to release them on the day following the execution of the sentence, in the same manner as if the slaves were acquitted, under pain of paying for the feeding

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, Feb. 1727, pp. 132. 203.—April 1727, p. 331. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 360. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 293. Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 43.

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and jail fees of the slaves during the time they were left in prison, counting from the day after the execution of the judgment which acquits them, except in cases of torture, when slaves who have suffered can be kept in prison nine days at the King's expense.

" 5. The substitutes of the procureur-general are to employ themselves immediately, and without delay, in the criminal procedures against the slaves, prisoners.

" 6. Slaves épaves, (*i. e.* unclaimed) to be also confined in prison, in charge of the jailor. Jailors to keep a register, signed in the margin by the substitute of the procureur-general, of each Negro imprisoned, and within twenty-four hours after their imprisonment, under a penalty.

" 7. Slaves épaves, to be sold every three months, viz.: in the months of January, April, July, and October, at the diligence of the substitute of the procureur-general; the said slaves to be publicly cried three Sundays successively, at the door of the court-house in each jurisdiction, and on each of those days to be exposed to be recognised by their masters.

" 8. Masters permitted to go to prison, to recognise their slaves, and to release them.

" 9. Masters on releasing their slaves, to pay all expenses of imprisonment, feeding, &c.

" 10. After the expiration of three months, these slaves to be sold by the judge of the district, to the highest bidder, and after the sale of such slaves, they cannot be reclaimed by their masters. The purchase-money, if claimed by the master within twelve months after sale, will be paid to him, on proving the slaves sold to be his property.

The French colonists in St. Domingo amounted to 30,000 free persons, and 100,000 slaves or Mulattoes.

There were 200 sugar-works in the French part of St. Domingo this year, which were computed to yield, on an average, 400hhds. each, each hogshead weighing 5 cwt., and worth, upon the spot, from twelve to thirteen livres per hundred weight; and it produced indigo to half the value of the sugar.

1727.

" These are to certify whom it may concern, that we, whose names are underwritten, being at sea, in and belonging to the ship called the Luxborough, William Kellaway, commander, bound from Jamaica to London, in the lat. of 41° 45', and longitude from Crooked Island, by account, 30° 30' E. on the

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, Sept. 1727, p. 293.
Charlevoix, tom. iv. p. 341. Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 343.

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25th day of June, 1727, took fire in the lazaretto, which, in half an hour's time, notwithstanding all the diligent endeavours of men, under such unhappy circumstances, without hopes of saving any of our lives, could use, increased to that dreadful degree, that we had not the least hope of quenching it. We then endeavoured to get our boats; but too late, save only the yawl, into which the captain and twenty-one more got, and put off, leaving the rest, fourteen in number, in the ship: we lay in sight of her till we saw her masts burnt and fall overboard, and her hull all in flames, until she blew up and disappeared. We had not one drop of water or morsel of victuals, no compass, mast, or sails, and but three oars; therefore could not expect long to survive our ship-mates. But it pleased the Almighty God, of his great mercy, on the 7th of July, to bring us, whose names are underwritten, and our captain (who died next morning), in safety into Great St. Lawrence Harbour, in Newfoundland — where we do make oath, upon the Holy Evangelists, that the above written is the truth, and nothing but the truth. In witness whereof, we hereunto set our hands, in the presence of Captain Edward Le Crass, admiral of the harbour, Captain Thomas Vescome, and Captain Thomas Snow."

William Boys,	William Gibbs,
Thomas Schrimshaw,	George Moulder,
William Ballen,	Robert Kellaway.

Captain St. Loo says, "these poor wretches, having a continual fog, and with their shirts patched up a sail, and so steering away before the wind, on the seventh instant, providentially reached the harbour of St. Lawrence: they were twelve days under these miserable circumstances. The master died a few hours after he got ashore, and out of twenty-two here are only six now surviving. I have strictly examined how it was possible they could support themselves. They told me they were obliged to suck the blood and eat the flesh of the dead carcases, which were fifteen in number; but the blood was their chief support: and if it had not been for a little rain, which they saved in their hats the day before they made the land, they had certainly perished: and as they approached the land, they had a thick fog, and on a sudden they found themselves in the above-said harbour. I have put them ashore for their recovery, till they are capable of proceeding home."

Dated on board his Majesty's ship Ludlow Castle, the 24th of July, 1727.

John St. Lo.

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, Sept. 1727, p. 293.

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In January, Brigadier Hunter, formerly governor of New York, arrived as governor at Jamaica, in the room of his Grace the late Duke of Portland.

John Pitt, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governor and commander of the Bermuda islands, in the room of John Hope, Esq.

The King of Spain again ordered the effects of the South Sea Company to be seized: the seizure amounted to £900,000 sterling, but the Company suffered more, on account of bad debts, and not selling their Negroes, than they had done by the seizure in 1718.

In July, an act of parliament was passed, to enable King George the Second to be governor of the South Sea Company.

Thomas Paget, Esq. was in July appointed governor of Barbadoes, in the room of Henry Worsley, Esq.

The French took twelve British ships near the island of St. Lucia, on the pretext of their carrying on a contraband trade with Martinico; and seven English merchant vessels were taken at the "uninhabited island of Santa Cruz," and carried into St. Domingo, in Española.

The Assembly at Antigua returned their thanks to Captain Arthur Delgarno, of his Majesty's ship South Sea Castle, for his zeal in protecting their trade: "our most sincere thanks," they added, "for the great benefit you have done us, in making the wharf and platform at English harbour, a place by nature fitted, and by a law of our country appropriated, for the reception of his Majesty's ships of war, and by you, sir, rendered more safe and commodious for that purpose."

Two hundred guineas were also voted to Captain Delgarno for the purchase of a sword.

February the 22d, the Conde de las Torres not desisting from working in the trenches he had opened for attacking Gibraltar, Governor Jasper Clayton, about four P.M., fired one cannon-shot over their battery, as a signal for them to leave off working. After waiting one hour, that the Conde de las Torres might have sufficient notice, as the enemy continued to work, the garrison opened their fire upon them, and commenced hostilities.

The population returns for the Bermudas state it at 5070 Whites, and 3877 slaves.

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, Jan. 1727. — Oct. p. 406. July, 1727, p. 91. — 1727, p. 205. — Sept. 1727, p. 288. — vol. xxxv. p. 296. Gentleman's Magazine, March, 1739, p. 134. Beatson's Memoirs, 1728, vol. i. p. 7. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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" Preliminary Articles of Peace, signed at Paris, May 31st, 1727, between His Sacred Imperial Royal Catholic Majesty, His Sacred Britannic Majesty, His Sacred Most Christian Majesty, and the High and Mighty Lords States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

" Art. 1. His Sacred Imperial Royal Catholic Majesty, having observed the Ostend commerce has raised jealousy and even disquiet among some neighbouring powers, does, for the sake of the public tranquillity of Europe, consent, that the privilege (commonly called the Octroy) granted to the Ostend Company, and all commerce from the Austrian Netherlands to the Indies, be suspended for the space of seven years.

" 2. The rights, or those things which, by virtue of the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and Quadruple Alliance, and also of those treaties and conventions that preceded the year 1725, and do not affect the Emperor and the States-General of the United Netherlands, have been possessed by any of the contracting powers, shall remain untouched; but if any thing should be found to have been altered therein, or not to have been put in execution, the alteration made, or the thing not executed, shall, in the congress to be held, be discussed and decided, according to the tenor of the said treaties and conventions.

" 3. Consequently, all the privileges of commerce which the English and French nations, and the subjects of the States-General of the United Netherlands have heretofore, by virtue of the treaties, enjoyed, as well in Europe and in Spain as in the Indies, shall be restored to that usage and regulation which are according to what was stipulated with each of them by treaties antecedent to the year 1715.

" 5. Immediately after the signing of the present articles, all hostilities whatsoever, if any have happened to be begun, shall cease, and with respect to Spain, within eight days after His Catholic Majesty shall have received these signed articles. Those ships which, before the said cessation, shall have sailed from Ostend for the Indies, and whose names shall be declared in a certain list to be made in the name of His Imperial Royal Catholic Majesty, shall be allowed to return freely and safely from the Indies to Ostend; and if any ships should chance to have been taken, they shall faithfully be restored, with the goods and merchandize laden in them; the like safe return shall be granted to those larger ships of burden (commonly called galleons) — in this firm trust, that the Catholic King, with respect to the lading or things and merchandize contained, as well in the larger as lesser Spanish fleet (termed the galleons and

Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxv. p. 226.

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flotilla), will act in the very same manner that he has always heretofore used in times of greater freedom: the consequence of which is, that the English fleet shall not only depart, as soon as may be, from Portobello, and all ports in America belonging to the King of Spain, but Hosier, the commander of that fleet, shall return with it to Europe, by which the subjects of His Catholic Majesty in the Indies may be freed from all further molestation or uneasiness. Commerce shall be exercised in America by the English, as heretofore, according to treaties. In like manner, the English, French, or Dutch fleets, which may happen to have their station on the Spanish coasts, or on those belonging to the Emperor, shall, with all the expedition that may be, immediately, from the time the said cessation shall begin, retire from thence, to the end the inhabitants of those coasts and slaves may be safe and free from all disquiet and fear; and it shall not be lawful for the said ships to attempt any thing, directly or indirectly, against the foresaid ports.

"6. This cessation of hostilities shall last as long as the suspension of the privilege granted to the Ostend Company; that is to say, for seven years — that in that space of time the rights and reciprocal pretensions may be conveniently conciliated, and a general pacification thereby the more firmly established.

"7. If, after signing these preliminaries, any disturbances should happen to be raised under any pretext whatever, or acts of hostility committed between the subjects of the contracting powers, either in Europe or in the Indies, they shall by joint assistance repair the damages sustained by their respective subjects."

1728.

In 1728, some Biscayan merchants made a proposition to the King of Spain, that they would, at their own expence, destroy the contraband trade of foreigners with the province of Venezuela, on condition that they should be permitted to supply the country, and export its produce to the metropolis. The royal grant permitted that the province of Guipuscoa should form a company, and send annually to Venezuela two vessels of forty or fifty guns with the productions of Spain, which should discharge at Guayra, and then cruize from the Orinoco to the Rio de la Hache, to seize all vessels engaged in the contraband trade. For these purposes his Majesty gave them letters patent.

Depon's South America, vol. ii. p. 11.
Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxvi. p. 183.

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Upon the 21st of June, the principal merchants of Kingston, Jamaica, petitioned Commodore St. Loe to send some of the vessels under his command to protect their coasts from the insupportable insults of those "inhuman villains, the piratical" Spaniards.

The government of Jamaica agreed to pay the crown the fixed annual revenue of £8000, without having any regard to the quantity of produce either raised or exported. The quit-rents of the whole island, which at that time were estimated at nearly £1500 per annum, were to be considered as part of the £8000.

Import duties were laid upon various articles by the Assembly of Jamaica, "besides a duty of one pound weight of gunpowder per ton on all vessels arriving from parts beyond the tropic of Cancer, or an equivalent in money, valued at one shilling and sixpence per pound weight."

Several vessels bound from America to Jamaica were taken by the Spaniards near Cuba, and the crews turned adrift in open boats.

October the 14th, Captain Miles, of the sloop Mary, from New London to Nevis, with two sailors and three passengers, in latitude 21°, was taken off the bottom of that vessel by another sloop, after having been seventeen days in that situation: six others were drowned. The fore-part of the sloop, being laden with lumber, floated: the men lived upon raw Indian corn, which was part of the cargo.

"Upon a parliamentary enquiry into the state of trade in Africa, in the year 1728, it appeared to the house, that in three years the number of Negroes imported at Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Antigua amounted to 42,000, besides what were carried to St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat."

Act for the Execution of the Preliminary Articles.

Pardo, near Madrid, 6th March, 1728.

The following are those parts which relate to the West Indies:

"Whereas, since the signing of the preliminaries, certain difficulties have arisen between the contracting parties, in relation to the restitution of prizes that have been taken on either side, and namely, that of the Prince Frederick and its cargo, belonging to the South Sea Company, seized and detained by the Spaniards at La Vera Cruz, which difficulties have delayed the execution of the preliminaries, the exchanging the ratification with Spain, and the opening the congress — His Britannic Majesty, to

Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 288. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 61.
Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, vol. xxxv. p. 234.—vol. xxxvi. pp. 587, 588.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 256.

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facilitate matters as much as lies in his power, and to remove all obstacles that obstruct a general pacification, has declared and given his royal word to the Most Christian King, that he will without delay send orders to his admirals, Wager and Hosier, or the chief commander in his stead, to withdraw from the seas of the Indies and of Spain, and that he consents that the contraband trade, and other causes of complaint, which the Spaniards may have in relation to the ship Prince Frederick, shall be discussed and decided in the congress; that all the respective pretensions, on each side, shall be produced, debated, and decided in the same congress; that therein shall likewise be discussed and decided whether the prizes taken at sea, on each side, shall be restored; and that His Britannic Majesty will abide by what shall, on all this, be regulated.

"On my part I promise, in the name of the King my master, by virtue of the orders and full powers which I have received for that purpose, that this discussion to be made at the congress shall be faithfully executed; that the exchange of the ratifications shall be performed without delay; and that the congress shall meet infallibly, and the soonest that shall be possible, according to what shall be agreed by the ministers of the contracting parties who shall happen to be at Paris, provided His Catholic Majesty will give his royal word,

"1. To raise the blockade of Gibraltar, &c.

"2. To send, without delay, his order, clear and express, for delivering up forthwith the ship Prince Frederick and her cargo to the agents of the South Sea Company who are at La Vera Cruz, that when they think fit they may send her to Europe, and to restore the commerce of the English nation in the Indies, according to what is stipulated by the Assiento treaty, and agreed by the 2d and 3d articles of the preliminaries.

"3. To cause the effects of the flotilla to be immediately delivered to those to whom they belong, and those of the galleons, when they return, as in time of freedom and of full peace, according to the 5th article of the preliminaries.

"4. That His Catholic Majesty does engage, in the same manner as his Britanic Majesty has engaged above, to abide by all that shall be regulated by the abovesaid discussion and decision of the congress.

"Given at the Pardo, March 4th, N.S. 1728.

"ROTHEMBOURG."

The preliminaries of peace between England and Spain were signed at Madrid, on the 24th of February.

Tindal's History of England, vol. iv. book 27. p. 711.
Gentleman's Magazine, March, 1739, p. 134.

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The King of Spain ordered the South Sea Company's effects to be restored, but what was restored did not amount to £190,000 sterling. The produce was sent to Spain by one of the King's ships, in indigo, pieces of eight, and cochineal: at Cadiz, the indigo and pieces of eight were delivered to the Company's agents, but the Spaniards kept the cochineal, so that the Company did not recover above £150,000, and were greater losers by this than by the first seizure.

By the death of Admiral Hosier, the command of the fleet in the West Indies devolved on Captain Edward St. Loe, but Vice-Admiral Hopson arrived and took the command: he died of a fever off the Grand Baru, on the coast of New Spain, on the 8th of May, and the command once more devolved on Captain St. Loe, who soon after receiving an authentic account of Spain's accession to the preliminary articles of peace, returned to Jamaica. Two admirals, ten captains, fifty lieutenants, and about 4000 inferior officers and seamen, perished by the climate; for the fleet remained rotting at anchor

On the 3d of April, the Assembly of Jamaica addressed his Majesty, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne, and thank him for having appointed Major-General Hunter to be their governor.

The Assembly at Jamaica refused to settle upon the governor the additional £2500 a year, which was settled upon the Duke of Portland, but voted him a present of £6000.

The commodore at Jamaica sent the Mary galley to St. Jago, to demand some vessels from London, which had been taken by the Spanish privateers. The Spanish governor returned an insolent answer.

July the 25th, the General Assembly of Barbadoes sent an address to Henry Worsley, Esq. the governor, in which they stated, that if they had not been obstructed by long adjournments and prorogations, they would cheerfully have dispatched the public business. They complain of the ruinous condition of the forts, batteries, and fortifications, and say that they cannot support the load of any new impositions, the annual excise excepted; and therefore they beg, that the governor will, out of the tax paid for his use, into his coffers, apply a part thereof to repair the forts, &c.; or else "they must, for some time at least, remain in the wretched condition they are now in."

August the 19th, Lord Londonderry, the governor of the Leeward Islands, landed at Antigua: he was detained on board in the road twenty-four hours, by a hurricane which did considerable damage on shore.

Beatson's Memoirs, 1728, vol. i. p. 7.
Boyer's Pol. State of Great Britain, vol. xxxv. p. 184.; vol. xxxvi. pp. 83. 310. 312, 386.

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An act was passed for settling on the Earl of Londonderry, during his government, three shillings and sixpence per ton, according to the register of the vessel, clearing with the produce of that island, to be paid by the treasurer, and a present of £2000, as the crop for the year was over.

In September, Dr. Berkeley, at that time Dean of Derry, sailed for the West Indies: he had the King's patent to erect a college at Bermuda, and carried with him 20,000 books.

The dean had a grant of £2000 on St. Christopher's, payable in two years time; and a year and half was allowed him to consider whether he would "stick to his college in Bermudas, or return to his deanery of Derry."

Woodes Rogers, Esq. was appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, ("particularly of the island of Providence"); as also captain of the Independent Company there, in the room of George Phenny, Esq.

The Campbell, Goodwin, of Bristol, from Barbadoes to St. Kitt's, was plundered and detained two days by a French pirate, half of whose crew were Irish and Scotch. On the 1st of September, the Campbell arrived at St. Kitt's; and on the 10th, she was driven on Nevis Point, and wrecked in a tornado.

Captain Warren, in his Majesty's ship Solebay, anchored, July the 3d, at La Vera Cruz; from thence he sent the King of Spain's orders to the viceroy of Mexico: in consequence of which, upon the 20th of July, the Prince Frederick and two of the Company's snows were delivered to the agents there.

The Beaver, Captain Matthew Smith, from New York to Curaçao, with flour, was taken, on the 20th of August, by a Spanish privateer, thirty leagues from that island. The captain and seven men were stripped and turned adrift in an open boat, in which they got to Curaçao.

Francisco de la Roche Ferrar, governor of St. Domingo, in Española, wrote to Commodore St. Loe, August the 28th, promising that the ship Dolphin, Captain Jasper Morris, should be restored, if it appeared that she was not a legal prize; and that, as soon as ever he could make out that the cruizers had behaved ill, he would punish them in an exemplary manner.

1729.

Rear-Admiral St. Loe commanded the fleet in the West Indies; but dying after a long illness, was succeeded in the

Boyer's Pol. State of Great Britain, vol. xxxvi. pp. 313. 394. 422. 481. 486. 488. 490.
Beatson's Memoirs, 1729, vol. i. p. 12.

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command by Captain William Smith, who was superseded by the Honourable Charles Stewart, rear-admiral of the blue.

The returns of the population, in the following islands, given this year, are —

	Whites.	Negroes.
St. Kitts - -	3677	14,663
Nevis - - -	1296	5646
Antigua - -	4088	22,611
Montserrat - -	1545	5616

1730.

The legislature of Bermuda passed an act which gives impunity to the murderers of slaves in the following words: —

"Be it enacted, that if any person or persons whatsoever within these islands, being owner or possessor of any Negroes, Indians, Mulattoes, or other slaves, shall, in the deserved correction or punishment of his, her, or their slave or slaves, for crimes or offences by them committed, or supposed to be committed, accidentally happen to kill any such slave or slaves, that then the aforesaid owner or possessor shall not be liable to any imprisonment, arraignment, or prosecution, nor indictment, nor subject to any penalty or forfeiture whatsoever.

"Provided always, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons whatsoever as aforesaid, shall *maliciously and wilfully kill or destroy*, or any manner of ways cause or procure to be killed or destroyed, any slave or slaves whatsoever, whereof he, she, or they, or any of them, are owners, that then, and in every such case, the aforesaid person and persons, and each and every of them, shall forfeit and pay unto our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, the full sum of *ten pounds current money*, to be employed for and towards the support of the government of these islands, and the contingent charges thereof."

The act goes on to say, that if the wilful murderer be not the owner, he shall pay ten pounds to the King, and the value of the slave to his owner: such value to be estimated, upon oath, by three freeholders.

In the preamble of this act, it is stated, that slaves "being, for the brutishness of their nature, no otherwise valued or esteemed among us than as our goods and chattels, therefore our prudent neighbours in America, as Barbadoes, &c. have

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15. Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 279.

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thought fit to make laws to prevent the penalty and forfeiture in case of killing a Negro."

Governor Hunter returned the population of Jamaica at 7648 Whites, 865 free Negroes, and 74,525 slaves.

The charter of the Dutch West India Company was renewed, and the African slave trade made free, on condition of a certain lastage being paid to the Company.

The ringleaders of the Bush Negroes, in the neighbourhood of Surinam, were taken and executed with horrible cruelty — even women were tortured to death!

A series of retaliations ensued: white planters were in their turns hooked on trees, or roasted alive. The whole property in the colony became insecure, and consequently of little value.

The session-house and prison at Barbadoes, were finished this year: they cost upwards of £5000, which was raised by a tax on the inhabitants.

It was stated in evidence before the House of Commons, that Barbadoes exported 22,769 hogsheads of sugar to Great Britain this year, and that they were valued at £340,396.

Instructions to the Governor of Barbadoes, relative to the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica.

"George R.—Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the French for some years have claimed the island of St. Lucia, and do insist that the right to the islands of St. Vincent and St. Dominica, under your government, is in the Caribbeans now inhabiting the same, although we have an undoubted right to all the said islands; yet we have thought fit to agree with the French court, that until our right be determined, the said islands shall be entirely evacuated by both nations. It is therefore our will and pleasure, and you are accordingly to signify the same to such of our subjects as shall be found inhabiting any of our said islands, that they do forthwith quit the same, until the right shall be determined as aforesaid: and that they do comply with this our order, within thirty days from the publication hereof in each of the said islands respectively, under pain of our highest displeasure; and you are to use your best endeavours, that no ships of our subjects, or of any other nation, do frequent the said islands during the time aforesaid, except coming for wood and water. But it is our will and pleasure, that you do not execute this our order until the French governor of Martinico shall have received the like direction from the French court, and

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 341.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 344. Edwards, vol. i. p. 385.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 270. 319.

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shall jointly with you put the same in execution, without any exception. And you are hereby further ordered to transmit to us, by the first opportunity, a full account of your proceedings, as likewise of those of the French in this behalf; taking care, by all opportunities, to inform ourself whether our subjects and those of the French King do comply punctually with the true intent and meaning of this agreement, until such time as the right to the said islands shall be absolutely determined as aforesaid. And for your so doing, this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our Court at St. James's, the 30th day of November, in the fourth year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command, "HOLLES NEWCASTLE."

The French King's Mandate to the Governor of Martinico, dated December the 26th, 1730.

"MONSIEUR DE CHAMPIGNY—The English have for some time past laid pretensions to the island of St. Lucia, which belongs to me, and to which I have an incontestable right. The same pretensions they have laid to the islands of St. Vincent and St. Dominico, said to belong to the Caribbeans, natives of the country, according to the treaty of the 31st of March, 1660, and in the possession of which it is my intention to support them. I have nevertheless agreed with the court of England, that until these pretensions shall be determined, the said islands shall be evacuated by both nations. And this is to acquaint you, that it is my pleasure that you make it known," &c.

The French King, by a declaration, exempted Negroes upon plantations from liability to seizure for payment of the capitation tax.

1731.

The West India merchants brought a bill into the House of Commons, to prohibit the exportation of horses, provisions, and lumber from the northern colonies on the continent of America, to the French and Dutch plantations, and to prohibit the said northern colonies from importing all foreign sugar, rum, and molasses.

Parliament, after examining witnesses, enacted, "That after the 25th of December, 1738, there should be paid a duty of ninepence a gallon for all rum and spirits made in the plantations not subject to Great Britain, on the importation of them into any of

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 269. 273. 920.

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the British plantations; that sixpence a gallon should be paid for all foreign molasses and syrups imported, and five shillings for every hundredweight of sugar and paneles imported; and that no sugar, paneles, syrups, or molasses should be imported into Ireland, unless shipped in Great Britain." An addition of two shillings per hundredweight was granted to the allowance made on the exportation of refined sugar.

A French man-of-war took at St. Lucia nine or ten British vessels, on pretence of that island belonging to the crown of France.

The General Assembly at Barbadoes sent an address to his Majesty, complaining that the public good had been neglected, the fortifications gone to ruin, the public stores embezzled, and all the officers busied in nothing but how to raise their fortunes on the ruins of the people.

Water was so scarce at Antigua in March, that a pail of cistern water was sold for three shillings.

Admiral Stewart, at Jamaica, having received orders to cruize upon the Spaniards, as well merchant ships as guarda costas, the merchants residing there petitioned him to suspend the execution of that part of his order which related to the taking of Spanish merchant ships.

The Rebecca, Captain Jenkins, was taken in her passage from Jamaica by a Spanish guarda costa, who put her people to the torture, part of which was, that they hung up the captain three times, once with the cabin-boy at his feet; they then cut off one of his ears, took away his candles and instruments, and detained him a whole day. Being then dismissed, the captain bore away from the Havannah, which the Spaniards perceiving, stood after her, and declared that if she did not immediately go for the gulf they would set the ship on fire — to which they were forced to submit, and after many hardships and perils, arrived in the Thames upon the 11th of June.

Upon the 27th of April, the Bacchus, Captain Stevens, was attacked by a Spanish guarda costa, between the Havannah and the gulf, which fired a gun at her, and she returned; upon which the Spaniard hoisted a flag with a death's head — then the Bacchus struck. They plundered the ship, and stript the Captain and people of their clothes, &c. and threatened them with immediate death, if they did not discover their money, and "had ropes reeved at the yard arm ready." The Runlet sloop, Captain Brin, was taken at the same time: they treated her men barbarously, torturing their fingers with gun-lock screws and lighted matches, to extort a confession where their money lay, then stripped them

Gentleman's Magazine, May 1731, p. 218. — June 1731, p. 265.

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of their clothes, and plundered the ship. These Spaniards said, that the day before they had taken a sloop called the Humber, Captain Rogers: they left one of their men on board the sloop drunk, and gave Captain Rogers orders to keep them company that night; but a gale springing up, the Humber sheered off.

In April, his Majesty's ship Adventure, Captain Lord Muskerry, arrived in England from Jamaica, with 220,000 pieces of eight, saved out of a Spanish ship of war, which had been wrecked the preceding autumn on the shoals of Ponto Pedro, near that island.

In December, a small vessel belonging to Teneriffe, with six men, was driven by stress of weather to Trinidad: she was laden with wine, and bound to one of the other Canary Islands, and had only a few days' provisions on board, which were all expended: so that the crew lived entirely on wine: they were reduced to the last extremity, when they discovered Trinidad.

The Mary, Captain Kenson, of Liverpool, bound to Jamaica, was taken by the Spaniards, who stript the men, and put them into their boat, with very little provisions.

The Bridget and Kitty, Captain Minshall, of Liverpool, was lost in the windward passage from Jamaica. Most of her men perished; the rest got to St. Christopher's.

The Queen of Angels, a French ship, had been engaged on the coast of St. Domingo by two Spanish privateers. The captain and most of her crew were killed in the action, and the ship carried to Cuba, with an English vessel, richly laden, which they had lately taken.

Several masters and sailors of Bristol merchant ships, that were taken by Spanish guarda costas, appeared before parliament to give an account of the cruel treatment they met with from the Spaniards.

In Portugal, it was asserted that there had been lately discovered in the West Indies a gang of coiners, who had counterfeited the money of that country to the amount of eight or ten millions: among them were several Jesuits.[1]

The trade to Jamaica employed 12,000 tons of English shipping.

Beatson's Memoirs, 1731, vol. i. p. 15. Edwards, vol. i. p. 139, quoting Gurnill. Gent. Mag. 1731, No. 1. p. 32.—No. 2. pp. 82. 86. 121.—Nov. 1731, pp. 504. 532. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 379.

[1] In a pamphlet, published in Ireland, it is said that there was an insurrection among the Moorish slaves in Barbadoes. The planters considered they should be losers by their deaths, therefore punished them with castration, and have not had a rebellion since. No date or authority is given for this story.

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The number of inhabitants upon the Bahamas, according to the "lists transmitted in," were Whites, 935; slaves, 453.

On Thursday, June 24th, the ship Dolphin, Thomas Gibson, master, bound to Montserrat, was upset in a squall: one of the men was drowned; the rest of the crew got upon the side of the vessel. They had neither water or bread; but a Negro diving, found an adze and a hand-saw—with these they cut away the rigging, and the ship righted, but was full of water, and their cask water spoiled. Upon the 14th day after she had overset, they caught a shark, drank the blood of it, and eat the flesh. They had nothing to drink but what rain they could catch. Three of the crew and the Negro died for want of water. Upon the 15th of July, Thomas Gibson, the master, and Richard Banks, were taken up by a French ship. Gibson was so weak that he could not stand. They arrived at Havre de Grace in seven weeks, and from thence Captain Humphreys brought them to London.

The John and Jane, Captain Birt, was taken upon the 24th of March, off Glover's Reef, near the Bay of Honduras, by a Spanish sloop, after an obstinate fight. They carried the ship to Campeachy, confiscated her, imprisoned the men, and used them cruelly.

The magazine upon Brimstone Hill, St. Christopher's, of 150 barrels of gunpowder, was fired by lightning, and blew up: "about twenty-seven years before, the same accident happened there by the same cause."

In consequence of representations made by the English government to the court of Spain, they pretended to put a stop to the depredations they had so long practised in the West Indies. An order was sent to Rear-Admiral Stewart at Jamaica, who was to communicate it to the Spanish governors in America; but it was so worded, that the British merchants could derive no benefit from it: as all who carried on an illicit traffic with the subjects of the King of Spain were excluded from its protection.

1732.

The owners of the Anne galley, taken June 13th, 1728, by a Spanish guarda costa, which carried her into St. Jago de Cuba, received from the Duke of Newcastle the duplicate of an order, signed by his Catholic Majesty, for the immediate restitution of

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Gentleman's Magazine, Sept. 1731, p. 406.—Oct. pp. 451. 498.—Jan. 1732, p. 583.
Beatson's Memoirs, 1731, vol. i. p. 15.

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the ship and cargo, and satisfaction for the trouble and expence occasioned by the said seizure; or, in lieu thereof, £10,500, on condition, however, that she carried on no contraband trade.

Bull-baiting appears, by the following circumstance, to have been a West India amusement:—

Mr. How, master of the ship Lady Amelia, was killed at Jamaica by a bull he was baiting: one of the dogs being hurt, fastened on the calf of his leg, which as he was freeing himself from, the bull ran at him and ript him open, he died instantly.

Mr. Jeremy Woodyer embarked on board his Majesty's ship Tyger in June, in order to proceed to the West Indies to find out the longitude, "being furnished with necessaries by the lords of the admiralty." Mr. Woodyer had invented a machine by which he proposed to shew the longitude when the latitude was found by observation, and to shew the latitude without an observation.

Upon the 10th of January, 1732, the King of Spain sent orders to his governors in the West Indies, not to suffer any of his subjects to molest or abuse the English, or any of their ships that shall sail in those parts, as long as they keep at their *proper distances*, and are not concerned in any illicit trade. These orders induced their cruizers to search English ships wherever they could meet with them.

In February, a declaration between Great Britain and Spain, in the form of a treaty, was issued, in which the English forbade their ships of war "to convoy or protect, under any pretence whatsoever, ships carrying on an unlawful trade upon the *coasts* of the states belonging to his Catholic Majesty." Here the word *coasts* is substituted in room of *ports and havens*, as it stood in the American treaty.

The Moravian brethren, with "an ardent desire for the salvation of their fellow-men, by making known to them the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ," sent missionaries into the three Danish West India Islands, to Jamaica, and to Antigua.

Rear-Admiral Stewart, commander-in-chief at Jamaica, demanded of the governors of Campeachy and the Havanah, the restitution of three ships taken and plundered by the Spanish guarda costas; and, at the application of the South Sea factors, a guarda costa, belonging to one Henriquez, was condemned and sold at St. Jago de Cuba, and the money paid to the said factors, towards making good their losses. One of the Spanish governors was sent home for misconduct, and another confined in the castle of Cuba.

Gent. Magazine, 1732, pp. 353. 721. 825.—July 1732, p. 879.—Nov. 1737, p. 686. Dr. Coke's History of the West Indies, vol. i. p. 208. 407.; vol. ii. p. 422.

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Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, and superseded Commodore Lestock.

A register ship, taken as a reprisal for the Spaniards' confiscating the ship Woolball, was set at liberty, which, it was hoped, would produce a suitable return from the Spaniards.

An English sloop was attacked near Cuba by a Spanish sloop, fought her four hours, killed eighteen of her men, and wounded twenty-seven, and drove the vessel into shoal water. The English vessel had only thirty men on board, the Spaniard had seventy.

The imports from Jamaica into Great Britain, "at a medium of four years," were £539,499 18s. 3½d.

1733.

Forty thousand pounds, out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, were voted to King George the Second, as a marriage portion for his daughter.

The cacao was first cultivated in Cayenne this year.

Lord Viscount Howe arrived at Barbadoes as governor of the island; the Assembly immediately settled £4000 per annum upon him: he recommended the state of the fortifications to their utmost attention.

The French government sold the island of Santa Cruz to the Danes for £75,000.

Two Spanish line-of-battle ships attacked an English convoy near Tortuga: they were laden with salt, and under the protection of the Scarborough of twenty guns, Captain Durell. Thirty-two sail of the convoy escaped, and four were taken.

The runaway Negroes in Jamaica retook their town in the mountains, which had been forced from them.

The French King published an arrêt, prohibiting masters to suffer their slaves to go astray, or to keep private houses, under pain of confiscation of the slaves, and the effects found in their possession.

And also, an ordinance of the intendant was this year issued, prohibiting jailors from discharging slaves confined in jail, as runaways, without an order in writing from the procureur du Roi.

Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1732, p. 1081.—1733, p. 237.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 379. Smollet's History of England, vol. x. p. 409.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 317.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 118.; vol. iii. p. 163. 329.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," p. 44.

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1734.

There were 500 white inhabitants upon New Providence this year.

The population of Jamaica was estimated at 7644 Whites, and 86,546 Negroes: the decrease of white inhabitants was attributed to the decline of the privateering trade.

The island of Barbadoes suffered severely from want of rain. In a charity sermon preached at Bridgetown in May, by order of the governor, the clergyman states, that in the parish of St. Philip's he beheld all the signs of an approaching famine: "the face of the earth appeared, as it were, a dry crust, burnt up and gaping." It was much the same in Christ Church parish —several of the inhabitants perished from famine.

Atkins says, "the consequence of this distress now among the Barbadians, is shifting their old habitations: several, impelled by necessity and wants (stronger motives than religion), are stealing away, to mend it where they can." He also says, "the Dutch have Curasao, *Oruba*, and *Bonaire*."

"In 1734, the Guipuscoa Company obtained a grant from the King of Spain, to send as many vessels as it pleased. The Company was expressly bound to supply not only the province of Venezuela, but Cumana, Margarita, and Trinidad. And any person might be concerned in this commerce, "without derogation to his nobility, and without loss of honour, estate, or reputation."

The number of inhabitants upon the Bahamas, according to the "lists transmitted in," were Whites, 810; free Negroes, 77; Slaves, 488.

There were not any free Negroes upon the islands, according to the returns in 1731.

An imperfect account was transmitted of the population in the following islands, which stands thus:—

	Whites.	Negroes.
Antigua - -	3772	24,408
Montserrat - -	——	6176
Nevis - - -	——	6330
St. Kitts - -	3881	17,335

"The governor represented, that the Leeward Islands, Virgin

Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 373. Edwards, vol. i. p. 301.
Atkins's Voyage to the West Indies, Lond. 1735, pp. 212. 222.
Depon's South America, vol. ii. p. 12.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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Islands, and even Barbadoes, suffered in their population, by emigration to the Dutch and Danish Isles."

The rebellious Negroes near Port Antonio, in Jamaica, with augmented numbers, destroyed several plantations and estates in that neighbourhood. It was supposed that they were supplied with arms and ammunition from Cuba.

The chief station of the Negroes was on an eminence to which there is only a narrow pass, and that secured and made stronger with redoubts. They had lately cut off 150 white men. The Jews are also accused of supplying them with gunpowder.

In Jamaica, Captain Stoddart, who commanded one of the detachments employed against the Negroes in the interior, surprised their town "Nanny," near Carrion Crow Ridge, one of the highest mountains in the island; he gained an eminence commanding their huts, placed his portable swivels, and opened his fire upon them, while the Negroes were asleep. Many were slain in the huts — some threw themselves headlong down precipices — and some were taken. The whole were destroyed or routed.

Another party of Blacks attacked the barracks at Bagnal's Thicket, whilst the officers were at dinner, and spread great alarm in Spanish Town. Every barrack was furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the churchwardens of the respective parishes.

A hurricane at Jamaica did great damage on that island and to the shipping.

The Negroes at St. John's rose upon their masters and massacred all the Whites upon the island. The militia from St. Thomas's retook the fort and drove the Negroes into the woods.

The general and intendant of St. Lucia issued the following ordinance the 7th of January, 1734: —

"Art. 1. Masters sending their slaves from their estates with coffee, to give a note signed by them, specifying the quantity delivered.

"2. Negroes found with coffee, without a billet from their masters, to be imprisoned, and the coffee confiscated.

"3. Prohibiting planters, under any pretext, from selling coffee by their slaves.

"4. Forbidding slaves from selling coffee, even by order of their masters, under pain of being flogged, and the coffee confiscated.

"5. Forbidding persons of all descriptions from buying coffee of slaves, even should they have their masters' permission.

"6. Ordering all public officers to cause to be arrested all

Gent. Mag. May 1734, p. 277. — Sept. p. 510. — Nov. p. 626. — Jan. p. 48. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. pp. 340. 343. Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 45.

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Negroes who shall be found with coffee in their possession, and conducted to prison.

"Mem. By an ordinance of the above officers, dated 15th April, 1735, the dispositions of this ordinance were extended to the sale of cotton by Negroes."

1735.

The Spanish Company of Cuba was formed and endowed with exclusive privileges; but although it had factors at Cadiz, it belonged to Cuba. Their capital was about £200,000 sterling.

The Danish government granted to a company the full property and sovereignty of their three islands in the West Indies.

The Assembly of Jamaica enacted, that slaves may sell all manner of provisions, and small stock of all kinds, with a ticket from their employer. Also, that no slave was to be dismembered at the will and pleasure of his owner, master, or employer, under penalty of £100 payable to the informer.

By sect. 10. act 103., slaves were to be sold singly, except in cases of families, when a man and his wife, his, her, or their children, were not to be sold singly. No penalty is annexed to breaking this law.

By a return made to the government of Barbadoes, the inhabitants of St. Vincent's were estimated at 6000 Negroes, descendants from a cargo of Africans shipwrecked upon that island at the end of the last century, and 4000 native Caribs, who waged continual war against the Negroes.

Some troops from Gibraltar arrived at Jamaica; and in consequence of the force collected upon the island, the runaway Negroes deserted their chief town, and retired to the woods.

Upon the 14th of June, a large gang of the rebel Negroes at Jamaica surprised a detachment of Captain Pope's company, killed or wounded the greatest part of them, burnt their barracks, carried away their equipage, and plundered the plantation where they were quartered.

Lord Howe, the governor of Barbadoes, died there, upon the 29th of March. The Assembly as a tribute of gratitude, presented £2500 to Lady Howe, who died within three days afterwards.

Captain Turpin, his men and sloop, were taken upon the 15th of February, by a Spanish vessel of ten guns, the Spaniards beat the men with cutlasses, and then barred them down in the

Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. pp. 435. 493.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 492. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789.
Gent. Mag. March 1735, p. 166. — May, p. 275. — July, p. 386. — Aug. p. 499.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 119.

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hold. The Spaniards were bound to Puerto Rico, but their water and provisions failing, they were obliged to put into Española. The French commander had been taken by them eight months before. They were secured, Captain Turpin and his men released, and the Spaniards were committed to gaol, to take their trial for piracy.

1736.

Account of the Strength of the British West India Islands.

"In Jamaica there are six forts; Fort Charles, at Port Royal, newly rebuilt, in a good state of defence; Rock Fort, upon the harbour of Kingston; a fort at Port Antonio, lately built; the other three, Fort William, Fort Morant, and the fort at Carlisle Bay, are in bad condition; 76,000 white inhabitants, 3000 militia, horse and foot, and 800 men in independent companies.

"Barbadoes has twenty-two castles and forts, and twenty-six batteries, mounted with 463 guns, many of which are honeycombed, and near 100 wanting to complete the fortifications, 17,680 white inhabitants, and 4326 militia, horse and foot. Here all freemen are obliged to enter themselves into the regiment of their own district.

"At Antigua, Monks Hill Fort, of thirty guns; a fort of fourteen guns, at the mouth of St. John's River; and seven other batteries for the defence of so many landing-places, in all mounted with twenty-six guns.

"At St. Christopher's are, Brimstone Hill, planted with forty-nine guns; Charles Fort, with forty guns; Londonderry Fort, on the east side of Basse Terre; and six batteries at so many landing-places, in all mounted with forty-three guns.

"At Nevis there is only one fort with nineteen guns; and in Montserrat, one battery of seven guns.

"Providence, among the Bahama Islands, has two forts, one of which commands the east entrance to the harbour."

An "independent company" that had been sent to New Providence mutinied: they were suppressed, and some of the most guilty were made examples. The governor, Captain Fitzwilliams, who had succeeded Captain Rogers, was praised for his moderation upon this occasion. The town of Nassau had been rebuilt; about sixty families had settled themselves at Eluthera, erected a small fort for their defence, and raised a company of militia, under their deputy-governor, Mr. Holmes, by whose exertions the settlement was much improved. The same thing was done

Gentleman's Magazine, May 1740, p. 241. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 286.

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at Harbour Island, where the plantations soon grew more considerable, and a larger fort was built for the protection of the inhabitants.

These islands began to look like English settlements, and the face of affairs in this part of the world was entirely changed.

A conspiracy was discovered at Antigua among the Negroes, to murder all the Whites. Their plan was to have taken effect upon the 11th of October, the anniversary of the King's coronation. A ball was to have been given upon the occasion, but it was deferred upon account of the death of the general's son. This deranged the plan of the Negroes, who intended to have blown up the house with gunpowder, and the explosion was to have been the signal for a general massacre. The plot was discovered by the confession of one of the accomplices. King Court the leader, and Tomboy and Hercules, his generals, were broke on the wheel, and eleven others were burnt.

The Maroons in Jamaica, under their general Cudjoe, were grown so formidable, that the colony was strengthened by two regiments of regular troops: these were formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole of the militia, in their reduction.

Barbadoes, to 1736, returned, on yearly average, of sugar, 22,769 hogsheads.

The French King issued an ordinance the 15th of June, enacting, that "no person, of whatever rank or condition, can free their slaves, without having first obtained the governor and intendant's permission in writing to that effect. All freedoms given without the above permission are declared null, and the slaves so manumitted declared incapable of enjoying the right of freedom, shall be reputed slaves, and sold for the profit of the King, and the master condemned to pay a fine.

"Forbidding all curés, and other religious persons, from baptizing, as free, any children, unless the freedom of the mothers shall have been previously proved, by their acts of liberty, approved by the governor and intendant.

"Ordering that all children who shall be baptized as free, and their mothers slaves, shall be considered and reputed slaves; their masters shall be deprived of them, and they shall be sold on account of the crown."

The governor and intendant, also, published the following ordinance the 1st of September, 1736: —

"Art. 1. Independently of the quantities of manioc ordered by the preceding ordinances, each inhabitant shall plant twenty-

Gentleman's Magazine, Jan. 1737, p. 59. Edwards, vol. i. p. 525.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 18.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 45.

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five plantain trees for each Negro, and after the first crop fifty for each.

"2. The captain of the militia of the quarter, accompanied by four inhabitants, to visit the plantations in the month of December of each year, agreeably to ordinance of the 6th of December 1723.

"3. The said captains of militia to give into the general and intendant, at the latest in the month of March, a procès verbal of their visits, signed by them, together with the four inhabitants.

"5. The judges, in naming arbitrators to estimate the Negroes killed as runaways, as well as the Negroes justiciers, will at the same time order the said two arbitrators, or two others, to visit the provision grounds for the Negroes on the estates, and the Negroes cannot be paid for unless the arbitrators affirm upon oath, that they found on the estate the quantity of provisions ordered.

"6. If an inhabitant is unable from circumstances to plant the quantity of provisions ordered, he will report the same to the general and intendant within three months after the publication of this ordinance, and will also apprise them of the measures which have been adopted to supply the Negroes with the necessary provisions.

"7. Inhabitants who shall be convicted of not having the quantity of manioc required by preceding ordinances, shall be condemned to the payment of a fine; and those who have not the number of plantains before ordered, shall be condemned to pay a fine of ten livres for each plantain-tree deficient.

"8. The inhabitants residing in the neighbourhood of the one acting in contravention to the ordinances who did not give notice thereof, agreeably to art. 4. of the present ordinance, shall be condemned to a fine arbitraire."

1737.

Upon the 19th of January, Simon M'Cone and Thomas Thompson landed at Barbadoes—they were the only survivors of the crew of the ship Mary, from Cutchoe, in Guinea, with slaves, which vessel they left to leeward of the Canary Islands, upon the night of the 8th of November, in a sinking state, with near 300 Negroes and fifteen of the crew on board. There were in the boat, when she left the ship, two Portuguese and four Englishmen, besides M'Cone and Thompson, and they had

Gentleman's Magazine, July 1737, p. 449.

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seven stone bottles of water and five bottles of brandy. Upon the 8th of December they saw a sail, who answered their signal of distress by laying-to, until they were near enough to see the men on her deck, "and then, (as M'Cone says,) she made sail, and went away from us without speaking to us; they being afraid, as we imagined, when they saw so many of us in the boat." Hunger now obliged them to kill one of their companions, and they agreed to begin with one of the Portuguese: they cut his flesh in small pieces, dipt them in salt water, and dried them in the sun, until the flesh was hardened; four more of the crew were served in the same way. We also killed the sixth man, but were forced so to do, because he would have killed me, Simon M'Cone (one of these declarants); for he struck me with the tiller of the boat, and had just bereaved me of life, when this my comrade, Thomas Thompson, came to my relief, and we were forced to kill him, though we flung him overboard; for he was so rotten that we could eat no part of him." These two, the only survivors, now determined to "live and die the one by the other, and not one to destroy the other, but to leave all things to the almighty providence of God, expecting nothing less than famine; for we lived several days without eating any thing, saving one small flying fish that fell into the boat, and some small barnacles that grew on the boat," which they eat raw. At last, upon the 19th of January, they made the island of Barbadoes, where they were very near being cast on shore, being so extremely weak, that they could not work the boat. A schooner, commanded by Glanveil Nicholas, took them up and landed them at Bridge Town, where Thompson died a few days afterwards.

The Assembly at Jamaica ordered defensible houses or barracks, fortified with bastions, to be built as near as possible to the haunts of the Maroons. A strong garrison was placed in each, and roads opened from one to the other. Every barrack was furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the churchwardens of the respective parishes, to guard against surprises in the night, and to track the enemy.

The Assembly of Jamaica, about this year, resolved to take 200 Mosquito Indians into their pay, to assist in suppressing the Negroes: they were formed into companies, under their own officers, and allowed forty shillings a month, besides shoes and other articles. They gave great proofs of sagacity in this service; when once they had hit upon a track, they were sure to discover the haunt to which it led.

The town of St. Louis, in St. Domingo, was entirely destroyed by a hurricane, upon the evening of September the 9th. All

Edwards, vol. i. pp. 528, 529. Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1738, p. 110.

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the sugar-canes and cotton-trees were destroyed, and all the ships at anchor there were thrown upon the coast.

At Antigua, they continued executing the Negroes concerned in the plot to murder the Whites on the 15th of January: sixty-nine had been executed; five of whom were broken on the wheel, six were hung in chains upon gibbets, and starved to death, one of whom lived nine nights and eight days without sustenance; fifty-eight were at several times chained to stakes and burnt, and above 130 remained in prison.

The British merchants trading to America petitioned their King for satisfaction to be procured them for the injurious treatment and repeated insults which they had suffered from the Spaniards on the high seas.

The Spaniards had lately taken in the West Indies the George of Bristol, and the Dispatch and Royal Jane of London, the latter of which vessels was richly laden.

A hurricane did great damage at St. Kitt's and Montserrat. At the latter island it blew down all the windmills and houses, and carried away mules, Negroes, and cattle into the sea. The sugar-canes were all destroyed.

The Dutch, by way of reprisals, captured some Spanish vessels in the West Indies.

1738.

In March, there were above 3000 persons in Barbadoes down in the small-pox. Inoculation was practised there with great success.

Sir Humphry Howarth was appointed governor of Barbadoes, in room of Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart.

—— Tinker, Esq. was appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, in room of Governor Fitzwilliams, returned to England.

At Martinico, above 100 warehouses of sugar, coffee, and European merchandize were destroyed by fire. The damage was computed at above twelve millions of livres.

Numerous petitions were presented to the English parliament, complaining of the conduct of the Spanish guarda costas in the West Indies; and Captain Jenkins, the master of a Scottish merchant ship, was examined by the house. He had been boarded by a guarda costa, and the Spaniards, after rummaging his vessel for contraband goods without finding any thing to justify their search, tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it

Gentleman's Magazine, March 1737, p. 187. — Oct. pp. 635, 636. 640.— April 1738, p. 223. — July, p. 380. — Aug. p. 436. — Nov. p. 605. Smollett, vol. xi. pp. 31. 35.

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to his King, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner should an opportunity offer. They tortured Jenkins, and threatened him with death. One of the members of the House of Commons asked what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians? "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country!" was his answer. His ear was produced in the House.[1]

The losses sustained by the Spanish depredations amounted to £340,000.

The commissary's list of ships attacked, taken, or plundered by the Spaniards since May 1728, amounted to fifty-two; and in every instance where the ship was taken or plundered, the master and crew were used with great barbarity.

The Spanish court sent an answer to the memorials presented by Mr. Keene, the British minister: it was signed by the Marquis de la Quadra. It stated in substance, that his King had ordered inquiries to be made into the cases mentioned, and that if any of his subjects should be found guilty, they were to be seized, and the acts to be sent over to him, that prevaricators might be punished according to their desert; and that he would order his guarda costas and cruizers to conform themselves exactly to what is regulated by treaties. Don Sebastian de la Quadra then states, "His Majesty commands me to tell you, sir, that the treaty of 1667 does not contain, in any of its articles, unless it be the eighth, any clause applicable to the navigation and commerce of the Indies," and "that the English have been wrong in supposing that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty have a right

Gentleman's Magazine, March 1738, p. 163.—June, p. 303.

[1] "The case stands thus:—Captain Jenkins was bred to the sea, and maintained a very fair character, till he was brought into that unhappy affair. On the death of his father, who left him near £500 per annum in Jamaica, he lived ashore; but hearing of the loss of the galleons on the coast of Florida, and that the Spaniards had deserted them, he and two others fitted out, with 100 men, and not 600, though several others followed, but did not arrive there till the action was over. On his arrival among the wrecks, some Spaniards, to the number of 120 or more, who had fixed some tents on a *cay* or small island (and had got out of them 40,000 or 50,000 pieces of eight, and not 400,000, as is falsely asserted), fired, and did them some damage; upon which Captain *Jennings*, and the other commanders, landed the major part of their men, drove the Spaniards off the cay, and seized their money and effects. On his return to Jamaica, he did likewise take a Spanish sloop, which first attacked, and endeavoured to take him. Upon the complaint of the Spanish ambassador, orders were sent to the governor of Jamaica, to enquire into the facts, and, if proved, to make restitution and satisfaction. A warrant was immediately issued out to apprehend Jennings, who made his escape off the island; but his estate was confiscated and sold, in order to make satisfaction to the Spaniards, as far as it would go—and two other persons who were concerned in the sloop, the one compounded for 2000*l.*, and the other ran off the island, and his effects were likewise seized and sold to the same purpose." — *Gentleman's Mag., Feb.* 1739 p. 121.

It appears by this statement that the Spaniards had some reasons for complaint.

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to sail to and trade in the West Indies; but only that they had permission to sail to their own islands and plantations:" and from thence it follows, that they are subject to confiscation, if it appears that they have changed their course, without necessity, to make the Spanish coasts.

There were at the Havannah fifteen sail of British ships, which had been detained by the Spaniards.

The Success, Captain Sims, from London to Virginia, was taken near Montserrat by a guarda costa, who, after plundering the ship, turned the captain and most of the crew adrift in the long boat: they were taken up by a Dutch vessel, but the ship was carried into Puerto Rico.

Isord Viscount Gage was appointed governor of Barbadoes in room of Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart. deceased.

At Jamaica, two parties of soldiers, under Captain Gutteridge and Lieutenant Sadler, assisted by 200 Mosquito Indians, attacked the Negroes, and drove them, with great loss, to their town in the mountains.

A treaty of peace was concluded in March between the inhabitants of Jamaica and the Maroons.

Articles of Pacification with the Maroons of Trelawney Town.

"1. That all hostility shall cease on both sides for ever.

"2. Captain Cudjoe and his followers shall be for ever in a perfect state of freedom, excepting those who may have joined him within the last two years; who, if they are willing to return to their masters, shall have full pardon and indemnity; and if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe, and in friendship with us.

"3. The Maroons shall possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands between Trelawney town and the Cockpits, to the amount of 1500 acres bearing north-west from Trelawney Town.

"4. They shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, to breed stock, and to dispose of the produce to the inhabitants.

"5. Captain Cudjoe and his adherents shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney Town, and have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement; and in case Captain Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties.

"6. Captain Cudjoe and his successors to use their best endeavours to kill or take all rebels, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe.

Gentleman's Magazine, June 1738, pp. 322. 325.—May 1739, p. 275. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 581. 583.

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"7. In case this island is invaded, Captain Cudjoe and his successors shall, upon notice given, repair to any place the governor shall appoint, to repel the invaders.

"8. If any white man shall injure Captain Cudjoe or his people, they shall apply to any officer or magistrate for justice; and in case Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offenders to justice.

"9. Captain Cudjoe shall return all runaway Negroes that fall into his hands, and shall have a reward for so doing.

"10. All Negroes taken since the raising of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned.

"11. Captain Cudjoe and his successors shall wait upon the governor every year if required.

"12. Captain Cudjoe and his successors shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes by their men among themselves, death only excepted. If the captain thinks they deserve death, he shall bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order their trial.

"13. Captain Cudjoe, with his people, shall keep open large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Westmoreland and St. James's, and, if possible, to St. Elizabeth's.

"14. Two white men, to be named by the governor, shall constantly live with Captain Cudjoe and his successors.

"15. Captain Cudjoe, during his life, shall be chief commander in Trelawney Town: after his decease, the command to devolve upon his brother, Captain Accompong; and, in case of his decease, on his next brother Captain Johnny, and failing him, Captain Cuffe shall succeed, who is to be succeeded by Captain Quaco: and after all these demises, the governor or commander-in-chief shall appoint whom he thinks fit."

Establishing the Maroons in separate hordes, in the strongest parts of the island, prevented their mixing with the other Negroes, and kept alive their love of a distinct and independent government. No arrangements were made to instruct them in religion, or to civilize them in any way.

The Mosquito Indians were well rewarded for their conduct, and sent back to their own country.

The 12th of George II. chapter 30, recites: "Whereas the planters of the sugar colonies are unable to improve and carry on their sugar trade on an equal footing with foreign sugar colonies, unless some advantage and relief be given by Great Britain," &c.; and then enacts, "That British-built ships, navigated according

Edwards, vol. i. p. 536. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 344.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 82.

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to law, on clearing out from any port in Great Britain for the plantations, under sureties and conditions as expressed, may and shall receive a licence to proceed and lade with sugars from the British plantations, and convey and deliver the same direct to any part of Europe south of Cape Finisterre, or to any country northward of the same, in the way touching at some port of Great Britain, and there exhibiting a manifest, duly attested by officers, whence the ship came, of the amount and nature of the cargo, and of its being of sugars the produce of a British plantation."

Notwithstanding the 30th article of the Ordinance of March, 1685, it was ordered by the King of France, that in default of Whites, the evidence of slaves should be taken in all cases, except against their masters.

1739.

Copy of the declaration made on the part of the King of Spain before he ratified the Convention, on the 14th of January.

"Don Sebastian de la Quadra, counsellor and first secretary of state of His Catholic Majesty, and his first plenipotentiary for the convention which is treating with the King of England, by order of his sovereign, and in consequence of his repeated memorials and conferences that have passed with Don Benjamin Keene, minister plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, and having agreed therein, with reciprocal accord, that the present declaration shall be made, as the essential and precise means to overcome the so much debated disputes, and in order that the said convention may be signed, *does declare in due form*, that His Catholic Majesty reserves to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the Assiento of Negroes; and for dispatching the necessary orders for the execution thereof, in case the company does not subject "herself" to pay, within a short term, the £68,000 sterling, which she has confessed is owing on the duty of Negroes, according to the regulation of four shillings and four pence per dollar, or on the profits of the ship Caroline; and likewise declare, that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner. Wherefore, upon this firm supposition, and that it may not be eluded on any motive or pretext whatsoever, His Catholic Majesty has been induced thereto.

"Don Sebastian de la Quadra."

"Pardo, 10th of June 1739."

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 46.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1739, p. 71.

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Upon the 14th of January N. S. a convention was concluded between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain. The following are the articles which relate to the West Indies: —

" Art. 1. Whereas the ancient friendship, so desirable and so necessary for the reciprocal interests of both nations, and particularly with regard to their commerce, cannot be established upon a lasting foundation, unless care be taken not only to adjust and regulate the pretensions for reciprocal reparation of the damages already sustained, but above all, to find out means to prevent the like causes of complaint for the future, and to remove absolutely, and for ever, every thing which might give occasion thereto; it is agreed to labour immediately, with all imaginable application and diligence, to attain so desirable an end: and for that purpose, there shall be named, on the part of their Britannic and Catholic Majesties respectively, immediately after the signing of the present convention, two ministers plenipotentiaries, who shall meet at Madrid within the space of six weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications, there to confer and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, as well with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Carolina, as concerning other points which remain likewise to be adjusted, — the whole according to the treaties of the years 1667, 1670, 1713, 1715, 1721, 1728, and 1729, including that of the Assiento of Negroes, and the convention of 1716: and it is also agreed, that the plenipotentiaries so named shall begin their conferences six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications, and shall finish them within the space of eight months.

" 2. The regulation of the limits of Florida and of Carolina, which, according to what has been lately agreed, was to be decided by commissaries on each side, shall likewise be committed to the said plenipotentiaries, to procure a more solid and effectual agreement; and during the time that the discussion of that affair shall last, things shall remain in the aforesaid territories of Florida and of Carolina in the situation they are in at present, without increasing the fortifications there, or taking any new posts: and, for this purpose, His Britannic Majesty and His Catholic Majesty shall cause the necessary orders to be dispatched, immediately after the signing of this convention.

" 3. After having duly considered the demands and pretensions of the two crowns, and of their respective subjects, for reparation of the damages sustained on each side, and all circumstances which relate to this important affair, it is agreed that His Catholic Majesty shall cause to be paid to His Britannic Majesty the sum of £95,000 sterling, for a balance which has been

Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1739, p. 68.

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admitted as due to the crown and the subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain, to the end that the above-mentioned sum, together with the amount of what has been acknowledged on the part of Great Britain to be due to Spain on her demands, may be employed by His Britannic Majesty for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of his subjects upon the crown of Spain — it being understood, nevertheless, that it shall not be pretended that this reciprocal discharge extends or relates to the accounts and differences which subsist or are to be settled between the crown of Spain and the Company of the Assiento of Negroes, nor to any particular or private contracts that may subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other, or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively; with exception, however, of all pretensions of this class mentioned at Seville by the commissaries of Great Britain, and included in the account lately made out at London, of damages sustained by the subjects of the said crown, and especially the three particulars inserted in the said plan, and making but one article in the account, amounting to 119,512 piastres three rials and three quartils of plate. And the subjects, on each side, shall be entitled and shall have liberty to have recourse to the laws, or to take other proper measures for causing the above-said engagements to be fulfilled, in the same manner as if this convention did not exist.

" 4. The value of the ship called the Woolball, which was taken and carried to the port of Campeachy, in the year 1732; the Royal Charles, the Dispatch, the George, and the Prince William, which were carried to the Havannah in the year 1737; and the St. James, to Porto Rico, in the same year, having been included in the valuation that has been made of the demands of the subjects of Great Britain, as also several others that were taken before, if it happens that, in consequence of the orders that have been dispatched by the court of Spain for the restitution of them, part or the whole of them have been restored, the sums so received shall be deducted from the £95,000 sterling which is to be paid by the court of Spain, according to what is above stipulated: it being however understood, that the payment of the £95,000 sterling shall not be, for that reason, in any manner delayed, saving that what may have been previously received shall be restored.

" 5. stipulates that the ratifications of the convention shall be exchanged at London within six weeks.

" Signed at Pardo, the 14th of January, 1739.

" B. KEENE,

" S. DE LA QUADRA."

Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1739, p. 68.

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By a separate article, the King of Spain stipulates to pay the £95,000 at London, within the term of four months from the day of the exchange of the ratifications.

By a second separate article, "it is declared, that the ship called the Success, which was taken on the 14th day of April, 1738, as she was coming out from the island of Antigua, by a Spanish guarda costa, and carried into Puerto Rico, is not comprehended in the aforesaid convention; and His Catholic Majesty promises that the said ship and cargo shall be forthwith restored, or the just value thereof, to the lawful owners: provided that, previous to the restitution of the said ship, the Success, the person or persons interested therein do give security at London, to the satisfaction of Don Thomas Geraldino, His Catholic Majesty's minister plenipotentiary, to abide by what shall be decided thereon by the ministers plenipotentiaries of their said Majesties that have been named for finally settling, according to the treaties, the disputes which remain to be adjusted between the two crowns; and His Catholic Majesty agrees, as far as shall depend upon him, that the above-mentioned ship, the Success, shall be referred to the examination and decision of the plenipotentiaries. His Britannic Majesty promises, likewise, to refer, as far as shall depend upon him, to the decision of the plenipotentiaries, the brigantine Santa Theresa, seized in the Port of Dublin, in Ireland, in the year 1735.

"And the said underwritten ministers plenipotentiaries, declare by these presents, that the 3d article of the convention signed this day does not extend, nor shall be construed to extend, to any ships or effects that may have been taken or seized since the 10th day of December, 1737, or may be hereafter taken or seized — in which cases justice shall be done according to the treaties.

"Signed at the same time by the same persons as signed the convention."

The citizens of London and the British West India merchants presented petitions against this convention.

George Byng, Esq. was appointed governor of Barbadoes in May.

The population of Jamaica was estimated at 10,080 Whites, and 99,239 Blacks. The rate of interest was, by an act of Assembly, reduced from £10 to £8 per cent.

An explanation of the Spanish claims upon the South Sea Company: —

By the Assiento, that Company were to pay a certain number of dollars duty, for every Negro imported by them into the

Gentleman's Magazine, 1739, p. 70. — Feb. p. 105. — May, p. 273. — Sept. p. 485. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 377. 555.

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Spanish West Indies. This sum the Company paid according to the rate of exchange between Great Britain and Spain. But the King of Spain made an alteration in his coin many years ago, making another species of dollars more valuable than the exchange dollar; and Don Geraldino, the Spanish minister in England, claims, that all duties paid since this change in the coin ought to be paid in the heavier dollar.

By the Assiento, the King of Spain was to be interested one fourth in all the trade carried on by the Company, and was to receive one fourth of the neat gains. By seizures of the Company's effects, denying of licences, the refusal of the Spanish officers to obey them when they were procured, and other practices, the annual ship which was granted to the Company, as an inducement to them to undertake the Negro trade, occasioned a much greater loss to them than the Negro trade itself, for which it was intended to compensate; so that the two last vessels only were gainful. The last of these, the Royal Caroline, upon her arrival in England, Don Geraldino, in the name of his master, demanded his share of what should appear to have been gained by that voyage, though the former losses of the Company were twenty times as great.

The South Sea Company, in a general court, unanimously approved the conduct of their directors in refusing to pay the £68,000 demanded by the King of Spain.

Upon the 10th of July, England issued letters of marque, or general reprisals, against Spain. They stated in substance, that the time stipulated by the convention for the payment of the sum of money agreed upon expired upon the 25th of May; that Spain had therefore violated the convention; and his Majesty, to vindicate the honour of his crown, and procure reparation and satisfaction for his injured subjects, orders all Spanish vessels to be seized.

Upon the 20th of August, Spain ordered reprisals to be made on the subjects of Great Britain.

October the 3d, a squadron of English ships, under the command of Captain Waterhouse, made an unsuccessful attack upon some shipping under the batteries at La Guiara. The ships engaged the batteries for an hour, and then left their anchors and cables behind them.

Commodore Brown, with four ships, battered down a fort which the Spaniards were building between the Matanzas and the Havannah.

The legislature of Barbadoes passed a law to direct that every

Gent. Mag. March 1739, p. 158.—July, p. 382.—Sept. p. 472.—May 1742, p. 247.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 46. 1739.
Mathieson's Short Review of the Reports of the African Institution.

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person enfranchising a slave, should give security that the person so enfranchised should not become chargeable to the parish.

Upon the 19th of October, a declaration of war was issued against Spain: it stated in substance, that for several years unjust seizures and depredations had been carried on in the West Indies by the Spanish guarda costas and other Spanish vessels; that great cruelties had been exercised upon the crews of the ships seized; and that the British colours had been most ignominiously insulted; that the Spanish pretensions for doing this were contrary to the laws of nations and to solemn treaties, particularly that of 1670; that Spain had made several other infractions of the treaties and conventions subsisting, particularly of that concluded in 1667, and of the convention signed the 14th of January last, by which a sum of money was stipulated to be paid before the 25th of May last, which had not been done—in consequence, general reprisals had been granted against Spain; that the court of Spain, without publishing any order, had seized all the property of the English in the Spanish dominions, and ordered the persons themselves to depart out of the Spanish dominions within a short limited time, contrary to the express stipulations of the treaties between the two crowns, even in case of a war actually declared: therefore, war is declared against the King of Spain, his vassals and subjects. Dated at Kensington, the 19th of October, 1739.

October the 23d, Captain Knowles, in his Majesty's ship Diamond, carried into Port Royal, Jamaica, two Spanish vessels, one a register ship, with 120,000 pieces of eight, and clothing for 6000 men on board.

Upon the 5th of November, Vice-Admiral Vernon sailed from Jamaica, with his Majesty's ships Burford, Hampton Court, Princess Louisa, Strafford, Norwich, and Sheerness, the last of which he ordered to cruize off Carthagena.

On the 20th of November, he came in sight of Portobello, and that night anchored six leagues off shore.

On the 21st, in the morning, he attacked the iron fort, close to which the squadron was piloted by Captain Rentone; Commodore Brown, in the Hampton Court, led the attack, followed by Captain Herbert in the Norwich, and Captain Mayne in the Worcester. The admiral, perceiving that the Spaniards were leaving the fort, ordered the boats with the soldiers to land, the admiral luffing up as near the fort as he could. The fire of his small arms commanded the enemy's lower batteries, and

Gentleman's Magazine, Oct. 1739, p. 551.—March 1740, p. 124.
Biographical Memoir of Sir C. Knowles. London Gazette.

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drove the men from the guns. The boats landed, by the admiral's directions, under the walls of the fort (though there was no breach made), and threw the enemy into consternation: the officers and men, who had remained in the lower battery, flying to the upper part of the battery, where they held up a white signal. The admiral answered with a white flag, but it was some time before the firing could be stopped.

In the mean time, the seamen had climbed up the walls of the lower battery, struck the colours, and then drew up the soldiers after them, to whom the Spaniards surrendered at discretion. Their number was only five officers and forty men, out of 300; the rest being either killed or wounded, or having made their escape.

The ships which went in before the admiral were fallen to leeward, out of sight of the Gloria Castle; but the admiral's ship lying open to that castle, was fired upon all night without receiving any injury, while some shot from the ship went over the castle, and through some houses in the town.

On the 22d, it was determined, in a council of war, to warp the ships nearer the Gloria Castle on the following night; but this was prevented by the enemy's hoisting a flag of truce, and sending to the admiral articles of capitulation signed, on which they wished to surrender. The admiral immediately sent his terms, and gave a few hours for their acceptance, within which time they were agreed to; and before night, on Thursday the 22d of November, Captain Newton, with 120 soldiers from Jamaica, took possession of Gloria Castle and St. Jeronimo Fort, the remaining fortresses which guarded the harbour.

The loss sustained by the squadron did not exceed twenty men in killed and wounded.

Articles of Capitulation granted by Vice-Admiral Vernon and Commodore Brown, to Don Francisco Martinez de Retez, Governor of Portobello, and Don Francisco de Abaroa, commandant of the guarda costas, at the same place, the 22d of November, 1739, O.S.

"Art. 1. That the garrison be allowed to march out as desired, upon condition the King of Great Britain's troops be put into possession of the Glory Castle before four o'clock this evening, and the garrison to march out by ten o'clock to-morrow morning. That the inhabitants may either remove, or remain under a promise of security for themselves and their effects.

"2. That the Spanish soldiers may have a guard, if they think it necessary.

Memoirs of Edward Vernon, Esq., Naval Chronicle, vol. ix. 1803.

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"3. That they may carry off two cannons mounted, with ten charges of powder each, and their match lighted.

"4. The gates of the Glory Castle must absolutely be in possession of the King our master's troops by four o'clock, and the Spanish garrison shall remain in all safety for their persons and effects till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety.

"5. That the ships, with their apparel and arms, be absolutely delivered up to the use of His Britannic Majesty; but that all the officers, soldiers, and crew shall have three days allowed them to retire, with all their personal effects, only one officer being admitted on board each ship and vessel, to take possession for the King our master, and to see this article strictly complied with.

"6. That provided the articles above mentioned are strictly complied with, and that possession be given of castle St. Jeronimo in the same manner as stipulated for the Castle Gloria, then the clergy, the churches and town, shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities and properties—and that all prisoners already taken shall be set at liberty before our leaving the port.

"Given under our hands, on board his Majesty's ship Burford, in Portobello harbour, this 22d November, 1739, O.S.

"E. VERNON.

"CHARLES BROWN."

There were in the harbour two Spanish men-of-war of twenty guns each, and a snow—the crews of which vessels, despairing of being able to defend themselves, in the night of the 21st plundered the town, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants. The admiral took on board his ship, from the several fortresses, forty pieces of brass cannon, ten brass field pieces, four brass mortars, and eighteen brass patereroes, and rendered useless above eighty iron guns. He also took on board all the shot and ammunition except 122 barrels of powder, which he expended in springing mines, by which all the fortifications were blown up, and the harbour left open and defenceless.

Captain Knowles, of his Majesty's ship Diamond, was entrusted with this service, which required three weeks' hard labour, and was left by the admiral to cruize off Carthagena, and watch the motions of the enemy.

Ten thousand dollars, that were designed to pay the Spanish troops, were distributed by the admiral among the forces.

On the 13th of December, Vice-Admiral Vernon, with his squadron, sailed from Portobello for Jamaica. Before his

Biographical Memoir of Sir C. Knowles, Lond. 1799.

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departure, he procured from the president of Panama the release of all the South Sea Company's factors and servants who had been confined at that place.

1740.

The Spanish government introduced an important innovation into their colonial trade, by permitting register ships, or separate equipments, destined for the supply of the American settlements, to be undertaken by individuals not concerned in the periodical fleets, with permission to communicate with various ports of the colonies, formerly debarred from all direct intercourse with the mother country. These register ships were only allowed to sail from and return to the port of Cadiz, until 1748, when equipments of this sort were permitted in some of the other ports.

In September, Don Rodrigo de Torres arrived at Porto Rico with the Spanish fleet, greatly damaged by a storm, in which they lost two ships of war. After repairing his fleet, Don Rodrigo proceeded to Carthagena, left a squadron there under the command of Don Blas de Leso, and with the remainder sailed for the Havannah, with the intention, it was supposed, of joining the French squadron.

John Tinker, Esq. was appointed, in March, governor of the Bahama Islands, in room of Richard Fitzwilliam, Esq. who resigned.

Captain Hall, in a sloop of thirty tons and twenty-nine men, with a letter of marque, sailed from Newport, in New England, for Española, to make a descent on Puerto de la Plata. Upon arriving there, he anchored under the fort, pretending to be a Caracca trader, designing to land that night, and surprise the town, but was prevented by the inhabitants keeping a good watch. The governor was sick, and desired Captain Hall to send his surgeon to bleed him, to which he agreed. The next morning, while the doctor, quarter-master, and linguist waited on the governor, seven of the sloop's crew surprised the fort, and dismounted the guns; then joining their comrades, making nineteen in all, they marched to the town; and, notwithstanding the Spaniards were alarmed, and fired on them, they entered the town, and plundered it of all that was valuable, which amounted to £100 a head: they lost but one man killed. The Spaniards had three killed, and one wounded, in the fort.

Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 423.
Beatson's Memoirs, 1740, vol. i. p. 61.
Gentleman's Magazine, March 1740, p. 148.—April, p. 203.

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On the 25th of February, Admiral Vernon, with his squadron, sailed from Jamaica; and on the 1st of March they got sight of the high land of Santa Martha, on the Spanish Main. On the 3d, in the evening, he anchored in the Playa Grande, near Carthagena, in nine fathoms water. On the 6th, the bomb ketches continued bombarding, and in three days discharged 350 bombs. The Jesuits' college, the custom-house, and the cathedral suffered considerably, as did several other houses in the town; but the force he had with him being inadequate to a regular attack of the place, the admiral bore away with the fleet for Portobello.

On the 10th, in the morning, the squadron coasted the shore toward Bocca Chica. The Windsor, Captain Berkeley, and the Greenwich, Captain Windham, were left off Carthagena, to cruize there for twenty days: the rest of the squadron steered for Portobello, where they anchored on the 14th, for the small craft to repair their damages, and the squadron to complete their water.

On the 22d, Admiral Vernon sailed again, and Captain Herbert, in the Norwich, was sent forward with the bomb vessels, who anchored at three P.M., and began bombarding the castle of Chagre. Captain Knowles commanded the boats, and boarded a Spanish ship of seventy guns and 350 men under the batteries. Young Boscawen was with him. By ten P.M. Admiral Vernon's ship, the Strafford, and the Falmouth and Princess Louisa, began to cannonade the castle with their lower deck guns, which they continued to do until eleven A.M. on Monday the 24th, when the Spaniards in the fort hoisted a flag of truce. The firing then ceased, and Captain Knowles went on shore, and soon afterwards returned with the governor, Don Juan Carlos Gutierez de Zauollos, who obtained the annexed capitulation. Captain Knowles was then appointed governor of the castle, and a garrison sent with him of five lieutenants and 125 men. They entered the fort at three P.M., and the same evening Captain Knowles sent a guard to the custom-house, on the opposite side of the river Chagre. The custom-house was full of merchandize, which was immediately shipped off, and two guarda costas were destroyed. The custom-house being entirely cleared by Friday the 28th, was filled with combustible matter, and set on fire — it burnt with great fierceness all night.

On the 29th, in the morning, the brass guns being embarked, which were eleven guns and eleven patereroes, the mines were sprung under the lower bastion, which entirely demolished it.

Gentleman's Magazine, 1740, vol. x. p. 350. London Gazette.
Memoirs of E. Vernon, Esq., Naval Chronicle, vol. ix. 1803.
Biographical Memoir of Sir C. Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 95.

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Two other mines were sprung to blow up the upper part of the works, and the inner buildings of the castle set on fire.

On the 30th, Admiral Vernon sailed with his squadron, and joined the rest of his squadron off Portobello.[1]

Articles of Capitulation granted by Vice-Admiral Vernon to Don Juan Carlos Gutierez de Zauollos, captain of foot, and castillano of the castle of St. Lorenzo, at the mouth of the river Chagre.

"Art. 1. That upon His Britannic Majesty's troops being put into immediate possession of the fort St. Lorenzo, at the mouth of the river Chagre, the said castillano, and all his garrison, be at free liberty to march out without any molestation, and may retire into the village of Chagre, or where else they please.

"2. That the inhabitants of Chagre may remain in all safety in their houses, under a promise of security to their persons and houses.

"3. That the guarda costa sloops be delivered up to the use of His Britannic Majesty, in the condition they are, and the King of Spain's custom-house.

"4. That the clergy and churches in the town of Chagre shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities.

"Dated on board the Stafford, before the river Chagre, the 24th of March, 1740."

The admiral returned to Port Royal, Jamaica, the 3d of May.

Antigua and Martinico suffered considerably from a hurricane.

Upon the 6th of October, Robert Byng, Esquire, governor of Barbadoes, died.

In October, Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, besides frigates and small craft, and a convoy of transports laden with military stores, in all 170 sail, sailed from Spithead for the West Indies. A combined fleet of Spanish and French vessels also sailed for that country.

Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeded to Dominica, where the fleet took in wood and water. Here, upon the 20th of December, Lord Cathcart, who commanded the land forces, died of a dysentery: he was succeeded by Brigadier-General Wentworth. As the fleet were passing Española on their passage to Jamaica,

Biographical Memoir of Sir C. Knowles, p. 96.
Gentleman's Magazine, Dec. 1740, p. 622. — Jan. 1741, p. 50.
Smollett, vol. xi. pp. 63. 69. 79.

[1] It is asserted by an anonymous correspondent to the Naval Chronicle, that it was the custom to serve seamen with their allowance of spirits undiluted, until this year, when Admiral Vernon first introduced the practice of serving it out as grog, which was then so called from a name given to the admiral, in consequence of his wearing a grogram cloak. — *Naval Chronicle*, vol. iii. p. 53.

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Lord Augustus Fitzroy, with four sail, was sent by the admiral in chace of four strange sail, who refusing to bring-to, Lord A. Fitzroy fired into them, and an engagement began which lasted the greatest part of the night. At daylight the strangers hoisted French colours, and proved to be part of the Marquis d'Antin's squadron. As war was not yet declared between France and England, the English and French commanders mutually excused themselves for the mistake which had happened, and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

The English were going to reinforce Admiral Vernon, "and to co-operate with Anson, by means of intelligence conveyed across the Isthmus of Darien."

His Excellency Governor Trelawney, designing to make a settlement near Cape Gracia a Dios, appointed Lieutenant Hudson commander of the Mosquito shore. Upon his arrival there, the Indians elected him their captain; but his force being very small, they soon left him; and he returned to Jamaica in October, after a fatiguing and unsuccessful attempt.

A free school was founded in the parish of Vere, in Jamaica.

Ordinance of the French General and Intendant, concerning the Plantation of Potatoes and Rices, 10th of March, 1740.

"Art. 1. Exclusive of the plantains and manioc prescribed by law, each inhabitant shall plant a quarré of ground in potatoes for every thirty Negroes.

"2. Those who are unable, from the quality or situation of their grounds, to plant plantains or manioc, shall be obliged to substitute for them the necessary quantities of potatoes or rice, or other provisions fit for subsistence.

"3. Those who are convicted of not having obeyed the orders laid down, shall be subject to the penalties prescribed by former ordinances.

"4. Captains of militia are ordered to visit the estates in the month of June, and to transmit a proces verbal thereof in the form prescribed."

1741.

On the 9th of January, Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, and joined Admiral Vernon, whose fleet now consisted of twenty-

Biographical Memoir of Sir C. Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 96.
Gentleman's Magazine, March 1741, p. 165.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, pp. 46. 129.
Smollett, vol. xi. p. 81.

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nine sail of the line, besides small craft; and the land forces, including an American regiment and a body of Negroes, amounted to 12,000 men. They sailed from Jamaica the latter end of January and beat up to Española. On the 15th of February, they got information that the French fleet, under the Marquis d'Antin, had returned to Europe in great distress for want of men. Admiral Vernon supplied the fleet with wood and water at Española, and then stood over to the Main.

On the 16th of February, a council of war was held, and Captain Knowles, with Captains Laws, Renton, and Cooper, were sent to sound the entrance of Carthagena, without the Tierra Bomba; and, on the 4th of March, anchored, with 124 sail, in Playa Grande, to windward of Carthagena. The Spanish admiral, de Torres, had sailed for the Havana.

On the ninth the English landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near Bocca Chica, and erected a battery, with which they made a breach in the principal fort. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc was sent with a squadron to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the army: he was slain in the attempt. The breach being deemed practicable, the troops advanced to the attack, and found the forts abandoned. The Spanish ships, Africa, sixty; San Carlos, sixty-six; Gallicia, seventy; and St. Philip, sixty guns, which lay athwart the harbour's mouth, were destroyed or taken, and the fleet removed the boom and entered without further opposition.

On the morning of the 26th of March, the fleet entered the harbour, and Captain Knowles was sent, with the Cruizer sloop, to destroy the batteries at Passo Cavallos, and to seize what hulks were there; which he executed on the 28th, having destroyed two batteries of eight guns each.

The only spring of water was ordered by the admiral to be secured for the service of the fleet, and no steps taken to supply the army with fresh water, by which the sickness among the troops increased with great rapidity. The fleet were also frequently supplied with fresh beef and turtle — of these the army was not allowed to partake. General Wentworth expressed a wish to employ two or three small vessels in catching turtle for the sick: this was refused him. Even the allowance of salt provisions was not regularly furnished to the army.

The enemy, perceiving the vice-admiral advancing up the harbour with his ships, moored or sunk, on each side of the shoal

Biographical Memoir of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. pp. 96. 98.
London Gazette, May 19, 1741. Smollett, vol. xi. p. 82.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1747, p. 606.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 97. 99.

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which lies between Castillo Grande and Fort Mancinilla, seven of their galleons, and moored their two remaining ships, the Conquestador, of sixty-six, and Dragon, of sixty guns, that their broadsides might bear on any ships attacking either the castle or fort. On the 30th, as the ships were advancing to attack the remaining defences of the harbour, the enemy blew up Fort Mancinilla, sunk the two line of battle ships, and abandoned Castillo Grande. Captain Knowles immediately, by Sir C. Ogle's orders, run in with the Weymouth close to Castillo Grande, and took possession of it. There were fifty-nine guns mounted, and many of them had been so badly spiked, that they were soon made serviceable. Captain Knowles was appointed governor of the castle, and 100 soldiers sent to garrison it. Fort St. Lazar was the only remaining out-work, the reduction of which was absolutely necessary. The stem of the Conquestador was afloat: she was hove round; and a passage was thus made, through which the bomb vessels and two frigates immediately entered.[1]

On the 3d, the Weymouth and some other ships entered the inner harbour, to cover the landing of the troops, who were brought from Fort St. Louis. About two A.M. of the 5th of April, General Blakeney's division, 1400 strong, in the boats of the fleet, rendezvoused astern of the Weymouth: at daylight they were landed, and the troops forced their way through a narrow defile in the wood, with the loss of only one man: they found 700 of the enemy drawn up on the strand, to cover the road leading to the city. The ground over which the English had to march only admitted a sub-division in front, the lagoon lying on the left,

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 101. Smollett, vol. xi. p. 83.

[1] In the Memoir of Sir Charles Knowles, the facts are stated thus: — "A breach having been made in the castle of Bocca Chica, the admiral sent his engineer, Captain Knowles, to make a diversion that might draw off the attention of the enemy. Captain Knowles had with him Captains Watson, Cotes, Dennis, Cleland, and Broderick, and carried some cohorn mortars and patereroes, which it was judged might be used against Fort Saint Joseph; observing the consternation into which the Spaniards were thrown, Captain Knowles immediately formed the bold project of rowing in the boats close under the lee-shore, and storming the fort: this was accordingly done, and the fort taken possession of, about ten o clock that night. Immediately after this success, finding the enemy were sinking their ships, they rowed with all their strength, and being within the boom, boarded Don Blas De Leso's ship, the Galicia, in which they took the captain, the captain of marines, an ensign, and sixty men, prisoners, who not having had boats to escape in, had delayed sinking the ship. This being accomplished, Captain Knowles proceeded with his detachment to cut the boom and cables that were fixed across from Fort St. Joseph to the castle of Bocca Chica, and fastened at each end with three large anchors." This was on the 25th of March.—*Biographical Memoir of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 98.

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and a thick copse on the right. A party of American soldiers were ordered into the copse, and the grenadiers marched on. The front sub-division fired at half-musket-shot distance, and wheeled to the right and left, to make room for the next to advance; the Spaniards thought them retreating, and gave a loud cheer: they were soon convinced of their mistake, thrown into confusion, and fled towards the town. A party was now sent to take possession of La Popa, which they did without any resistance from the enemy, and a post established there.

On the 7th, it was determined, in a council of war, that no attempt ought to be made against Fort St. Lazar, without first having raised a battery; and that if the bomb-ketches and a ship of the line were sent against the fort, it would facilitate its reduction.

Admiral Vernon disapproved of waiting to raise a battery, but sent no answer to the general as to bombarding and cannonading by the ships.

General Wentworth requested the admiral, by letter, to send some small vessels to command the neck of land by which the city communicated with the country. The admiral promised to do so, but it was not done.

The disagreement between General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon now became evident. The general complained that the fleet lay idle, while his men were harassed and diminished by fatigue and sickness; the admiral affirmed that his ships could not lie near enough to bombard the town, and upbraided the general with want of resolution in not attacking Fort St. Lazar, which commanded the town, and might be taken by escalade. Wentworth, stimulated by these reproaches, resolved to try the experiment. This resolution was formed without consulting the admiral, and generals Blakeney and Wolfe protested against it, as a rash and fruitless measure. The guides were slain — the troops mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were, moreover, exposed to the fire of the town. The scaling-ladders were found too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders; and the soldiers at length retreated, leaving 600 killed or wounded upon the spot. The survivors were reimbarked, their numbers being so much reduced, that all hope of further success vanished.

To demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, the admiral sent in the Gallicia, one of the Spanish ships taken at Bocca Chica, with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery, to bombard the town; she was manned by detachments of volunteers, under the command of Captain

Memoirs of Edward Vernon, Esq., Naval Chronicle, vol. ix. pp. 182, 183.

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Hore, and warped before daylight into the inner harbour, at a considerable distance from the walls, and in very shoal water. Here she lay for some hours, without doing or receiving much damage, when the admiral ordered the men to be taken out of her, and her cables to be cut: so that with the sea breeze she drove on shore, and soon filled with water. Smollett says, that a little further to the left, four or five large ships might have been stationed abreast, within pistol-shot of the walls; and if this had been done when the troops attacked St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been taken.

After the embarkation of the troops, on the 16th, numbers died of disease: "nothing was heard but complaints and execrations—nothing seen but objects of woe and images of dejection." The fortifications of the harbour were demolished, and the fleet returned to Jamaica, 19th of May.

In July, Admiral Vernon, with the troops, sailed from Jamaica again, and anchored in a bay on the south-east side of Cuba, which he named Cumberland Harbour: thus renaming a harbour that had a name before. El Guantanamo is the old name. The troops were landed, and encamped twenty miles further up the river, where they remained till November, when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were reconveyed to Jamaica. Soon afterwards, a reinforcement of four ships of war, and 3000 soldiers, arrived from England.

The Assembly of Jamaica voted 5000 Negroes, to reinforce the expedition under the command of Admiral Vernon, if such a number should be found necessary.

Captain Warren, of his Majesty's ship Squirrel, attacked a large privateer belonging to St. Jago de Cuba, at anchor in a small cove behind a rock. The vessel was soon taken and the crew pursued on shore — where a sailor, observing a dead Spaniard laid on an English ensign, rolled the body off, and brought away the ensign, swearing that it should not lie on such an honourable bed. In the corner of this ensign was wrapped a packet of letters, which Admiral Vernon transmitted to the Duke of Newcastle: they contained, it is said, authentic information that M. d'Antin's squadron was intended to join and act in concert with the Spaniards, had not the bad condition of the ships and crews obliged him to return to Europe.

On the banks of the Minho, opposite Carlisle Town, in Jamaica, "a free school was founded in 1741, under the management of

Smollett, vol. xi. pp. 84, 85.
Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1741, p. 594. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 115.

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trustees appointed by an act of assembly, and supported by private benefactions. In this school, the poor free children of the parishes of Clarendon and Vere, and of the adjacent settlement, are taught to read and write English, and are also instructed in Latin, Greek, and the mathematics."

The Assembly at Jamaica, to prevent the traders of that island from stealing and selling the children of their friends the Mosquito Indians, passed a bill, enacting, that all Indians imported into the island for sale should be free, and all such sales be void, and the buyer and seller be liable to a penalty of £50 each.

Governor Trelawney reported the population of Jamaica at 10,000 Whites, and 100,000 slaves. The militia 4000, besides 250 belonging to the four free Negro towns. He said that two regiments had been sent thither in 1731, and afterwards disbanded, but that not a trace of them remained in 1741.

1742.

Two hundred soldiers of the American regiment, and fifty marines, were sent from Jamaica, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Litchfield, and Bonetta sloop of war, to Rattan, to form a settlement on that island, which was begun with great rapidity; the Mosquito Indians willingly assisting. A small town was built between two streams of fresh water; a fortress erected at the mouth of New Port Royal harbour, and the government given to Mr. Pitt, whose long residence with the Indians had given him considerable influence over them.

Upon Christmas night, a mutiny broke out among the troops under the command of Major Caulfield, in the island of Rattan, which was quelled by some marines, who were landed from two men-of-war in the harbour. Forty persons were seized: two sergeants and a corporal were the ringleaders; one of the sergeants turned king's evidence. The corporal was found guilty and shot: the other sergeant and one private were adjudged to receive 600 lashes each, and be sent on board a king's ship, until his Majesty's pleasure was known. Forty-seven of the American regiment were found to be Papists, who had been abetting this affair for some weeks before.

Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 346. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 335.; vol. ii. p. 344.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Gentleman's Magazine, May 1743, p. 272.

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From the time of their landing, August the 29th, there had been four general and forty regimental courts-martial.

After the punishment of the mutineers, the settlement succeeded, and several logwood cutters joined the settlers.

Upon the 9th of March, Admiral Vernon sailed from Jamaica, with troops on board, under the command of General Wentworth, with the intention of landing at Portobello, marching across the Isthmus of Darien, and attacking Panama: they arrived at Portobello on the 28th, held a council of war, declared the expedition impracticable, and returned to Jamaica.

The land-officer's reasons for laying aside the attempt on Panama were sent in writing by General Wentworth to Admiral Vernon. They were,

"That, from having consumed near three weeks on their voyage, which was usually made in eight days, the rainy season was come upon them; which might not only incommode them in their march, but, by the sudden rising of the rivers, might cut off their communications.

"That, from having, during their voyage, been lessened in their numbers, 935 (officers included) of those which embarked at Jamaica, either by death, sickness, or from several transports being separated from the fleet, and from the ships of war being unable to supply them with more than 600 men, (being part of 1468 embarked on board them), their present numbers would fall 968 short of 3000 effective men required for the attempt on Panama.

"That, from the want of one of the ships with Negroes on board, their numbers were reduced so low, as to disable them from carrying a sufficient quantity of provisions.

"That, from an omission in executing one part of the scheme laid down for carrying on the enterprise, the governor of Portobello, with three companies of Spanish soldiers, and two of Mulattoes and Negroes, were retired to Panama, on the cutting off whose retreat their success in some measure depended, as the governor was an officer of merit, and a person in whom the Spaniards had great confidence.

"That there was lately good intelligence of a large reinforcement arrived at Panama from Lima, and of works being thrown up towards the land.

"For these reasons, they thought it was for the good of the service to lay aside that enterprize as impracticable."

General Wentworth's change of opinion proceeded from intelligence he received from Lieutenant Lowther.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 139. 145. Smollett, vol. xi. p. 130.

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In September, Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth received orders to return to England. [1]

Report of the Spanish Expedition, from Havana, transmitted by General Oglethorpe.

"The beginning of May last, the Spaniards fitted out their fleet from the Havana, consisting of 56 sail, and between 7000 and 8000 men, with an intent to invade Georgia, South Carolina, and the other northern colonies. At their first setting out, in turning the Moor Castle, they lost a large settee, with 150 men, and a few days after, the fleet was dispersed by a storm; so that all the shipping did not arrive at St. Augustin. The latter end of May, or beginning of June, Captain Haymer of the Flamborough, in his cruize to the southward, sent in to General Oglethorpe for intelligence: who acquainted him, that he would probably meet with some Spanish vessels to the southward of St. Augustin, which he accordingly did, and engaged ten sail of the Mosquitos, and drove some of them ashore, but in the action lost seventeen of his men. He, on his return, acquainted the general with what had happened, and could not then come in for the defence of Georgia, but proceeded to Charlestown to clean his ship. The general thereupon sent Lieutenant Maxwell by water, and Lieutenant Hugh Mackay over land to Carolina, with advice to the governor, but no assistance came from thence till after the retreat of the Spaniards. Lieutenant-Colonel Cook was at Charlestown in his way to London, when Lieutenant Maxwell arrived with the said advice.

Smollett, vol. xi. p. 131. Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 340.

[1] September the 4th, Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle was tried at Jamaica, before the chief justice and four assistants, for assaulting his excellency the governor, and was found guilty. The dispute took place after dinner at the governor's house. The governor gave Admiral Vernon a memorial he had received about some impressed men. The admiral said that the memorial was without a signature, and deserved no notice. The complainant ought to come to him; but he supposed that a troublesome fellow called Dicker had promoted the complaint. The governor replied, "I believe Dicker to be an honest man, acting without any malicious motive." The admiral replied, "Those are your chimeras—I desire to be troubled no more with them." The governor returned, "You shall not: this is not the first affront, and I desire not to be troubled with more of your chimeras." Here Sir Chaloner Ogle interrupted, and said, "This Dicker is a scoundrel and a rascal." The governor answered, "The man does not deserve such treatment." Sir Chaloner, moving himself with his chair, repeated the words in a passion; to which the governor said, "He is no such person: he is no more a scoundrel than Sir Chaloner Ogle." This Sir Chaloner resenting, repeated, and laid his hand upon his sword, on which the governor attempted to draw, but was forcibly held by Admiral Vernon: which put him in so violent a rage, that he could not remember what he said. Admiral Vernon deposed, that the words were spoken, but that the governor was in a passion, and first drew his sword, and therefore he seized him, but keeping his eye on him, prevented his seeing what posture Sir Chaloner was in, and therefore the jury gave a verdict against Sir Chaloner Ogle, as guilty of the assault.—*Gent. Mag., March* 1743, p. 160.

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"The 21st of June, nine sail endeavoured to come into Amelia Sound; but the eighteen-pounders from Fort William, and the guard schooner with eighty men, commanded by Captain Dunbar, fired so briskly, that they sheered off as fast as they could. The general, on this advice, resolving to support the forts in Cumberland, set out with a detachment of his regiment on board his boats; sent Captain Horton, with his company of grenadiers before, and was himself obliged to fight his way, with two boats, through fourteen sail of Spanish vessels, which endeavoured to intercept him in Cumberland Sound. In this engagement several of the Spaniards being killed, the said vessels set out to sea, and did not join their fleet till the day before they left St. Simon's Sound. Lieutenant Tolson, who commanded the boat of the greatest strength, instead of following the general, run into a marsh, where he remained till the next morning, when he returned to St. Simon's; for which behaviour he was put in arrest, and ordered to be tried. Major Heron, from the shore, seeing the general surrounded by the enemy, and hid in smoke, concluded him lost; but next day, to the great joy of the people, he returned in the guard schooner to St. Simon's, after having drawn the command from St. Andrew's, and the stores and artillery that were there, and reinforced Fort William, where he left one of the boats he had with him.

"He having laid an embargo on all vessels in the harbour, took Captain Thompson's ship, which mounted twenty guns, into the King's service, and manned her out of the small vessels which were of no force. He also called in the Highland Company from Darien, Captain Carr's company of marines, and the Rangers, from where they were differently detached; and sent Mr. Mullryne to Carolina, to get all the men he could.

"The 28th of June, the Spanish fleet came to an anchor off Simon's Bar, who were diverted from coming in, or landing any of their troops for several days, in which time the general raised another troop of Rangers; and by rewarding those who did extraordinary duty, and promising great encouragement to all who should signalize themselves on this occasion, he kept up the spirits of the people and increased their numbers daily.

"The 5th of July, with the tide of flood and a brisk gale, thirty-six Spanish vessels entered St. Simon's harbour, nine of which were large top-mast vessels. We received them with a brisk fire from our batteries and ships, killed some of them with our eighteen pounders from the fort, and our four pounders from the lower battery. The Spanish commodore, on board a ship of twenty-two guns, with a settee with an eighteen-pounder and two nine-pounders in her bow, attempted to board Captain Thomp-

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 341.

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son's ship: but he with his great guns, Captain Carr with his company of marines, Lieutenant Wall and Ensign Otterbridge, with a party of the regiment, made so brave a defence, that the Spaniards were obliged to retire with loss. A snow of sixteen guns, at the same time, attempted to board our guard schooner, but was also repulsed by Captain Dunbar; the engagement lasted upwards of three hours, in which the enemy lost seventeen men, and had ten wounded. They passed all our vessels, and proceeded up the river, upon which the general held a council of war at the head of his regiment, where it was the opinion of the whole immediately to march up to Frederica, for the defence of that place.

"The general accordingly gave orders for the regiment to march, and ordered all the troops that were on board the vessels to come ashore; and directed Captain Thompson, with the guard schooner and prize sloop, to make the best of their way to Charlestown: and this was all done in sight of the enemy. The general, during this action, being sometimes obliged to be on shipboard, sometimes at the batteries, and to act as engineer, found himself under a necessity of having a lieutenant-colonel with the regiment; he therefore appointed Major Alexander Heron lieutenant-colonel in the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Cook, who was also engineer: and the sub-engineer having attended him to Charlestown, was also absent. Late at night the general arrived at Frederica, after having destroyed all the stores at St. Simon's, sunk the vessels that might be of use to the enemy, rendered the guns incapable of service, and ordered the wounded to be carried off on horseback. That night the enemy landed their forces on a dry marsh about a mile and a half from the camp, under cover of their great guns. They lay all that night under arms, and the next morning took possession of the camp which we left.

"About noon the Creek Indians brought us five Spanish prisoners, from whom we had intelligence that Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of St. Augustin, commanded in chief the expedition; and that M. General Antonio de Redonda, chief engineer, and two brigadiers came with the forces from Cuba; that their whole number consisted of about 5000; and that, the night before, they had landed about 4300 men. One of the prisoners the general sent with Mr. Bedon to Charlestown.

"The 7th of July, at nine in the morning, a ranger of the patrol brought an account, that the enemy were marching within a mile and a half of the town: whereupon the general immediately ordered four platoons of the regiment to march, and in the mean time went himself with the Highland company, who was then under arms. The Indians and a party of Rangers came up

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 341.

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with the enemy about a mile from the town, as they were entering the savannah, to take possession of a ditch they had a mind to use as an intrenchment; but the enemy were attacked so briskly, that the general soon overcame them: most of their party, which consisted of 120 of their best woodsmen, and forty Indians, being killed or taken prisoners. The general took two prisoners with his own hands. Lieutenant Scroggs, of the Rangers, took Captain Sebastian Sachio prisoner, who commanded the party. Toeanoeowi, being shot through his right arm by Captain Magaleto, drew his pistol with his left, and shot him through the head.

"The general pursued the enemy near two miles, and halted on an advantageous piece of ground until the party of the regiment came up; he posted them, with the Highlanders, in a wood, with a large savannah or meadow in their front, over which the Spaniards must pass in their way to Frederica; after which he hastened back to Frederica, and ordered the Rangers and company of men to make ready. In the mean time, two companies of Spaniards, of fifty men each, and 200 more of the enemy's best troops, came up, with shouts, and drums beating: whereupon the general, hearing platoons firing, immediately made haste that way, and met three of the platoons, who, in the smoke and drizzling rain, had retreated in disorder; and the fire continuing, he ordered his men to rally and follow him, who, hastening on, found that Lieutenant Sutherland, with his platoon, and Lieutenant Charles Mackay, with the Highlanders, had entirely defeated the said 300 of the enemy: in which action Don Antonio Barba was made prisoner, mortally wounded. Several others were killed, and two grenadiers were taken prisoners. Captain Demerit and Ensign Gibbon rallied their platoons, and came up to the ground. Captain Car, with his company of marines, and Lieutenant Cadogan, with a party of the regiment, came up at the same time, and were followed by Major Heron, with the body of the regiment. In both actions the enemy lost two captains, one lieutenant, two sergeants, two drummers, and about 160 private men, and one captain and nineteen men were taken prisoners. The general, with the regiment, halted all night, about a mile and a half from the enemy's camp, to intercept those who had straggled in the woods, expecting the enemy to make a second attempt to march in the morning; but the general having advanced with a party of Indians before day-break, towards the Spanish camp, found them all retreated into the ruins of the fort, and under cover of their cannon.

"Next morning, the 8th of July, the general and his men returned to Frederica, and he appointed a general staff, viz.

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 342.

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Lieutenant P. Maxwell and H. Mackay, aids-de-camp; Lieutenant Sutherland, brigadier-major; and Serjeant John Stuart, second ensign, for his brave behaviour in the late engagement. The 9th and 10th of July, all hands were employed in the works at Frederica, and the Indians brought in some scalps and prisoners. The 11th of July, a settee and two quarter-galleys came within gunshot of the town; but on our firing some guns and bombs from the fort, and the general going towards them with his boats, they returned to their fleet, and, with the rest, drew up in line of battle.

"The next morning, being the 12th of July, an English prisoner escaped from them, who informed us, that the enemy, on their landing, had resolved to give no quarter; but from the day their grenadiers were defeated, they were in great terror, intrenched themselves, and gave orders that none should go without their sentinels, for fear of being surprised by the Indians. By other prisoners and deserters we were also told, that upon their calling over their rolls, there were 240 men and nineteen of their Indians missing; that there were great divisions among them, insomuch that Don Antonio de Redondo, who commanded the Cuba forces, encamped separate from those of St. Augustin; and that the commodore had ordered all his seamen on board. That night the general and 500 men marched within a mile of the enemy's camp, intending to surprise them, but was prevented by the treachery of a Frenchman, who was got among the company of boatmen, and fired his piece, and gave alarm to the enemy, and then deserted to them. When the general found his intention discovered, he ordered his drums to beat the grenadier's march, and then returned to Frederica.

"The general, the next day, being the 13th of July, in order to defeat the information of the French deserter, directed a letter to be wrote and sent by a Spanish prisoner, who for the sake of money the general gave him, and the promise of liberty, undertook to deliver it to the said Frenchman, wherein he was instructed to acquaint the enemy's commanding officer of the defenceless state of Frederica, and encourage them to come by water under his pilotage; which letter the Spanish prisoner delivered to the governor of St. Augustin; and it had so good an effect, that the said Frenchman was immediately taken into custody, and looked upon as a double spy, and thereupon put in irons.

"The next morning, being the 14th of July, the Spaniards burnt the barracks and officers' houses at St. Simon's, and Captain Horton's house in Jekyll; and the same night they reimbarked with so much precipitation, that they left a quantity of ammunition, provisions, and some guns behind them. On the

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 342.

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15th, all the large vessels, with the Cuba forces on board, sailed southward, and the governor and troops from St. Augustin, on board the small craft, within the land, and encamped in St. Andrew's, and caught fifty horses with a design to carry them away; but, on the general's appearing in his boats, the enemy shot the said horses, and burnt the fort and houses at St. Andrew's. The general, the next day, being the 16th of July, followed the Spaniards with all his small craft, but was not strong enough to attack them. He landed a man out of his boat in Cumberland, who that night passed the enemy's camp, and early the next morning came to Fort William, with advice to Ensign Stuart, that the Spaniards were beat off St. Simon's, and that the general was coming with succours; and ordered him to defend the fort to the utmost.

"On the 18th of July, twenty-eight sail of Spanish appeared off Fort William, fourteen of which came within land, attacked the fort from their galleys and other vessels, and attempted to land, but were repulsed by a party of Rangers from behind the sand hills. Ensign Stuart, who commanded with sixty men in the fort, defended it so bravely, that, after an attack of upwards of three hours, they were obliged to put to sea with considerable loss. The eighteen-pounders there disabled two of their galleys.

"The 19th of July, the general was on his way to Fort William. The 20th of July, the general arrived, and sent his boats and Rangers as far as the River St. John, who returned next day, and brought the advice that the enemy was quite gone, upon which the general gave the necessary orders for repairing Fort William, and on the 22d returned to Frederica. A few days afterwards, the men-of-war from Charlestown came off St. Simon's bar, and Captain Thompson, with some volunteers from Carolina. One guard schooner and two galleys came into St. Simon's harbour; and Captain Hardy, of the Rye man-of-war, receiving a message from the general by Lieutenant Maxwell, who went on board him, sent for answer, that he should take a cruize with the rest of the King's ships. But the general, apprehending the Spaniards, upon recovering their fright, might return with more courage and better conduct, continued Captain Thompson's ship in the King's service, and sent expresses over land to the northern provinces on this occasion.

"These forces were commanded by Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of St. Augustin, commander-in-chief of the expedition; M. General Antonio de Redondo, engineer-general, and two colonels with brevets of brigadiers; and consisted of one regiment of dragoons dismounted, with their saddles and bridles; the

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regiment called the battalion of the Havana; ten companies of fifty men each, draughted off from several regiments at Havana; one regiment of the Havana Militia, consisting of ten companies of 100 men each; one regiment of Negroes, regularly officered by Negroes; one ditto of Mulattoes; one company of Miquelets; one company of train, with proper artillery; Augustin forces, consisting of about 300 men, ninety Indians, and fifteen Negroes, who ran away from South Carolina."

John Tinker, Esq. the governor of the Bahama Islands, wrote to General Oglethorpe upon this occasion, to congratulate him; and said, "I know the general had orders to attack this island (New Providence) upon their return, so I may justly thank you for saving me a great deal of trouble."

There is a spirit of dislike to the navy manifested throughout this egotistic report of General Oglethorpe's, which is, however, an interesting document — and the "ruse de guerre" which he played off against the French deserter was a good one.

In January, the Invincible, Spanish seventy gun ship, was burnt at the Havana; and the Fuerté, of sixty guns, was lost on the "Islands Cayos," endeavouring to make prisoners the crew of his Majesty's ship Tyger, of fifty guns, lost there.

Captain Herbert raised a fortification on the Cayo, on which he mounted twenty of the Tyger's guns, and these served them in good stead against El Fuerté. After remaining on the Cayo two months, the English with their boats captured a sloop: with this sloop they afterwards took a schooner, and in these two vessels the crew arrived at Jamaica.

In February, a Spanish squadron, consisting of the El Coro and St. Ignatio, of forty guns each; the St. Sebastian and St. Joachim, of thirty guns each; and the St. Antonio of twelve; with valuable cargoes of merchandize, belonging to the Caracca Company, and 1040 regular troops on board, sailed from Cadiz. The St. Ignatio was wrecked upon the shoals off Anegada, and 150 men were drowned; the St. Antonio was never heard of. The three other ships were engaged off the Virgin Islands by his Majesty's ships Eltham of forty, and Lively of twenty guns, commanded by Captains Smith and Stuart: the action lasted several hours. In the night the Spaniards escaped, and arrived three days afterwards at Puerto Rico, having lost between five and six hundred men, killed and wounded, in the contest.

On the 4th of June, Captain Frankland, of the Rose, fell in, among the Bahama Islands, with a Spanish guarda costa of ten guns, ten swivels, and eighty men, and three prizes in company.

Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 343. Gentleman's Magazine, 1747, p. 606. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 141. 147, 148.

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The guarda costa and two of the prizes engaged the Rose for three hours, when the two prizes stood off; but the guarda costa continued to fight an hour longer, when her crew, contrary to the orders of her captain, hauled down her colours, and called for quarter. Her captain was the infamous Fandino, who had tortured Captain Jenkins. The Rose captured two of the prizes, and the English in the guarda costa took the other.

His Majesty's ship Tilbury, of sixty guns, Captain Laurence, was burnt off Española, on the 22d of September. A marine snatching a bottle of rum from the purser's boy in the cockpit — in the struggle the boy fell, broke the bottle, and letting his candle fall into the rum, set it on fire, which communicating to some more rum in the purser's cabin, baffled all efforts to extinguish the blaze. The captain and part of the crew were saved by his Majesty's ship Defiance, Captain Hore; but the gunner, boatswain, an officer of marines, and upwards of 100 men, were lost with the ship.

1743.

February the 1st, the French King issued a declaration, "forbidding all slaves, of either sex, from composing or distributing remedies made up in powders, or in any other manner, or to undertake the cure of any description of disorder, with the exception of the bite of serpents, under pain of corporal punishment—even death, if the case require it. Slaves who, under pretext of preparing remedies for bite of serpents, should apply them to other purposes, shall be condemned to the penalties hereby laid down."

And on the same day, the same monarch issued an ordinance prohibiting slaves from carrying arms:—

"Art. 1. Slaves taken as runaways, with fire-arms, shall be punished with death; those taken with knives, other than knives called jambettes, shall receive corporal punishment—even be punished with death if the case require it.

"2. All thefts committed by slaves, of small or fire-arms, shall be considered as qualified thefts, and subject them to corporal punishment, or even death, if necessary, as by art. 35 of ordinance of 1685.

"3. Taking possession of piraguas, boats, canoes, or other vessels, by slaves, considered qualified thefts, and, as such, punishable agreeably to said art. 35.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 149.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 46.

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"4. Slaves convicted of having plotted the taking away of a piragua, boat, canoe, or other vessel, and taken in the attempt, shall be condemned to suffer the same punishment as if they succeeded in their attempt.

"5. A slave taken passing from one vessel to another, to escape from the colony, shall have his hams cut, if he be not condemned to death."

The war which England waged against the Spaniards in the West Indies was against the forces of the mother country and the Guipiscoa Company, rather than against the colonists, with whom, for commercial purposes, a correspondence was ordered to be settled. In the council of war which was held by the captains of the fleet, under the command of Commodore Knowles, when they determined to attack the vessels at La Guira, the following reasons are given for so doing:—"as it will be striking terror in the enemy, giving great spirit and encouragement to his Majesty's seamen and soldiers, and be a means of coming at a more certain account of the enemy's strength and situation at Porto Cavallo, and *particularly at a knowledge of the dispositions and humours of the native Spaniards, in order to facilitate and settle a correspondence and harmony betwixt them, agreeable to the original design of the expedition.*"

This was held on board his Majesty's ship Suffolk, the 17th of February, 1743.

The Dutch at Curaçoa, in the true commercial spirit, supplied the English with 180 volunteers, at the request of the captain of a Dutch man-of-war in port, who was zealous in assisting the English, and at the same time sent ten tons of powder and other ammunition to the Spaniards. The following is the commodore's report of the action:—

"On the 18th," says the commodore in his private letter, "I made the White Rock, and Cape Caldera, on the Main. During the night I ran down the Main, under an easy sail; and in the morning, being about five leagues to the eastward of La Guira, sent the Otter sloop ahead, to see what ships were in the road; who, by eight o'clock, made the signal for discovering a fleet; upon which I called a second consultation,—wherein it was agreed to batter the town, and destroy the ships: as they were hauled so close in-shore, the one could not be done, without the other being first silenced.

"About one o'clock, the Burford, who led, began the attack; against whom the enemy at first made but a slight fire. In less than an hour all the squadron were at anchor, and began a cannonade very smartly. By three o'clock the enemy had slackened

Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 101.

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their fire very much; but the Burford receiving a shot between wind and water, cut her cable, and quitted the line. Her captain (Lushington) lay dying of his wounds.

"Myself, the Advice, and Lively, continued cannonading, the Scarborough and bomb ketch playing their shells in hopes of silencing the batteries; especially as a fortunate shell had fallen into one of the largest batteries on the side of the hill, blown up the magazine, and set it on fire. About eight o'clock, finding the enemy had great advantage over us, for want of day-light to take good aim, I ceased firing. I had determined, during the darkness of the night, to have cut adrift or set on fire the enemy's ships, and gave orders accordingly; but most of the boats being disabled by shot, and the men so greatly fatigued, it was found impracticable. The next day, the remaining part of the ships were employed in preparing for a second encounter. Between one and two o'clock, just as the moon was set, I sent away the boats, under the command of the third lieutenant (my first having been extremely fatigued, and my second ill), with orders to cut the ships adrift, and let them drive on shore, or burn them, whichever could be done with the most ease and least hazard. Accordingly, about three o'clock the boats boarded them without any resistance, all the people being ashore: but the lieutenants, instead of complying with their orders, finding the first ship they went on board a fine large new ship, and partly laden, as soon as they had cut the cables, towed her away with the boats, while others were suffered to plunder; who making a noise, and firing pistols to break open locks, alarmed the town.

"The next day the Lively came in, and told me of seeing the Burford, Assistance, Norwich, Otter sloop, &c. to leeward; upon which I sent her away, with orders for them to anchor in any bay along the coast; and by four in the morning weighed myself, with the rest of the squadron. Having staid four days in expectation for their return, I looked into Barbarat and Porto Cavallo, the appointed place of rendezvous, and cruised off and on four days; when hearing nothing of them, I called a consultation, wherein it was resolved to cruise three days longer, and then go in quest of them to Curaçoa.

"Captain Lushington dying of his wounds, I have removed Captain Smith, of the Eltham, into the Burford; Captain Watkins, of the Lively, into the Eltham; and Captain Gage, of the Otter, into the Lively; Captain Stewart, of the Pembroke's prize, into the Otter, and made my first lieutenant, Mr. Pratten, into the Pembroke's prize.

"A few days since, Captain Burvill, of the Comet bomb, died, which vacancy I filled with Lieutenant Tyrril; the vacancy

Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 101.

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on board the Lively, by the death of the lieutenant, I filled with Mr. Falkenham, a nephew of Captain Falkenham, and an extraordinary good man; the other I gave Mr. Sommers.

"From the damages the ships have sustained, their lordships will see that La Guira is a place of much greater strength than it was represented; and, in my opinion, is much stronger by sea than Gibraltar, and by land quite impregnable: for there is no advancing to it eight men abreast, or any space of ground for making approaches or building batteries. It is one continued line of guns, and those of the largest nature, from one end of the town to the other; besides three new batteries, most advantageously situated on the side of the hills: so that whatever advantage is gained must proceed from the pusillanimity of those that defend it."

The Spaniards are stated to have lost 700 men; the English had 308 wounded, and ninety-three killed.

Having refitted the ships, on the 3d of April, the fleet stretched over and made the island of Saona, when the commodore tacked and stood back to the Spanish Main, and anchored, on the 14th, seven leagues to windward of Porto Cavallo, and the next day under the keys of Barbaret.

At Porto Cavallo, the garrison amounted to 1200 seamen, most of them Biscayans, from their ships; 300 regular troops, and 4000 Indians and persons of colour. Twelve of their smallest ships and three galleys the Spaniards hauled up out of gun-shot; one vessel of sixty guns, and another of forty, they moored close over to the other shore. A large ship lay ready to be sunk at the entrance of the harbour, with a chain from the castle to her stern, and another from her head to the main, where three fascine batteries were erected. On Punta Brava, a low point, there was one battery of twelve, and another of seven guns. The following is the commodore's report of the action:—

"In the evening," says Commodore Knowles in his private letter, "I viewed the enemy's situation from my own mast-head, and also on board the bomb. The next morning, a general consultation was called, and I laid before them the sketch I had taken of the enemy's situation. Having sent Mr. Sommers on board the Eltham, with orders to Captain Watkins to weigh, he in a very short time anchored rather nearer the battery than the other ships, and behaved with that resolution and gallantry becoming an officer, which, in justice, I must also say of Captain Gage, who made the enemy particularly notice the fire of his black ship. By sun-set the batteries were quiet. The troops were all landed by the time it was dark, to the number of 1200,

Gentleman's Magazine, August 1743. London Gazette, June, p. 327.
Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 105.

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and marched on the beach, by the water's side. Captain Lisle, Mr. Sommers, and myself accompanied them in my boat. About eleven o'clock we saw the van fire, and, as we apprehended, were engaged. Soon after which, two guns were fired from the fascine battery, when the men ran away as fast as they could, a general panic seized them all, and some fired at one another.

"The next morning, Major Lucas informed me their miscarriage and disorder had proceeded from an odd accident. They marched up, undiscovered, to the enemy's advanced guard, whom they found asleep, and took several of them prisoners. But one struggling to get away, and stabbing the man that held him, was fired upon by some of the people. This alarmed the enemy, and put themselves into disorder; for the rear thought the van attacked, and so the firing ensued almost throughout the whole, though none knew at what they fired. I was so near in my boat, that I called out with a speaking trumpet to encourage them; but it availed nothing. Some came swimming off to the boat, and an officer with them; and the panic was not to be overcome, until they had all got safe on board. Major Lucas, and the officers agree, if it had not been for this accident, they not only think they should have taken the two fascine batteries, but that they might have gone undiscovered to the castle walls, and surprised the enemy there, such a profound slumber they appeared to be in. So that I hope their lordships will find this scheme not ill concerted, though it was very shamefully executed.

"I concluded, after this attempt, the enemy would put themselves upon their guard, which perceiving they did, although I intended no further attempt by land, I went on shore with several of the captains, &c. and began to stake out the ground, and throw up a sham entrenchment, which the enemy in the morning discovering, began to play their cannon at very smartly. My design in this was to draw their attention, whilst the ships were watering; for I was apprehensive, if we did not succeed in the general attack, we should find great difficulty to water afterwards.

"I went on board the Otter sloop on the 20th, and took with me Captain Smith of the Burford, Captain Watkins, Captain Callis, and Captain Stewart, and ran down to reconnoitre the castle and harbour's mouth, in order to form a judgment for the general attack; which, the next morning, I called a consultation for, wherein it was resolved to undertake it.

"Sunday the 24th, about noon, a small breeze sprung up. I made the signal, weighed, and ran down in the order agreed on.

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We began cannonading about one o'clock, and continued until past nine at night, with great obstinacy on both sides. Sometimes the enemy slackened in their fire, and we entertained great hopes, seeing the execution we did; but finding, as night came on, they grew brisker in their fire, and did us more mischief, and some of the ships having expended all their ammunition, others the greatest part, and most of them being so shattered in their masts and rigging as scarce to be able to set a sail to run off, I made the signal to cut, and went and anchored about a random shot distance. Whilst we were battering the castle, the enemy sunk their ship that lay in the harbour's mouth, which effectually stopped the channel.

"On the 28th, I held a general consultation what was most proper to be done: in which it being resolved we were no longer in a condition to undertake any enterprize against the enemy, on the 30th, as soon as they could be got ready, I dispatched the Scarborough, Eltham, Advice, and Lively to their respective stations, and sent the Assistance to Jamaica. Before I sailed, I sent Captain Pratten to the governor for exchange of prisoners, which was readily agreed to. As to the castle, I really think it is little inferior to Bocca Chica at Carthagena, either in strength or dimensions, and the harbour's mouth full as difficult, as a ship is sunk in it, with a chain across, with strong batteries on each side; and as the winds blow, no getting in without warping. So that their lordships will see my want of success has been owing to my want of a sufficient force; which, I persuade myself, they would have sent out with me, had the strength of these places been rightly represented to them.

"I should not do justice to the service or myself, if I omitted recommending Captain Smith of the Burford, Captain Watkins, Captain Gage, Captain Lisle, and Captain Stewart, who distinguished themselves with great zeal for his Majesty's service, particularly Captain Smith of the Burford, on whom the second part of the action fell heaviest. I shall make the utmost dispatch to equip the Burford and Suffolk, and return home with them and the Norwich as soon as possible."

May the 1st, some of the fleet weighed, and by the 3d all the squadron were on their return to Jamaica, having lost near 600 men in killed and wounded. Dr. Smollett, the novelist and historian, was a loblolly boy on board the Suffolk, with Commodore Knowles, in this action, and was made surgeon's mate by him — in return for which, Smollett libelled the commodore, was prosecuted, fined £100, imprisoned a year in the Marshalsea, and obliged to find securities for his good behaviour. Under

Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 122.

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these circumstances, he was not likely to be an impartial historian of Sir Charles's actions. Roderick Random will, however, always have a place in some chest on board every man-of-war.

The King of France, by a declaration, dated 17th July, confirmed a grant, made the 7th of June, 1680, giving to the general and intendant of the colonies, the right of granting the vacant and unappropriated lands. The grant is made gratis on the part of the King, and the grantee is only at the expence of the contract.

Upon the 20th of March, war was declared between France and England, at Paris, and upon the 31st in London.

Francis Purdigo, a Greek, aged one hundred and fourteen years, six months, and four days, died this year at Jamaica. He was at the conquest of that island.

1744.

The French general and intendant issued a regulation respecting butchers' shops, on the 11th of July.

"Art. 4. Forbidding slaves of either sex from commercing or purchasing cattle, either in country or town, or on board of vessels, either on their own account, or on that of their masters.

"5. Forbidding equally masters thus to employ their slaves on their own account or on account of others, under pain of confiscation of the slaves and cattle which they may have purchased, and a fine of 500 livres against the master."

Mr. Beckford founded a free school in St. Catherine's parish, Jamaica, for twenty Whites—the salary of the master £140 a year, in 1826.

It is clear, from the following extract, that the violations of law in criminal convictions of slaves had been notorious; for in Jamaica the practice of putting a plurality of Negroes to death for the same offence, in defiance of one of their own acts, was legalized this year, in respect of the past, as well as in future cases:—

Act of 1744, sect. 3. "And whereas slaves have been tried, before the making of this act, for compassing and imagining the death of white persons—and the justices and freeholders have given sentence of death against more slaves than one, for one and

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, part iv. France.
Smollett, vol. xi. p. 160. Gentleman's Magazine, Aug. 1743, p. 443.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, pp. 47. 129.
Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 320.

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the same offence, and have ordered others to be transported, and the said slaves have been executed and transported accordingly; it is hereby enacted and declared, that the said trials, sentences, executions, and proceedings *were and are just and legal.*"

These legislators also, in the same act, imposed capital punishments retrospectively for acts already committed: — "Every Negro or other slave or slaves, who have before the making of this act been engaged in any rebellious conspiracy, or have compassed and *imagined* the death of any white person or persons in this island."

Commodore Warren, of his Majesty's ship Superb, 60 guns, and the squadron under his orders, off Martinico, from the 12th February to the 24th June, 1744, captured twenty-four prizes, carrying 202 guns, 832 men, and 4332 tons. One was a register ship, taken by his Majesty's ship, Woolwich, Captain Fincher, and valued at £250,000.

About this time the seeds of the Guinea grass were brought from the coast of Guinea to Jamaica, to feed some birds brought as presents to Mr. Ellis, chief justice of the island. Fortunately the birds died, and the remainder of the seeds were thrown within a fence, where they grew. The eagerness of the cattle to eat this grass suggested the idea of cultivating it, and a vast advantage has been derived from so doing: it thrives in the most rocky places, and thus renders lands productive which had been considered of no value.

The population of Jamaica was estimated at 9640 Whites, and 112,428 Negroes.

Captain Knight, in the St. Alban's, assisted by the Falmouth, Captain Coleby, bombarded the town of Portobello, and destroyed the governor's house, and all the public buildings. Sir Chaloner Ogle sent Captain Knight to demand of the governor the restitution of the brig Triton, James Christie, master, which had been taken by a Spanish boat from Portobello at Garoti, though the master had permission to trade from the governor of Santa Fé. Captain Knight could procure nothing but evasive answers, and therefore fired for several hours into the town.

Mr. Hodge, the deputy-governor of Anguilla, with 300 volunteers, assisted by two privateers from St. Christopher's, drove the French out of their half of the island of St. Martin, and took possession of it.

His Majesty's ship, Weymouth, of sixty guns, Captain Calmady, was lost on a shoal near Antigua. The captain and crew were saved.

Naval Chronicle, vol. xii. p. 261. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 294. 254. 302.
Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1744, p. 617. London Gazette.

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The trade of the French to their colonies employed 600 sail of merchant ships.

The number of inhabitants upon the Bahamas were said to be this year 2000.

On the 20th of October, at Jamaica, a dreadful hurricane began at six P.M. and lasted until six in the morning: the wind was all that time due south. Mosquito Fort was demolished—eight of his Majesty's ships and vessels, and ninety-six merchant vessels, were stranded, wrecked, and foundered. Out of 105 vessels, only his Majesty's ship Rippon rode out the gale, and she without masts. His Majesty's ships Prince of Orange, Bonetta, and Thunder bomb were wrecked, but the people saved. The Montague aground and bilged. The St. Alban's and Experiment on shore. The Greenwich sunk, and Captain Allen and seventy-one men drowned. The Lark hulk sunk, and 110 persons drowned.

The squadrons under the command of Captains Warren and Knowles captured twenty-four sail of vessels on the Leeward Island station, between the 12th of February and 12th of June — most of them armed vessels; and in September, Commodore Knowles drove on shore, on the south side of Martinico, a large Spanish ship from Cadiz to Carthagena, with the governor on board, and burnt her. Her outfit cost £160,000.

1745.

September the 1st, 1745, the French intendant issued an ordinance, prohibiting the galloping of horses in the streets: —

"Negro and Mulatto slaves forbid not only to gallop horses through the streets, but also to mount them: they are to lead them by the bridle or cord, under pain of flogging and the fleur-de-lis."

Upon the 31st of October, Vice-Admiral Townshend attacked a French squadron and convoy going into Fort Royal, Martinico. The Magnanime of eighty guns, and the Ruby, were driven on shore, and about thirty sail were either taken, sunk, burnt, or destroyed.

In April, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended at Barbadoes.

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 518.; vol. ii. p. 146.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Gentleman's Magazine, March 1745, p. 163. — Nov. p. 629. — Dec. 1747, p. 558.
Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 109.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 47. Smollett, vol. xi. p. 206.

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La St. Maline, French thirty-six gun ship, was taken in September, and another, of thirty-six guns, was carried into Antigua in January.

His Majesty's ship Dreadnought, in September, captured another of thirty-six guns, off Puerto Rico; and in October, one of thirty-six guns was wrecked upon that island.

The population of Barbuda was estimated at 1200 souls.

The following account of Aruba and Bonaire is taken from one published about 1745: —

"In Aruba, the Dutch breed a great many horses, and from hence Curaçoa is supplied with a great quantity of garden stuffs. The inhabitants also allow strangers to erect hospitals ashore for their sick, whom they supply with greens and roots, to the mutual advantage of both parties.

"As the island is not above seven leagues from the Spanish coast, it is a convenient station for carrying on a clandestine trade, which was first introduced by the sale of Negroes, brought hither from Guinea by the Dutch. These the Spaniards bought with avidity. But since the English, from Jamaica, have interfered in this trade, it is sunk very considerably. The Spaniards are stated to have paid above a million of pieces of eight annually for slaves.

"The Dutch also made Aruba a dépôt for European goods, which the Spaniards smuggled to the Main; and, to keep up a good correspondence with their neighbours, they refused to suffer any privateers to enter their ports at Curaçoa, nor would, upon any terms, purchase their plunder. Occasionally, vessels from Holland would bear away directly for a Spanish port, and, as they enter it, make signals of distress, pretending that they have sprung a leak, are in imminent danger of sinking, and obliged to seek for shelter in the port of a crown allied to the Republic. As soon as they come to an anchor, they inform the governor of their distress, and, as a full proof thereof, make him a very considerable present. Leave is obtained to unload the ship. The King's officers register the packages as they enter the warehouse, the doors of which are sealed, when the goods are all in. The business is then done in the night by a back-door. The European goods are taken out, and the bullion, indigo, cochineal, &c. are very exactly packed in the cases, and placed as they stood before. To enable those that have bought the goods to sell them publicly, the governor is petitioned to allow the strangers to dispose of as much of their cargo as may pay the expenses of the repairs. Thus the whole process is transacted with the forms of justice.

Gentleman's Magazine, Dec. 1747, p. 606.
Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 259. 370.

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" At Bonaire the Dutch had a fort and a garrison, and a considerable number of Indians, whose chief business was with cattle. They had horses and cows, but no sheep or hogs. The island was plentifully stocked with goats, which the inhabitants salted in great quantities, and sent to Curaçoa."

Upon the 28th of March, the Chevalier de Caylus, with the fleet under his command, arrived at Martinico, where he took on board 2700 men, and proceeded to St. Domingo. The Spaniards had also a strong squadron at the Havana. So considerable a force being in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, induced Governor Trelawney to assemble the militia, and proclaim martial law upon that island.

M. de Caylus detached M. de la Touche, with two frigates and some small craft, with about 700 men, to attack Anguilla. They appeared off the island, and landed their men upon the 21st of May. Governor Hodge, with 150 militia men of the island, defended a breastwork at a narrow pass with such success, that in less than a quarter of an hour the French retired, with the loss of thirty-two killed, twenty-five wounded, and fifty were made prisoners. La Touche was wounded in two places.

In Jamaica, about 900 Negroes had formed a plot to destroy all the white people, which was discovered by a Negro girl to her mistress, because they refused to save a child she had nursed.

His Majesty's ship Orford, of seventy guns, commanded by Admiral Perry Mayne, was lost in the windward passage. The crew were saved.

Sir Chaloner Ogle returned to England in June.

The ports of Essequibo and Demerary exported, this year, 1219 hhds. of sugar, in two ships.

1746.

In January, Vice-Admiral Townsend left St. Christopher's to proceed to Louisburg, with a strong squadron. In latitude 40° a violent storm obliged them all to return to the West Indies to refit, except the Princessa and Ipswich, who bore up for England. The Ipswich arrived in great distress at Plymouth, April the 22d: she had lost fifty men upon the passage, and had 200 dangerously ill when she came in, most of whom died at the hospital.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 283. 318.
Gentleman's Magazine, April 1745, p. 218. — June, p. 330.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.

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Captain Lisle, in the Severn, of fifty guns, in company with the Woolwich of the same force, with the Leeward Island fleet under convoy, were attacked by M. de Conflan's squadrons: and the Severn, after an action of three hours, was forced to strike to two line-of-battle ships. The rest of the French squadron pursued the Woolwich, who escaped, as did the convoy.

In November, the Fitzroy and Knowles, two privateers from St. Christopher's, with 185 men, attacked the island of St. Bartholomew's, and carried it by surprise, with the loss of ten men killed and one wounded. Near 400 white persons were made prisoners, and 300 Negroes, 200 of whom were immediately sent to St. Christopher's. Seventy English were left to secure the island.

November the 28th, Commodore Lee fell in with a French convoy, of which he captured fourteen sail, upon the Jamaica station.

His Majesty's ship Enterprize, Captain C. Holmes, captured the Vestal, Spanish register ship of sixty guns and 700 men, after an action of seven hours, and carried her into Jamaica. She had on board bale goods, and 975 barrels of quicksilver.

A considerable number of the prisoners taken during the rebellion were transported to the plantations in America.

Commodore Mitchel, off Cape Nicholas, engaged a French squadron under the command of M. de Conflans, but did not succeed in destroying them. In August, Commodore Mitchel was tried by a court-martial for his conduct: he was mulcted of five years' pay, and declared incapable of ever serving in the navy again.

In January, his Majesty's ship Woolwich captured a large French frigate, commanded by M. de la Touche.

The exports from Essequebo and Demerary employed two ships, and consisted of 1342½ hhds. of sugar, and one bag of coffee.

The population of Jamaica was estimated at 10,000 Whites, and 112,428 Blacks.

1747.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Lucas, lieutenant-governor of Antigua, died at Brest, being taken in an Antigua ship.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 319.
Gentleman's Magazine, Jan. 1747, pp. 43. 47. — Feb. p. 92. — May, p. 236.
Smollett, vol. xi. pp. 246. 264. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 377.

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The exports from Essequibo and Demerara employed two ships, and consisted of 559½ hhds. of sugar.

A French convoy of 180 sail, from St. Domingo to France, was chased by the English, and forty of them taken, worth £500,000.

M. de Conflans was taken going out to his government of St. Domingo, in the Renommée, of thirty-two guns and 300 men, by his Majesty's ship Dover, Captain Shirley, and carried into Plymouth. His Majesty's ship Amazon had engaged the Renommée some days before.

October the 14th, Rear-Admiral Hawke, with the fleet under his command, attacked a French fleet, part of whom were bound to Martinico, with a convoy, in latitude 47° 49′ N. and longitude 1° 2′ W. from Cape Finisterre, and, after a severe action, captured three seventy-fours, two sixty-fours, and a fifty gun-ship:—Le Terrible, 74; Le Monarque, 74; Le Neptune, 74; Le Trident, 64; Le Fougeux, 64; and Le Severn, 50. The fleet was under the command of M. de Etendiere, Chef d'Escadre, who escaped in the Tonnant of eighty guns. Twenty-three sail of the convoy were taken afterwards: eighteen captured by the Captain, Dreadnought, Dragon, and Ludlow Castle, were carried into Barbadoes, valued at £100,000.

Upon the 14th of April, Mr. Greenville superseded Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart. as captain-general and governor of Barbadoes.

Two violent hurricanes on September 21st and October 24th did great damage among the Leeward Islands. Fourteen sail were lost at St. Kitt's, and thirty-six at the other islands.

The French general and intendant issued an ordinance, 6th of April, 1747, concerning the police of Negroes:—

"Art. 1. Agreeably to art. 19, of the ordinance of 1685, masters who send their slaves to town to sell poultry, fruit, vegetables, &c. shall be obliged to give them a written authority to that effect, whether the slaves go on their own account or on account of their masters, under pain of confiscation of the effects, and imprisonment of the slaves.

"2. Officers of the police to make regular visits at the market-places on the Sundays and holidays, and other places where daily markets are kept, to examine the tickets in possession of the slaves, and to arrest those who are without.

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Parliamentary Papers, 1790, Lord Rodney's Examination.
Gentleman's Magazine, Oct. 1747, p. 482, from Gazette; p. 486, London Gazette.—Dec. 1747, pp. 556. 591.—April 1748, p. 173.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 47.

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"3. Agreeably to the before-recited ordinance, all other persons are permitted to arrest slaves found in possession of articles for sale without the requisite permission.

"4. Forbidding masters from sending their slaves beyond a league from their dwelling, without giving them a ticket containing the name of the slave and the master, under penalty of twelve livres against the master, and imprisonment of the slave.

"5. Forbidding all patrons of piraguas to afford retreat or passage to slaves of either sex, without a certificate from or accompanying their masters, under pain of eight days imprisonment, at the expence of the master or proprietor of the piragua or passage-boat!

1748.

In the beginning of the year, Mr. Greenville, the governor of Barbadoes, sent Captain Tyrrel in a frigate to Tobago, to learn the particulars of a French settlement then begun upon that island. Captain Tyrrel found 300 men, secured by two batteries and two ships of war. He gave the French officers to understand, that His Most Christian Majesty had no right to settle upon the island, which was declared neutral by treaties, and that, if they persisted, he should employ force to drive them away. In the night, Captain Tyrrel's vessel fell to leeward of the island, and the two French ships made the best of their way to Martinico. The next day, Captain Tyrrel, having no power to commence hostilities, returned to Barbadoes.

The Marquis de Caylus, governor of Martinico, had published an ordinance, authorizing the subjects of the French King to settle on the island of Tobago, and promising to defend them. In answer to this, Mr. Greenville, the governor of Barbadoes, issued a proclamation, commanding all the inhabitants to remove in thirty days, on pain of military execution.

The French court thought proper to disown the proceedings of the Marquis de Caylus, and sent him orders to discontinue the settlement, and evacuate the island of Tobago. At the same time, however, M. de Puysieux, the French minister, told the English resident at Paris, that France was undoubtedly in possession of that island towards the middle of the last century — omitting to mention, that, by the treaty of Nimeguen, it was restored to the Dutch.

Smollett, vol. xii. pp. 42, 43.

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The Dutch made several settlements on the banks of the river (De Mirara), commonly called Demerary, but at some distance up the river.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed four ships, and consisted of 2292 hogsheads of sugar.

At Jamaica, a law passed, allowing the manumitted as well as the free-born Negroes, Indians, and Mulattoes, to give evidence against one another, provided they had received their freedom six months previous to their offering such evidence.

Upon the 7th of October, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. By it Great Britain was to send two persons of rank to reside in France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conquests which His Britannic Majesty should have achieved in the East or West Indies before or after the preliminaries were signed; and that the Assiento contract, with the article of the annual ship, should be confirmed for four years. St. Vincent's, Dominica, Tobago, and St. Lucia were declared to be neutral islands, and to belong to the Caribs.

The right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not mentioned, though this claim was the origin of the differences between Great Britain and Spain.

The following is the 16th article, and is that which relates to the Assiento: —

"16. The treaty of the Assiento, signed at Madrid the 27th of March, 1713, and the article of the annual ship, making part of the said treaty, are particularly confirmed by the present treaty, for the four years during which the enjoyment was lost since the commencement of the present war, and shall be executed on the same footing and on the same conditions they have been or might be before the said war."

February the 13th, Admiral Knowles sailed from Jamaica, with the Canterbury, Captain Brodie; Plymouth, Captain Dent; Stafford, Captain Rentone; Warwick, Captain Innes, of sixty guns each; the Elizabeth, Captain Taylor; Lennox, Captain Holmes, of sixty-four; and Cornwall, Captain Chadwick, of eighty guns — strengthened with a detachment of 240 men from the governor's regiment at Jamaica.

Governor Trelawney accompanied Rear-Admiral Knowles. They intended to attack St. Jago de Cuba, but contrary winds

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 142. — Appendix.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 390. Smollett, vol. xi. p. 302. 308.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 296.
Gentleman's Magazine, May 1748, Gazette, p. 233.
Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 111.

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obliged them to give up the design, and they determined to attack Port Louis, in St. Domingo.

Upon the 8th of March, about one o'clock, he attacked the fort at Port Louis in St. Domingo, within pistol-shot. The place was defended by a fort mounting seventy-eight guns and 600 men, under the command of M. de Chateaunoye. The ships anchored within pistol-shot of the walls. Captain Rentone, of his Majesty's ship Stafford, was killed by a shot which took off his thigh, before the ships were moored in a close line a-head, and before they fired. A fire-ship was towed off by the boats, under a brisk fire of the French musketry. Two other fire-ships that were preparing to stand out were also taken by the boats; and, after a warm cannonading for about three hours, the admiral, finding the enemy were driven from their guns, summoned the governor to surrender, who sent an officer off with propositions, which the admiral rejected, and sent back the officer with a copy of the articles which he would allow, giving the governor an hour to determine, within which time they were accepted. They were as follows:—

"That the governor surrender instantly the fort up to the admiral, and no military officer or soldier in it to serve against His Britannic Majesty, or his allies, for the space of one year and one day from the date hereof.

"That, on those conditions, the admiral consents that the garrison march out, with their arms, colours flying, and drums beating, but without any cannon or mortars, or any ammunition whatsoever.

"That all the officers shall be allowed to carry such baggage as, upon their honour, is their own, but subject to be inspected if demanded; and that all the Negroes and Mulattoes that are absolutely their servants or property, the admiral will compliment them with; but all other Negroes and Mulattoes that are in the fort shall be delivered up, as right of capture; together with the fort, and all the cannon, munitions, and appurtenances thereunto belonging.

"Upon these conditions, the admiral agrees that this evening the garrison may march out, as before-mentioned; at the same time the keys of the castle shall be delivered up to the officer whom he sends to take possession, and the troops of His Britannic Majesty shall march in, as the others march out.

"That, for what lenity the admiral is disposed to shew the town and inhabitants, the conditions shall be settled between Governor Chateaunoye and him to-morrow.

"Dated on board His Britannic Majesty's ship Canterbury, in Port Louis, this 8th of March, 1747-8."

Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 111.

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In consequence of which, Major Scott, with the troops and the marines, were landed directly, and took possession of the fort. There were seventy-eight guns mounted, mostly forty-two, thirty-six, and twenty-eight pounders, and five mortars, with a great quantity of stores. The admiral found three ships, a snow, and three privateer sloops in the harbour, which he took possession of. The English lost nineteen killed, and sixty wounded: among the slain was Captain Rentone of the Stafford, and Captain Cast (who went a volunteer in the expedition). The enemy had 160 killed and wounded: 128 were killed outright. Besides the ships mentioned, the Worcester, Captain Andrews, of sixty guns; the Oxford, Captain Tole, of fifty, with the Weasel and Merlin sloops, were in reserve.

The fort was of stone, the merlons seven feet thick on their top, and stood on an island about a mile from the town of St. Louis. The English destroyed it.

From Port Louis, Admiral Knowles sailed for St. Jago, in Cuba. Captain Dent, of his Majesty's ship Plymouth, being senior, demanded as his right that he might go in first, but on his approach found a chain across, with booms, and also two large ships, and two small ones, fitted as fire-ships, to protect the boom. After several broadsides fired at the castle, Captain Dent consulted his officers, who all agreed that the ship would be lost if they attempted to break the chain: he therefore gave over the enterprize, and returned to Jamaica. Admiral Knowles tried him by a court-martial for his conduct upon this occasion: the court honourably acquitted him.

The House of Assembly at Jamaica, without a dissenting voice, passed a vote of thanks to the admiral for demolishing Fort Louis, which they designated as "the effect of prudent, well-concerted measures, and a vigorous and resolute execution," not "biassed by pecuniary selfish views."

On the 1st of October, Admiral Knowles, with seven sail of the line, engaged a Spanish fleet, under the command of Admirals Reggio and Spinola, off the Havana. The engagement continued from between two and three P.M. until eight, when the Spaniards got into that port with the loss of two ships, one of which, the Conquistador, struck to the English admiral, and the other, the Africa, with Vice-Admiral Reggio's flag on board, ran ashore, and was set on fire by her own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English.

Gent. Magazine, May 1748, Private Letter, p. 234. — June, p. 281. — Nov. p. 523.
Smollett, vol. xi. p. 300.
Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 113.

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The action continued from three until eleven P.M., when the Spaniards ran their ships so near the breakers, that it was deemed unsafe to follow them. Two hours more daylight, and the whole Spanish squadron would have been taken.

SPANISH SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.	MEN.
Africa	Vice-Admiral Reggio	74	710
Invincible	Rear-Admiral Spinola	74	700
Conquistador	Don T. Juste	64	each 610
Dragon	Don M. de la Pas	64	
New Spain	Don F. Barella	64	
Royal Family	S. M. Forrestal	64	
Galgo	Don P. Garrechoca	36	300

ENGLISH SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.	MEN.
Cornwall	Admiral Knowles, Captain Taylor	80	600
Tilbury	—— Powlett	60	each 400
Strafford	—— Brodie	60	
Lenox	—— Holmes	56	
Warwick	—— Innis	60	
Canterbury	—— Clark	60	
Oxford	—— Toll	60	300

Admiral Knowles gave his prize-money for this action, and for the attack on Port Louis, to the foremast-men of the fleet: it amounted to £6000.

Admiral Knowles blamed some of his captains, and two of them were reprimanded by the sentence of a court-martial: he also fought a duel with Captain Powlet, and was himself, upon his return to England, tried by a court-martial by the captains of his squadron, found guilty of negligence, and reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order, when he attacked the Spanish fleet off Cuba, and also for not shifting his flag on the Cornwall's being disabled.

The return of the population of Barbadoes for this year, was, 15,252 Whites, 107 free Negroes, and 47,025 Slaves. "Governor Grenville remarked, that the real number of white people was 25,000, and of Blacks 68,000."

Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. pp. 114. 286. Smollett, vol. xi. p. 301. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 407 Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1798, Supplement to No. 15.

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1749.

After many delays and subterfuges, an agreement was signed at Martinico by M. de Caylus and Commodore Holborne, November the 27th, 1749, whereby the French obliged themselves to evacuate the island of Tobago.

M. Maurice, Governor of Surinam, concluded a treaty with the Bush Negroes. Adoe, a Creole Negro, was their chieftain; he agreed to make peace with the governor, but exacted, as one stipulation, a regular supply of powder and fire-arms. The treaty was ratified by an exchange of presents. It appeared afterwards, that Adoe was but a petty chieftain. Another Negro, called Zamzam, still continued to demand contributions.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed eight ships, and consisted of 3579½ hhds. of sugar, and one bag of coffee.

The exports from the French in St. Domingo were estimated at £2,200,000, and were supposed to be much underrated at that.

The laws against runaway slaves were increased in severity, in Jamaica, this year.

Now, if a native slave of eighteen years of age, or an imported slave who had been three years resident, ran away, and was absent six months, they were to suffer *death*, or such other punishment as a majority of the members of the slave-court should think fit to inflict; and harbouring the fugitive was made punishable with death, without the same qualification as in the case of the fugitive himself.

But it was only in the case of a slave's doing so, that it made a capital offence.

Slaves hunting with instruments of death, unless in company with their master, guilty of felony. No slave to carry fire-arms without a ticket, under penalty of such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb, as two justices shall think meet. A person killing a slave in the fact of stealing or running away, or, in the night, off his owner's estate, or on the road, and refusing to submit, not liable to action or damage for the same.

A slave maliciously poisoning a free person, to suffer death. A slave selling in any public place any other goods than such as belong to his owner, to be whipped.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 416.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 344. — Appendix.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 526; vol. ii. p. 488. Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 287.

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The legislature of Jamaica passed an act for the encouragement of settlers. "It empowered commissioners to appoint agents in Great Britain or elsewhere, and to contract with white families to come over, and with masters of ships for their passage, and to draw from the island treasury a sum not exceeding £6000 currency per annum." It enacted, that such families should be lodged and subsisted, until they could be provided with lands or employment. That owners of land conveying in fee-simple to the head of every family twenty acres of good land, within a mile of some inhabited settlement, with four of the twenty planted with provisions, a dwelling-house of £50 value, one Negro of £35 value, and £20 in money, should be entitled to £145 for each family; or any owner entering into a bond of £500 to perform this within six months, and in the mean time furnishing the new comers with board and lodging, should be entitled to the £145, with £8 per cent. per annum interest.

"Every person settling a family at his own expence, to have the above sum, and £10 further, for each person of his family."

Admiral Knowles left the Jamaica station for England. Previous to sailing, he received a letter of thanks from the Assembly, regretting his quitting a command which, they say, "you have filled with so much glory to the British nation, and such peculiar honour to yourself, and with such signal advantages to trade in general." Governor Trelawney also bore honourable testimony to his public spirit in a farewell letter.

1750.

A treaty was concluded at Madrid between England and Spain, which determined those points that had not been settled at Aix-la-Chapelle. The King of Spain engaged to pay in three months, to the South Sea Company of England, £100,000 sterling, as an indemnification for all claims upon his crown by virtue of the Assiento. It was stipulated, that the English should pay no other duties than those which were exacted of them in the reign of Charles II. of Spain; that they should be treated on the footing of the most favoured nations, and continue to enjoy the privilege of taking salt at the island of Tortuga. But there was no article restricting the guarda costas from searching the British vessels on the high seas.

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 428.
Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 117.
Smollett, vol. xii. p. 85.

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The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed five ships, and consisted of 2529 hogsheads of sugar, and one bag of coffee.

About this year, the Spanish government adopted a new mode of sending home their treasures from Mexico: they appointed register ships instead of fleets—neither their number or time of sailing were made known. "This uncertainty caused such a variation in the prices of the commodities usually purchased by the French smugglers of Martinico, that they no longer found it advantageous to run the hazard of being taken by the guarda costas, or armed vessels, which were constantly stationed on the coasts of the American territories of Spain to watch this illegal commerce. Thus the trade was finally lost."

The Guipuscoa Company were all Biscayans, and established cruisers on the coast and posts on the land, to destroy the contraband trade. For this service, ten armed vessels, containing86 guns and 518 men, were employed, and 102 men on shore. The pay of this establishment cost annually 200,000 dollars.

In Jamaica, by act 24. v. 2. 6. slaves having fire-arms in their possession, or bayonet, sword, cutlass, lance, or other military weapon, death, or such other punishment as the justices think fit. 7. Having tickets excepted.

1751.

Monsieur Bossu, whose testimony, Mr. Long says, is of great weight, relates, that some French planters "force their wretched slaves to such hard labour, that they refuse to marry, in order to avoid generating a race of beings to be enslaved to such masters, who treat them, when old and infirm, worse than their dogs and horses. I have seen," he adds, "a planter whose name was Chaperon, who forced one of his Negroes to go into a heated oven where the poor wretch expired: and his jaws being shrivelled up, the barbarous owner said 'I believe the fellow laughs,' and took a poker to stir him up! Since this event he became the scarecrow among all the slaves, who, when they do amiss, are threatened by their masters to be sent to Chaperon."

The imports into Jamaica from England were rated at £261,728 5s.

The Assembly passed an act, "that no other payment should

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 312. Depon's South America, vol. ii. p. 16.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 440.

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for the future be allowed and deemed a good payment in the law, except in current coin of gold and silver," "unless in such cases where both parties might agree for payment in sugars, or other produce of the island."

Also, to prevent the wanton killing of slaves, declaring it felony, and punishable with imprisonment not exceeding twelve months; and for the second offence to suffer death.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed four ships, and consisted of 1445 hhds. of sugar, two bags of coffee, and four bales of cotton.

1752.

The court-house at Savannah-la-Mar, in Jamaica, was built this year, for the purpose of holding courts of common pleas, the quarter sessions of the justices of the peace, elections, and parish business. "Underneath the court-house are the barracks, capable of holding seventy men: a company of regulars constantly do garrison duty." But the situation is not healthy: a tract of undrained morass land, seven miles in length, lies to windward, which being covered with mangroves, and lying below the level of the sea, cannot well be drained.

By an exact account taken of the quit-rents paid in Jamaica, the quantity of land patented was 1,500,000 acres, and the imports from thence into Great Britain, at a medium of four years, £762,000. "It was supposed that the planters required a yearly recruit of 2700 mules."

One hundred and eight families and fifteen artificers were settled in Jamaica, under the encouragement given by several acts of the legislature to new comers, and continued to this year; but many of these families failed — it is said, for want of Negro labourers.

The rate of interest was fixed in Jamaica, by an act of the Assembly, at £6 on Jamaica loans, and £5 per cent. on British loans.

The number of inhabitants upon the Bahamas was estimated at 2486 Whites and Blacks. Governor Trelawney reported, that 307,744 Negroes had been imported into Jamaica from 1702 to 1752.

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 350. 379. 412. 428. 500. 534.; vol. ii. p. 492.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 364.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed six ships, and consisted of 2606½hhds. of sugar, one bag of coffee, and one bale of cotton.

1753.

The 24th of December, 1753, the French general and intendant issued regulations, by which, art. 34, "all procedures and judgments against slaves in criminal matters gratis, unless the master undertake the cause."

The inhabitants of Kingston, in Jamaica, petitioned the King, that Kingston might be the seat of government, and that the courts of justice and the records might be moved there, from St. Jago de la Vega — the inhabitants of which town presented a counter-petition against it.

The reasons given by the governor, Rear-Admiral Knowles, for changing the seat of government from Spanish Town to Kingston, were, that "three of the enemy's frigates, with 500 soldiers, might at any time anchor in the evening in Old Harbour, and by a *coup-de-main* take the governor out of his bed at Spanish Town, burn the chancery and archives, and then return safe, by forced marches, to Blue Fields, where, if the frigates had sailed immediately on their landing, they might re-imbark." In 1756, the seat of government was again removed to Spanish Town.

The Assembly, in a money bill, thought fit to appoint another officer, instead of the receiver-general appointed by the crown, to receive and issue the money; and in some other bills the Assembly omitted the clause, "for suspending the execution of them till his Majesty's pleasure could be known." These bills the governor refused to pass — upon which the Assembly resolved, the 29th of October, 1753,

"1. That they had an undoubted right to raise and apply money for the service of the state, and to appoint whom they pleased to receive and issue it.

"2. That by letters patent, granted by King Charles the Second to Sir Thomas Lynch, then governor of Jamaica, and all subsequent letters patent, all laws and ordinances made by the Assembly, and assented to by the governor, were immediately in full force and effect, and continued to be so till they were 'disannulled' by the crown.

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 555. Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 48.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1754, p. 350.
Memoirs of Sir Charles Knowles, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 119.
Smollett, vol. xii. p. 467.

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"3. That no clause hath ever been inserted in any act, by which the execution of it was suspended till his Majesty's pleasure could be known.

"4. That if it had, the island could not have been preserved till now against its foreign and intestine enemies.

"5. That, therefore, if such clause should be now inserted, his Majesty would be in danger of losing his colony and his subjects, not their property only, but their lives, because they could not legally exert themselves in defence of either.

"6. That if such clause were inserted, the island would in a short time be totally without laws for its government, as the bills might lie many years without being offered to his Majesty for his approbation, as many heretofore passed have done, and many now do.

"7. That as the insertion of such clause would be a great alteration in the known and established constitution of this island, and contrary to the undoubted right of the subject, it could not be consented to, without giving up that liberty which has been enjoyed under his present Majesty, and his royal predecessors, above seventy years."

Three hundred Spaniards attacked the Bay-men in the bay of Honduras. The Spaniards were repulsed with great loss, by very inferior numbers.

The Board of Trade reported to the House of Commons, that several acts of Assembly had been passed in Jamaica, for introducing white people, and that this had cost the island £17,300 15s. 4d. since 1739.

In Barbadoes there were 69,870 Negroes this year.

The population of Cayenne was estimated at 500 Whites, 1500 Negroes, and 1200 native Indians. The produce at 260,000 lbs. of arnotto, 80,000 lbs. of sugar, 18,000 lbs. of cotton, 27,000 lbs. of coffee, and 92,000 of cacao.

Baron Spoke succeeded to the governorship of Surinam.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed one ship, and consisted of 447½ hhds. of sugar.

The population of Grenada consisted of 1263 Whites, 175 free people of colour, and 11,991 slaves. It contained 2298 horses and mules, 2456 horned cattle, 3278 sheep, 902 goats, and 331 hogs.

The cultivation rose to eighty-three sugar plantations, 2,725,600 coffee-trees, 150,300 cocoa-trees, and 800 cotton-

Gentleman's Magazine, 1754, p. 434.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement, No. 15.
Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 350. Edwards, vol. i. p. 346.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, pp. 317. 344. — Appendix.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 54.

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trees. Their stock of common vegetable provision consisted of 5,740,450 trenches of cassada, 953,596 banana-trees, and 143 squares of potatoes and yams.

1754.

By an account kept in Barbadoes, it appeared that 7 feet $3\frac{1}{100}$ inches perpendicular of rain fell in the course of this year.

In September, a hurricane did great damage, in St. Domingo, to the sugar and indigo plantations. Twelve ships were driven on shore, and 1700 hhds. of sugar were lost.

The Spaniards began to erect fortifications in the bay of Honduras—200 sail of small vessels were employed to bring the materials, and three men-of-war to protect them.

The whole of the Danish West India trade employed only seven ships, of from 80 to 120 tons burthen each.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed two ships, and consisted of 285 hhds. of sugar and one bale of cotton.

Governor Trelawney stated, that in 1752 and 1754, 15,601 Negroes were imported into Jamaica, of whom 2336 were exported.

An act was passed in Jamaica, for removing the records, books, and papers belonging to the several offices, from St. Jago de la Vega to the town of Kingston.

1755.

Some Spanish guarda costas having given disturbance to the British trade in the West Indies, Sir B. Keene, the British ambassador at Madrid, complained of it, and received for answer, that the names of all the guarda costas acting by legal authority, together with those of their captains, should be sent to the admiral commanding the British squadron in the West Indies, and that the guarda costas should have orders not to interfere with any British ships but such as were carrying on a contraband trade.

Edwards, vol. i. p. 12. Gentleman's Magazine, 1754, pp. 577, 578.
Annual Register, 1759, p. 57. Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 495.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, No. 15.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 419.

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This year, an organ which cost £440 sterling was set up in the church at St. Jago, in Jamaica.

Governor Knowles stated the population of Jamaica to have been this year 12,000 Whites, and 130,000 slaves. The militia, 3000.

Some Barcelona merchants were incorporated, by charter, with the liberty of trading to St. Domingo, Puerto Rico, and Marguerite; but the restrictions imposed were so heavy, that no use was ever made of the privilege.

The abuses of the Danish West India Company excited so much discontent, both in the colonies and among the merchants of the mother country, that the King of Denmark purchased the whole rights of the exportation for a sum not exceeding half a million of rix dollars, and laid open the trade to all his subjects, under conditions which varied from time to time.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary were suspended this year.

The population of Guadaloupe consisted of 9643 Whites and 41,140 slaves. Her saleable commodities were, the produce of 334 sugar plantations; fifteen plots of indigo; 46,840 stems of cocoa; 11,700 of tobacco; 2,257,725 of coffee; 12,028,520 banana-trees; and 32,577,950 trenches of cassava. The cattle consisted of 4924 horses; 2924 mules; 125 asses; 13,716 head of horned cattle; 11,162 sheep or goats, and 2444 hogs.

The number of inhabitants upon the Bahamas, Whites and Blacks, were said to have been 2522.

In July, the English issued orders for making general reprisals upon the French; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be brought into British ports. This was done in consequence of their encroachments in America. Before the end of the year, 300 merchant ships, many of which, from St. Domingo and Martinico, were extremely rich, and 8000 sailors, were brought into English ports.

This year, only four small vessels were sent from Martinico to Canada, instead of twenty, and sometimes thirty, which were wont to go.

In September, the governor of Martinico sent to the governor of Barbadoes to state, that as a British squadron, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, had taken two of his master's ships, and might attack his master's islands also, he had ordered, by way of reprisals for those ships, that the island of St. Lucia

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 5.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement, No. 15.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. pp. 434. 493.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 313. 388. Smollett, vol. xii. p. 250.
Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1755, p. 522.

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should be taken and fortified in his master's name, and that he should endeavour to protect all his subjects in the best manner he could.

The French exports from Martinico, Guadaloupe, La Granda, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent were, 26,400 hhds. of white or first clayed sugar; 11,200 second; 8900 "tates," or thirds; 16,370 brown; 3,600,000 lbs. of coffee; 573,000 lbs. cotton; 82,000 lbs. ginger.

From St. Domingo, 106,200 hhds. of which 105,000 were white sugars; 22,000 lbs. coffee; 184,000 lbs. cotton; 900,000 hhds. indigo; 230,000 lbs. ginger; 184,000 pimento.

1756.

In May, war was declared between England and France. The French not evacuating the four neutral islands in the West Indies, is assigned as one of the causes of the war.

The population of the Virgin Islands amounted, this year, to 1263 Whites, and 6121 Blacks. They petitioned government to be placed upon the same footing as the other islands, by the establishment of a civil governor and courts of justice.

Henry Moore, Esquire, was appointed lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.

Charles Pilford, Esquire, was appointed governor of Barbadoes, in room of Henry Grenville, Esquire.

Sunday, February the 8th, a fire broke out at Barbadoes, in a store-house belonging to Joseph Blackman, Esquire, which spreading to the adjacent premises, 160 houses were destroyed before it could be extinguished.

His Majesty's ship Warwick, of sixty guns, Captain, afterwards Lord Shuldham, was taken off Martinico, March the 11th, by the Chevalier d'Aubigny, in the Prudent, seventy-four, in company with the Atalanta and Zephyr, of thirty guns each.

The official returns of the population in the following islands were as follows:—

	Whites.	Negroes.
Antigua -	3412	31,428
Nevis -	1058	8380
St. Kitt's -	2713	21,891
Montserrat -	1430	8853
Virgin Islands	1263	6121

Gent. Mag. Jan. 1756, p. 44.—Feb. p. 92.—April, p. 205.—June, p. 311.—July, p. 360. Smollett, vol. xii. p. 342. Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 355. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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"The governor represented, that the Whites had decreased since the last accounts owing to a malignant fever in 1755; that the Negroes had increased, from the great importations in 1755."

In St. Kitt's, there were 321 more white women than men.

The population returns for the Bermudas state the number of inhabitants at 6402 Whites and 4900 slaves.

The population of Tortola consisted of 1263 Whites, and 6121 Blacks. Their sugar, cotton, and great part of their rum, they remitted to England. The rest of their rum, and all their molasses, they bartered with the Americans for provisions.

"The provincial court" appointed for the ease and benefit of the merchants and the people in general, "by the management of some few self-interested individuals, became an engine of injustice and oppression to the people, as may be collected from the minutes of their proceedings in the secretary's office at Tortola.

"Nothing appeared to be of sufficient importance to revive the 'sinking credit' of the inhabitants, but the establishment of some permanent laws, which should give at once security to property, and enable the creditor to recover his just demand, where honour and virtue had not a sufficient efficacy to discharge the obligation.

"On these considerations, the 'virtuous colonists' began to entertain serious hopes that the British government would place them on an equal footing with the neighbouring islands, by establishing among them constitutional courts of justice, and by giving them a civil government which would rescue them from their dependent state; and a formal request was made accordingly. From a compliance with this request, they promised themselves a revival of their wounded credit, and a discharge of their public debts."

These requests to the British government were made in 1756.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed three ships, and consisted of 1918½hhds. of sugar, eight tierces of coffee, and three bales of cotton.

The inhabitants of Jamaica, about this time, began to erect, in the town of St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, "an immense pile of spacious apartments," calculated to contain, under one roof, the assembly-room, or house of commons, the speaker's chamber, the court-house, and jury-room, on the upper story; and on the ground floor, suitable offices for the secretary of the island, the provost marshal, the register of the court of chancery, and the clerks of the crown and of the courts of law. "Such a

Smollett, vol. xii. pp. 466, 467.
Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 339.; vol. iii. pp. 98. 100. quoting Suckling's Hist. Tortola.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.

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vast undertaking necessarily made but a slow process, the sums requisite to complete the whole being paid in by instalments; so that it was upwards of thirty years before it was entirely occupied."

The seeds of the Barbadoes cabbage-tree were first introduced into Jamaica by Governor Knowles, who, on the 27th of January, was permitted, by his Majesty, to resign the government of that island, agreeable to his request.

The imports from England into Jamaica were rated at £348,720 4s. 9d.

1757.

A committee of the House of Commons, appointed to examine papers from Jamaica, came to the resolution, that a certain resolution of the Assembly of Jamaica, dated October the 29th, 1753, implying a claim of right in that Assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his Majesty's commission to his governor of the said island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great Britain; that the six last resolutions, taken in the same day, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the King's instructions to his governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his Majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill until his Majesty's pleasure should be known; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects of Jamaica.

Captain Wellard, in his Majesty's ship Assistance, chased two privateers and their prize into Tiburon Bay, St. Domingo: they sought protection under a battery of five guns; but Captain Wellard towed in the Assistance, and on the 21st of November burnt the two privateers, sunk their prize, and dismounted all the guns in the battery. One of the privateers carried eighteen guns.

His Majesty's ship Greenwich, of fifty guns, Captain Roddam, was, on the 18th of March, captured by a squadron under the command of M. de Beaufremont, consisting of five sail of the line and some frigates. The Greenwich was cruizing on the Jamaica station.

Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 372. Gent. Mag., Feb. 1756, p. 88.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 500. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 45. 47.

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Mr. Cromelyn succeeded to the governorship of Surinam. He pursued the system adopted by his predecessors, of pacifying the Bush Negroes by occasional presents.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed three ships, and consisted of 1594 hogsheads of sugar.

The population of Barbadoes is stated at 16,772 Whites; 63,645 slaves.

Arrêt of the Conseil Souverain of Martinique, 7th of November, 1757:—

"Slaves who hire themselves, and found acting in contravention to the dispositions of the arrêt and regulations of 1733 and 1749, to be confiscated; half of value to be paid to the informer, other half to the public.

"All proprietors of slaves convicted of having hired their houses or chambers to slaves, condemned to pay a fine of 500 livres.

"Keepers of public houses, as well as free Negroes and Mulattoes, are forbid to give a lodging or shelter to slaves, even with their masters' permission, excepting slaves bearing their masters' orders, under penalty of 5000 livres."

In this year, Captain Thompson was a midshipman on board his Majesty's ship Stirling Castle, and landed at Tobago, "where the Europeans had as yet no settlement." He says, "having wandered into the woods in search of wild oranges, he was surprised by the discovery of a hut, the inhabitant of which, a venerable-looking man, addressed him in French; and, to his astonishment, declared he had resided twenty-one years in that solitary situation, having scarcely any communication with a human being. The Indians, he said, would sometimes call at his hermitage, when hunting, give him part of their game, and shave his beard off with their knives; but he had never paid attention enough to their language to converse in it. He had been a priest in Martinico; but advancing some tenet which gave offence, he was seized in the night, and transported to Tobago. Offers were made to convey him to Europe, which he declined, observing that he was perfectly reconciled to his situation, and happier than he could be in any other."

October the 21st, Captain Forrest, in his Majesty's ship Augusta, in company with the Dreadnought, Captain Suckling, and Edinburgh, Captain Langdon, cruizing off Cape François, in St. Domingo, attacked four sail of the line and three frigates, from that port, under the command of M. de Kersin. Captain

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 344.—Appendix.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 48.
Memoirs of Captain Thompson, Naval Chronicle, vol. vi. p. 443.
Smollett, vol. xii. p. 234.

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Forrest engaged them two hours and a half, and succeeded in forcing them to return into port, with the loss of 600 men in killed and wounded. The English were also obliged to return to Jamaica.

After repairing his damages, Captain Forrest, in the Augusta, was dispatched by Admiral Cotes, to cruize off the island of Gonave for two days, and then to join him off Cape Nicholas. The Augusta proceeded between Gonave and Española with Dutch colours flying, and disguised with tarpaulings. Captain Forrest observed seven sail standing to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion, till it was dark, when he made all sail after them, and at ten P.M. he came alongside one of them, and threatened to sink her if she gave any alarm; and putting thirty-five men on board, and taking out her crew, he made sail after the rest, and at daylight was in the middle of their fleet, at all of whom he began to fire, as he could get his guns to bear. They returned the fire for some time: at last the Marguerite, Solide, and Theodore struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, La Flore Brilliant, and Mars. Thus by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and protection. The prizes were all richly laden and arrived safe at Jamaica.

The Assembly of Barbadoes voted 100 pistoles to purchase a sword, to be given to Captain Middleton of the navy, for his exertions in protecting the trade, and destroying seventeen privateers.

In consequence of a petition from the inhabitants of the island of Guadaloupe to the court of France, M. Peyssonel, a physician, was sent to enquire into the nature of the leprosy that had broken out in that island: it first made its appearance about twenty-five or thirty years before. The apprehension of being infected with this disease, occasioned very great alarm among all the inhabitants. They became suspicious of each other. The complaints and enmities which charges of infection occasioned produced great disturbance. Various petitions were presented to the commandants and intendants, demanding an universal inspection of all persons suspected of labouring under this disease, in order that those found infected might be removed into lazarettoes, or places at a distance from all communication with others. M. Peyssonel found the infected persons most anxious to conceal it. The greater number pretended that the rats had eaten off their toes, or that they had once burnt themselves.

Smollett, vol. xii. pp. 236. 239, 240. Annual Register, 1758.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 42.
Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. iii. art. 208. p. 259.

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1758.

The 13th of May, 1758, Arrêt du Conseil Souverain of Martinique: —

"Art. 6. Two registers to be kept in each parish, in which to be inserted the baptism and marriages of slaves."

Till this year, all causes of more than 40s. throughout the island of Jamaica, were tried at St. Jago de la Vega. This year, an act was passed dividing the island into three circuits, in each of which assizes to be held three times a year.

In February, at Bridgetown, Barbadoes, 120 houses were destroyed by fire.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed two ships, and consisted of 859½ hogsheads of sugar.

In March, Captain Tyrrel, in his Majesty's ship Buckingham, in company with the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort in Grandance Bay, Martinico, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection.

Letter from Captain Tyrrel to Commodore Moore.

"Agreeable to your orders, I sailed on Thursday night from St. John's road; the next morning I got between Guadaloupe and Montserrat, and gave chase to a sail we espied in the N. W., which proved to be his Majesty's sloop Weazle: upon inquiry, having found that she had not met his Majesty's ship Bristol, I ordered Captain Boyles to come on board for directions as to his farther proceedings.

"While his orders were writing out, we discovered a fleet of nineteen sail W.S.W., standing to the S.S.W., upon which we immediately gave chase with all the sail we could possibly crowd. About two o'clock we discovered that they were convoyed by a French man-of-war of seventy-four guns, and two large frigates. About half an hour after two, the Weazle got so close as to receive a whole broadside from the seventy-four gun ship, which did her little or no damage. I then made the signal to call the Weazle off, and gave her lieutenant orders not to go near the seventy-four gun ship or the frigates, as the smallest of the latter was vastly superior to him in force. By following this advice, he could not come to fire a shot during the whole action; neither, indeed, could he have been of any service.

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 48. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 11. Annual Register, 1758, pp. 96, 97. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix. Smollett, vol. xii. p. 298. Capt. Tyrrel's Letter, Annual Register, 1759, p. 61. Naval Chronicle, vol. x. p. 359.

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"While I made all the sail I could, they were jogging on under their fore-sails and top-sails; and when we came up within half-gun-shot, they made a running fight, firing their stern-chase. The frigates sometimes raking fore and aft, annoyed me very much, but also so retarded their own way, that I got up with my bowsprit almost over the Florissant's stern.

"Finding that I could not bring the enemy to a general action, I gave the Buckingham a yaw under his lee, and threw into him a noble dose of great guns and small arms, at about the distance of half musket-shot, which he soon after returned, and damaged my rigging, masts and sails, considerably. The largest frigate being very troublesome, I gave him a few of my lower-deck pills, and sent him running like a lusty fellow, so that he never returned into action again. The Florissant likewise bore away, by which means he got under my lee, and exchanged three or four broadsides (endeavouring still to keep at a distance from me), which killed and wounded some of my men. I presume, however, we did him as much damage, as our men were very cool, took good aim, were under good discipline, and fought with a true English spirit. An unlucky broadside from the French made some slaughter on my quarter-deck; at the same time I myself was wounded, losing three fingers of my right hand, and receiving a small wound over my right eye, which, by the effusion of blood, blinded me for a little while; I also had several contusions from splinters; but recovering immediately, I would not go off deck till the loss of blood began to weaken me. The master and lieutenant of marines were dangerously wounded at the same time.

"I called to my people to stand by and do their duty, which they promised with the greatest cheerfulness. I then went down and got the blood stopped, but returned upon deck again, till, finding the strain made my wounds bleed a-fresh, I sent for the first lieutenant, and told him to take command of the deck for a time. He answered me, that he would take her alongside the Florissant yard-arm and yard-arm, and fight to the last gasp. Upon which I made a speech to the men, exhorting them to do their utmost, which they cheerfully promised, and gave three cheers.

"I went down a second time, more easy than before. Poor Mr. Marshall was as good as his word; he got board and board with the Florissant, and received a broadside from her, which killed him as he was encouraging the men: thus he died, an honour to his country and to the service! The second lieutenant then came upon deck, and fought the ship bravely, yard-arm and yard-

Naval Chronicle, vol. x. p. 359.

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arm. We silenced the Florissant for some time, and she hauled down her colours, but after that fired about eleven of her lower tier, and gave us a volley of small arms, which our people returned with great fury, giving her three broadsides, she not returning even a single gun. Captain Troy, at the same time, at the head of his marines, performed the service of a brave and gallant officer, clearing the Florissant's poop and quarter-deck, and driving her men, like sheep, down their main-deck. Our top-men were not idle; they plied their hand-grenades and swivels to excellent purpose. It is impossible to describe the uproar and confusion the French were in.

"It being now dark, and we having all the rigging in the ship shot away, the enemy, seeing our condition, took the opportunity, set her fore-sail and top-gallant-sails, and ran away. We endeavoured to pursue her with what rags of sails we had left, but to no purpose. Thus we lost one of the finest two-deck gun ships my eyes ever beheld.

"I cannot bestow encomiums too great on the people and officers' behaviour, and I hope you will strenuously recommend the latter to the Lords of the Admiralty, as they richly deserve their favour. Notwithstanding the great fatigue the ship's company had experienced during the day, they cheerfully continued up all night knotting and splicing the rigging, and bending the sails.

"I flatter myself, when you reflect that one of the ships of your squadron, with no more than sixty-five guns (as you know some of them were disabled last January, and not supplied), and four hundred and seventy-two well men at quarters, should beat three French men-of-war, one of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred men; another of thirty-eight guns, three hundred and fifty men; and one of twenty-eight guns, two hundred and fifty men; you will not think we have been deficient in our duty. If we had had the good luck to join the Bristol, it would have crowned all.

"Captain Boyles being on board the Buckingham, I gave him directions to go down and superintend the lower-deck, which he performed with great alacrity.

"As we have been so greatly damaged in our masts, yards, sails and rigging, particularly our masts, I have thought proper to send the carpenter of the Buckingham, as he can better give you an account by word of mouth, of what fishes we shall want, than I can in many words of writing.

"Before I conclude, I cannot help representing to you the inhuman, ungenerous, and barbarous behaviour of the French

Naval Chronicle, vol. x. p. 359.

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during the action: no rascally picaroon or pirate could have fired worse stuff into us than they did; such as square bits of iron, old rusty nails, and, in short, every thing that could tend to the destruction of men; a specimen of which, please God, I shall produce to you upon my arrival.

"I send you enclosed a list of the slain and wounded.

"Killed — One officer, five seamen, one marine. Slightly wounded — Two midshipmen, twenty-six seamen, three marines.

"Died of their wounds — One midshipman, one seaman.

"N.B. — The officer killed was Mr. George Marshall, first lieutenant: and the officers wounded were, Captain Tyrrel; Mr. Matthew Winterborne, master; and Mr. Harris, lieutenant of marines."

1759.

The different governors in the several quarters of Martinico sent a memorial to the commander-in-chief, in which they complained of the conduct of the French merchants, accusing them of arbitrarily disposing of all the provisions brought in, and of all the planters' commodities sent out of the island: the consequence of which was, that the former was at as high a price as their avarice could raise it, and the latter as low as self-interest could sink it. For two months the colony had been destitute of all kinds of provisions. The masters were unable to support their slaves, who were dying of hunger. Many of the best-provided inhabitants were without a grain of salt in their houses. The cattle employed to work the mills were killed, to feed the sick and Negro children. The memorial states, that from half-starved slaves, to whom all bondage was equal, dreadful consequences might be apprehended; that upon the citadel of Fort Royal depended the safety of the country; and if that fort was properly provided, and magazines established in the different quarters of the island for supplying provisions and ammunition, every man would vigorously oppose an invading army. The memorial was dated January 1st, and signed by Chaillon, De Folleville, De Lignery, Lou, Villiers de Poincey, and Rouille. From this it is evident that their assistance was only conditional, and their situation bad.

Captain Collingwood, in his Majesty's ship Crescent, on the 13th of August, attacked the Amethyste and Berkely, two French frigates, off the island of St. Christopher's, and succeeded in bringing the Berkely into Basse Terre.

Two French frigates, the Hardy, of twenty guns and 150

Annual Register, 1759, pp. 102. 209. Smollett, vol. xiv. p. 109.

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men, and the Hermione, of twenty-six guns and 170 men, were also taken by the squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Cotes, and sent into Jamaica.

Upon the 3d of January, Commodore Hughes, with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb ketches, and a fleet of transports, having on board 5374 troops, under the command of Major-General Hopson, arrived at Barbadoes, where they were joined by Commodore Moore, who took the command of the united squadrons, amounting to ten sail of the line, besides frigates and small craft.[1] 450 Highlanders were embarked at Barbadoes, and the armament sailed from Carlisle Bay upon the 13th of January. Upon the 15th, the fleet entered Port Royal Bay, Martinico; and the Florissant, seventy-four, which had been so roughly handled by Captain Tyrrel in the Buckingham, was by the French hauled into the carenage behind the fortifications. A frigate escaped in the night, running through the transports: she was chased by his Majesty's ship Winchester, but outsailed her.

Next day, the Bristol, Captain Leslie, and Rippon, Captain Jekyl, attacked Fort Negro, which was soon silenced and taken possession of by a detachment of seamen and marines, who entered the fort through the embrasures with fixed bayonets, the enemy flying before them. The British colours were immediately hoisted, and a detachment ordered to keep possession of

Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 129. 132. 448.
Memoirs of Sir John Moore, Bart., Naval Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 438.

[1] *List of Commodore Moore's Fleet.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
Cambridge	80	John Moore, commodore. Captain Thomas Burnett.
St. George	90	—— Clark Gayton.
Norfolk	74	—— Robert Hughes.
Buckingham	70	—— Richard Tyrrel.
Burford	70	—— James Gambier.
Berwick	64	—— William Harman.
Lion	60	—— William Trelawney.
Rippon	60	—— Edward Jekyl.
Panther	60	—— M. Shuldham.
Winchester	50	—— Edward Le Cras.
Bristol	50	—— Lauchlin Leslie.
Woolwich	44	—— Peter Parker.
Roebuck	44	—— Thomas Lynn.
Ludlow Castle	40	—— E. Clarke, 1st.
Renown	32	—— George Mackenzie.
Amazon	36	—— William Norton.
Rye	20	—— Daniel Deering.
Bonetta	14	—— Richard King.
Weazle	14	—— John Boles.
Antigua	12	—— Western Varlo.
Spy	10	—— William Bayne.

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the battery. The Winchester, Captain Le Cras; Woolwich, Captain P. Parker; and Roebuck, Captain Lynn, were sent to reduce the battery of "Cas des Navires," which they soon effected. The French, perceiving the whole British squadron and all the transports already within the bay, and Fort Negro occupied by the marines, retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open: so that the troops were landed at four P.M. without opposition, and being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, where they lay all night upon their arms, considerably annoyed, during the night, by musketry.

The next morning, some field pieces scoured the woods, and the troops advanced to Morne Tortueson, which overlooks the town and citadel. This eminence, the most important post in the island, was neglected by the French general, who had also resolved to blow up the fortifications of the citadel, but had not prepared materials for the operation. Some of the inferior officers, knowing the importance of Morne Tortueson, resolved to defend that post, but they were entirely unprovided with cannon. About two P.M. General Hopson thought proper to desist from attempting to carry it, after losing about seventy men in killed and wounded. He also gave Commodore Moore to understand, that unless the squadron would supply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port Royal, or assist him in attacking the citadel by sea, that he could not maintain his ground. Both these expedients being deemed impracticable by a council of war, at which Commodore Moore did not assist, but sent word to the general, that he would land the cannon at Fort Negro, and that the seamen should draw them to any place he should think proper, without any assistance from the troops. The troops were recalled from the advanced posts, and re-embarked in the evening without molestation. The inhabitants of Martinico were thus delivered from all their fears, at the time the principal individuals had resigned all thought of further resistance, and were assembled in the public hall to send deputies to the English general, with proposals of capitulation and surrender.[1]

Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 133, 134. 448.
Memoirs of Sir J. Moore, Naval Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 441.

[1] Captain Gardiner, of the Marines, states, that the greater part of the inhabitants of our Leeward Islands wished the expedition might miscarry; 1. Because it interrupted their iniquitous trade with St. Eustatia, of transporting French sugars, their property, in Dutch bottoms; 2. Because many of them had plantations of their own in Martinico; and, 3. Because if we gained the island, the additional quantity of sugar in the English market would lower the price.

J. J. a lieutenant in the navy, in his work relative to this event, published in 1759, says, "a ridge of inaccessible mountains runs N.W. and S.E. from one end of the island to the other. It is defended by strong and numerous garrisons of veteran regiments, under the directions of the ablest engineers. The troops upon the

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The council of war had given it as their opinion that St. Pierre's might be attacked, and the expedition, in consequence, proceeded to that bay, and entered it upon the 19th. Captain Jekyll, in the Rippon, was directed to silence a battery situated a mile and a half to the north of St. Pierre's: he attacked it with impetuosity—in a few minutes it was abandoned. The fire from three other batteries did considerable damage to the Rippon: she was in great danger of running aground, and was obliged to be towed out.

Commodore Moore proposed to the general to attack Guadaloupe instead, though he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre; but some of the ships might be disabled, and the troops reduced in number, so as to be incapable of future attacks: and the reduction of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the colonies. The whole armament, therefore, directed their course to Guadaloupe; and having arrived at Basse Terre, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town and batteries by which it was defended.

The next morning, the 23d of January, the large ships took their respective stations.[1] At nine A.M. Captain Trelawney, in the Lion, began the engagement against a battery of nine guns. In a short time the action became general, and was maintained

Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 135, 136, 137. 452.

island amount to 15,000 men, besides 18,000 militia and 60,000 Blacks, trained to the use of small arms: here, however, we landed with no more than 5500 men."

Fort Royal is a square fortified by M. de Raumeur, defended by 300 pieces of cannon, some of them forty-eight pounders, and garrisoned by 3750 men, most of them Irish and Swiss. The English troops marched over a mine charged with 150 barrels of powder, just as a French carpenter cut off one of the canals of communication, then deserted, and apprised General Hopson of his danger, who instantly ordered his men to face about, and move off. The French saw this, and set fire to the train; but the communication being broken, only three barrels exploded, and a few men of Watson's regiment fell. In consequence of this carpenter's report, a council of war was called, and the troops reimbarked.—*Memoirs of Sir J. Moore, Naval Chronicle*, vol. iii. p 443.

[1] *Commodore Moore's Disposition for the Attack.*

Lion	60	A battery to the southward of the citadel, of nine guns.
St. George	90	The citadel of Fort Royal, mounting forty-seven guns.
Norfolk	74	
Cambridge	80	
Panther	60	The royal battery in the town, of twelve guns.
Burford	70	
Berwick	70	A battery in the town of seven guns, called St. Nicholas.
Rippon	60	Le Morne Rouge, a battery of six guns en barbette, a little to the northward of the town.

The different captains of the above ships were ordered to silence their respective batteries, and to lie by them until further orders. — *Memoirs of Sir J. Moore, Naval Chronicle*, vol. iii. p. 445.

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on both sides with great spirit. The commodore shifted his broad pendant into the Woolwich frigate, that he might be disengaged, and see what orders to give. About five P.M. the fire of the citadel was silenced. The Burford and Berwick were driven out to sea: so that Captain Shuldham, in the Panther, was left without support. Captain Jekyl, in the Rippon, was aground: he had silenced the battery on Morne Rouge; but the enemy, perceiving her situation, lined the trenches and galled her with musketry: the militia also brought up an eighteen pounder, and raked her for two hours; and, to add to Captain Jekyl's difficulties, a magazine with 900 cartridges blew up on his poop: he now made the signal for assistance. Captain Leslie, in the Bristol, stood in between the Rippon and the battery, and took the fire from her; and about seven P.M. all the ships had silenced the guns to which they were respectively opposed. Four bombs were sent to play upon the town: in a short time it was on fire in several places—the magazines of gunpowder blew up—and by ten, the whole place blazed out in a general conflagration. At midnight, the Rippon was got afloat again.

The next day, at five P.M. the troops were landed without opposition. Captains Shuldham, Gambier, and Burnet conducted the debarkation, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found abandoned.[1] From a deserter, a Genoese, they learnt that a train was laid to blow up the citadel; but the enemy had retreated with such precipitation, that they had not executed their design. The train was immediately cut, and the magazine secured.

The next morning, the enemy, about 2000 strong, under the command of the governor, the Chevalier d'Etreil, were on the opposite side of the "Dos d'Ane," a cleft in a ridge of mountains, which there was no prospect of attacking with success.

A flag of truce was sent to D'Etreil, but he rejected the terms which were offered.

The inhabitants continually harassed the scouring detachments: their armed Negroes were very expert in bush-fighting.

Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 139, 140, 141, 142.
Memoirs of Sir J. Moore, Naval Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 446.

[1] Captain Gayton, of his Majesty's ship St. George, had given an opinion, that the citadel of Guadaloupe was impregnable to any attack by sea. In the disposition of attack, the citadel was allotted to the St. George, and a written order sent to Captain Gayton, to proceed on that service. When, from the resistance of the enemy, the prospect of success appeared doubtful, Commodore Moore made the signal for the St. George to haul off, of which Captain Gayton took no notice. A boat was sent, with a verbal order to the same effect; but Captain Gayton returned for answer, "that as it had been thought proper to give him a written order to attack, he must insist on the same punctilio authorising him to desist." In the interim, the citadel ceased firing.—*Memoirs of Commodore William Locker, Naval Chronicle*, vol. v. p. 115.

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Madame Ducharmey, a woman of masculine courage, headed her slaves in person, and made several attacks upon an advanced post, occupied by Major Melville. She threw up entrenchments upon a hill opposite this post, which were stormed by a regular detachment, and carried after an obstinate conflict; Madame Ducharmey escaped. Of the English, twelve soldiers were killed, and thirty wounded.

On the 6th of February, the French advanced towards the citadel, obliging the English to retire before them with some loss.

The English now resolved to transfer the seat of war to Grand Terre, which was defended by Fort Louis, a strong battery. On the 13th, the line-of-battle ships attacked the fort, cannonaded it for six hours, then landed a body of marines and Highlanders, under the command of Major Campbell. The enemy had driven wooden piles at some distance from the beach, all along the shore, whose tops did not appear above water; by which means the boats not being able to get close to the shore, the troops were obliged to jump into the water above their middle, and in so doing wet most of their ammunition. This loss they supplied by using their bayonets: they stormed the works, drove the enemy from the fort, and hoisted the British flag.

On the 27th of February, General Hopton died at Basse Terre, and General Barrington succeeded to the command. The French had adopted the plan of maintaining a petty war in separate parties, to harass the English by hard duty, 500 of whom had already been sent sick to Antigua.

Two ships were sent to cruize off St. Eustatia, to prevent supplies being sent from that island to the French. General Barrington, on the first day he took the command, to deceive the enemy, ordered his men to strike their tents and hut, and a few days afterwards destroyed all the batteries in and about Basse Terre, and reimbarked the army, with the exception of one regiment and a detachment of artillery left in the citadel, under the command of Colonel Debrisay. The enemy endeavoured to take possession of the town, but were driven out by the fire from the citadel; which place they threatened with a regular attack. While they were bombarding it, Colonel Debrisay and a party of soldiers were blown up by the explosion of a magazine at the south-east bastion.

Commodore Moore, having received information that M. Bompart had arrived at Martinico with eight sail of the line, three frigates, and troops to reinforce the garrisons of the island, proceeded immediately to Dominica, to watch their operations.

Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 143, 144, 145. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 246.

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General Barrington adopted the plan of reducing the island of Guadaloupe, by carrying on the war with detachments: and the success answered his expectations. He sent 600 men, under the command of Colonel Crump, to Grande Terre: they landed between St. Anne's and St. François. While he was destroying the batteries opposed to him, another detachment of 300 men attacked Gosier, carried the town by storm, set it on fire, demolished the battery, and drove the garrison into the woods. This detachment then forced their way to Fort Louis, the garrison of that castle making a sortie to favour their irruption. They penetrated with some loss, forcing a strong pass, and taking a battery which the French had raised against the English camp.

An attack upon Petit Bourg, Gonoyave, and St. Mary, was rendered abortive, by the Negro pilots running some of the flat-bottomed boats on the shoals in the night, which was very dark and tempestuous.

Colonels Crump and Clavering were then sent, with 1500 men, under the protection of his Majesty's ship Woolwich, to a bay near the town of Arnouville, at the bottom of the Little Cul de Sac. They landed without opposition, the enemy retreating to a strong intrenchment behind the river Lecorne, a post which covered the whole country as far as Mahaut, where the supplies were landed from St. Eustatia. There were only two narrow passes across a morass to the river, and these were fortified with a redoubt and pallisaded intrenchments, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia. Under a fire from four field-pieces and two howitzers, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced, firing by platoons, with the utmost regularity. The enemy were intimidated by their resolute behaviour, and began to abandon the intrenchment upon the left. The Highlanders pursued the fugitives, and entered with them into the redoubt, of which they took possession; but the French still kept their ground within the intrenchment on the right. In half an hour, a bridge being laid, the English passed the river to attack this post; which the enemy abandoned immediately. Seventy prisoners were taken: some of the most considerable inhabitants were among them. The English lost fifteen killed, and fifty wounded.

The troops now advanced to Petit Bourg, and arrived late at night on the banks of the Lizarde, the only ford over which the French had fortified. Colonel Clavering amused them all night by a constant fire into their lines; and sent a party across the river, about a mile and a half further down, to attack them in flank at day-break, while he advanced in front. But the French did not stand the assault: they fled in confusion, and were pursued to Petit Bourg, near which no boats could land,

Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 146, 147, 148, 149.

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until the strong piles which the enemy had driven in close together, for a considerable distance from the shore, were removed. Here Colonel Clavering found the Grenada bomb-ketch bombarding the redoubt: he immediately occupied the neighbouring heights, which the enemy no sooner observed than they abandoned the place.

On the 15th of April, Captain Steel destroyed the battery at Guoyave, a strong post, which was abandoned after the first discharge. At the same time, Colonel Crump, with 700 men, destroyed the town and batteries in the bay of Mabaut.

On the 20th, Colonel Clavering began his march towards St. Mary's, and took up his quarters that night in the place, having carried every thing before him. Next day, 870 Negroes, belonging to M. Pinel, a planter, surrendered, upon condition of not being resold to their former master. In this district, General Clavering set fire to all the houses, sugar-canes, &c. because the inhabitants were in arms against him. At night the country appeared one blaze of fire; and many Negroes, who had been posted among the canes to fire upon the troops, were burnt to death.

On the 22d of April, M. Nadau, the governor, sent MM. Clainvilliers and Duquercy to General Clavering, to know what capitulation would be granted. These he conducted to General Barrington at Petit Bourg, where the articles were immediately drawn up, and signed upon the 1st of May.

The inhabitants were to march out of their posts, with the honors of war. Those from Martinico, Mariegalante, and Dominica, with their servants, were to be sent to Martinico and Dominica.

The inhabitants were to keep their priests and convents, and be allowed the free and public exercise of their religion; and the superiors of the several orders were permitted to send to France for such as they thought necessary, their letters for that purpose passing through the hands of the British governor.

The inhabitants were not to be forced to take arms against the French; but they were to take an oath, within a month, to observe the capitulation.

The same persons were to continue to administer justice, and the same laws and ordinances to continue. No other duties to be paid than those before paid to the French government.

The free Negroes taken prisoners were not to be treated as slaves. The subjects of Great Britain who had taken refuge in the island were to have leave to depart.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 255. 257.
Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 150, 151. 154. 156.
Memoirs of Sir J. Moore, Naval Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 447.

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None but persons actually upon the island were to purchase any lands or houses before the peace; and then, if the island was ceded to England, such as chose might sell their property to English subjects, and have leave to quit the island.

The inhabitants might send their children to France to be educated. They were not to furnish quarters for the troops; or slaves to work on the fortifications.

All who did not sign the capitulation within a month were to quit the island; and such slaves as were made free, for defending the island, were to be sent off it immediately the capitulation was signed by J. Barrington, Nadau Dutreil, John Moore, D. de Clainvilliers, and Duquercy.

Just as it was done, a messenger arrived, with the information that M. Beauharnois had landed at St. Anne's, with 600 regulars, fifty of whom deserted from the Swiss battalion, who, upon hearing that the capitulation was signed, returned to Martinico.

The Saints, Deseada, and Petite Terre, submitted on the same terms; but the inhabitants of Mariegalante rejected the proposal. A squadron was sent to reduce that island, and upon their arrival the islanders submitted.

When Commodore Moore received the information that M. de Bompart's squadron was at sea, he immediately sailed in quest of him. Five days afterwards, he learnt that they were returned to Martinico, and soon afterwards went himself to Basse Terre, where he was joined by two sail of the line from England.

Bompart proceeded to Grenada, where he was seen by the Rippon, whose captain made all sail for Basse Terre with the intelligence: but before Commodore Moore could profit by it, a frigate arrived, with information that the French had quitted Grenada, and were supposed to have gone to Española. The Ludlow Castle was sent to Admiral Cotes, at Jamaica, with this information.

In June, General Barrington embarked for England, leaving Colonel Crump to command in Guadaloupe, with three regiments.

The Griffin, Captain Taylor, chased two privateers ashore, near Roseau, Dominica, and sent his boats to cut out a sloop. He then landed, and went himself to the governor, to demand an English schooner, which had been taken by a French privateer, and was under the guns at Roseau. The governor refused to give her up; upon which he boarded and destroyed her and

Smollett, vol. xiv. pp. 152. 156. 158, 159, 160. 461.
Memorials of Sir J. Moore, Naval Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 449.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 261.

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another vessel, notwithstanding the fire from the batteries, which he returned, and dismounted some of their guns.

In the space of sixteen months, ending in December this year, Commodore Moore's squadron, off Guadaloupe, took 53 privateers, carrying more than 400 guns, 2600 men, besides other privateers, which he obliged to run on shore, and destroyed. During the same time, he also retook 53 richly-laden merchant vessels.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary were suspended this year.

"In the month of September, of the year 1759, a heavy gale of wind from the N.E. so greatly impeded the current of the Gulf stream, that the water, forced at the same time into the Gulf of Mexico by the trade-winds, rose to such a height, that not only the Tortugas and other islands disappeared, but the highest trees were covered on the peninsula of Larga; and at this time (William Gerard de Brahm, Esq. surveyor-general of the southern district of North America, states), the Litbury snow, John Lorrain, master, being caught in the gale, came to an anchor, as the master supposed, in Hawke Channel; but, to his great surprise, found his vessel, the next day, high and dry on Elliot's Island, and his anchor suspended in the boughs of a tree."

In October, the Council at Jamaica published his Majesty's repeal of the act passed in that island in 1754, for removing the several records, books, papers, &c., from the town of St. Jago de la Vega to Kingston. In consequence of which, thirty wains, laden with the records, and escorted by a party of foot-soldiers, left Kingston at one o'clock on Wednesday morning: they arrived at Spanish town about nine, amidst the acclamations of a multitude of people. A grand entertainment was given on the occasion, an ox was roasted for the populace, and the town was illuminated.

In October, an act was passed at Jamaica, for dividing the island into three counties, and for appointing justices of assize, and Oyer and Terminer, in two of the counties.

Upon the 6th of March, at Antigua, his Excellency General Thomas issued a proclamation, declaring, that any persons who should be willing to send their slaves to Guadaloupe, should be paid for them, if such slaves should die or desert: and as a further encouragement for white volunteers, General Barrington promised that the private men of each company should have lands as well as the officers.

The French are stated to have had ninety privateers belonging

Annual Register, 1759, pp. 57. 93. 122. — 1760, p. 83.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix. Quarterly Review, Jan. 1816, p. 374.

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to Martinico, and since the capture of Guadaloupe to have taken 200 sail, valued at upwards of £600,000 sterling.

1760.

The French computed that the number of their ships taken by the English this year, amounted to 944; and the number of English ships taken by them, at 2539.

At St. Bartholomew's, the population consisted of 400 Whites and 500 Blacks.

The Assembly at Jamaica caused 100,000 dollars to be stamped and issued at two-pence each advance on their former rate, in order to keep a fund for the internal circulation. The scarcity of money was attributed to the illicit traders sailing in ballast under Jamaica clearances, and carrying off money to buy French produce in St. Domingo.

They past an act also, punishing Obeiah-men with death or transportation; and slaves, having gunpowder or military offensive arms without a licence, were to suffer death, or other punishment, at the discretion of the court.

By sect. 3. no Negro to have two successive days as holyday, on penalty of £50. Persons suffering them to drum, to forfeit £100.

A dangerous insurrection broke out among the Negroes in Jamaica, on Sunday the 25th of May: it began in St. Mary's, where the slaves belonging to Captain Forrest fell suddenly upon the overseer, as he was at supper with some friends, and massacred the whole company. They were immediately joined by their confederates, attacked the neighbouring plantations, and spread such alarm, that all business was suspended, martial law proclaimed, and every man armed. The insurgents declined any regular engagement, trusting to bush fighting.

The free Blacks served as auxiliaries to the regulars; and the Maroons were called upon, according to treaty, to assist in their suppression. A party of them arrived at the scene of action after the Whites had defeated the insurgents at Heywood Hall. The Maroons were ordered to pursue them. After rambling about for a day or two, they returned with a collection of human ears, which they pretended to have cut from the heads of the rebels. Their report was believed, and they were paid for them;

Annual Register, 1760, pp. 123. 126. —1761, p. 59.
Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 79. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 535.; vol. ii. p. 489.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Smollett, vol. xv. pp. 6. 7.
Edwards, vol. i. p. 542.

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but it was afterwards found that they had cut the ears they produced from the dead Negroes which had lain unburied at Heywood Hall.

Some days after this, a detachment of the seventy-fourth regiment, with some Maroons, who were stationed at Down's Cove, a solitary place surrounded by deep woods, were attacked by the rebels in the night. The sentinels were shot, and the huts in which the soldiers were lodged set on fire: the light exposed the troops, who were fired at from all quarters. Major Forsyth, the commanding officer, formed his men into a square, and by keeping up a brisk fire from all sides, compelled the enemy to retire. During this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and Major Forsyth suspected that they were the assailants; but it was discovered, that immediately on the attack, the whole body had thrown themselves upon the ground, and continued in that position until the battle was over. A party of them afterwards killed Tackey, the rebel chief: he was a young Koromantyn, and was said to have been a chieftain in Africa. After cutting his head off, as a trophy, they roasted and ate the heart and entrails of their victim.

The free Blacks attacked the insurgents in their own way, and slew so many, that the insurrection was supposed to be quelled about the beginning of May; but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury. The rebels were reinforced to a very formidable number. A camp was formed under Colonel Spragge, who killed and made prisoners of a considerable number, by sending out detachments: many, however, escaped to the woods and mountains. The prisoners were found guilty of rebellion, and put to death by a variety of torments — some burned, some fixed alive upon gibbets: one of these last lived eight days and eighteen hours, suspended under a vertical sun, without any sustenance, or even water!

Mr. Long says, "Two of the St. Mary's ringleaders, Fortune and Kingston, were hung up alive in irons, on a gibbet erected in the parade of the town of Kingston. Fortune lived seven days, but Kingston survived till the ninth. The morning before the latter expired, he appeared to be convulsed from head to foot, and upon being opened after his decease, his lungs were found adhering to the back so tightly, that it required some force to disengage them. They behaved, all the time, with a degree of hardened insolence and brutal insensibility."

About 60 white persons were killed. Of the rebels between 300 and 400: some destroyed themselves, and about 600 were transported to the bay of Honduras. The loss to the island was

Edwards, vol. i. p. 543. Smollett, vol. xv. p. 7.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. pp. 458. 462.

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estimated at £100,000. Captain Hynes was paid £562 for his disbursements, and as a reward for his services.

Regulations were established for preventing such insurrections in future. No Negro slave was allowed to quit his plantation without a ticket of leave: every Negro playing at any sort of game was to be scourged through the public streets, and every publican suffering such gaming in his house, was to forfeit £2. Every proprietor that should suffer his Negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any other noise in his plantation, was to be fined £10; and every overseer allowing these irregularities, half the sum. Every free Negro and Mulatto was to wear a blue cross on his right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment; and none allowed to hawk or sell any thing, except fish and milk.

The nocturnal irruptions of the rebels from the mountains into the nearest plantations, kept the inhabitants in constant alarm.

Upon the 16th of October, five large frigates and three merchant vessels sailed from Cape François, in Española, for Europe. They were chased, the next day, by his Majesty's ships Hampshire, Lively, and Boreas. At midnight the Boreas came up with the Sirenne, and engaged her twenty-five minutes; the Frenchman shot ahead, and the Boreas was unable to close again with her till two P.M. the next day, when the action was renewed off the east end of Cuba, and continued till forty minutes past four, when M. M'Cartie struck. In the meantime, the Hampshire and Lively chaced the other four frigates, who stood to the southward. On the 18th, with the help of her sweeps, the Lively came up with the Valeur, and she struck, after an action of an hour and a half. The Hampshire ran up between the Duc de Choiseul and Prince Edward, about four P.M., and engaged both at the same time. The former escaped into Port-au-Paix; the other ran ashore, two leagues to leeward, and was blown up by her crew, as was the Fleur-de-lis, which had run into Fresh-water Bay.

Captains O'Brien and Taylor, in his Majesty's ships Temple and Griffin, at Grenada, destroyed several batteries, retook his Majesty's sloop Virgin, and captured three other vessels laden with provisions for Martinico; and, on their return to Antigua, fell in with a convoy of thirteen sail, bound to Martinico with provisions, the whole of whom they captured.

"*A State of the Trade carried on with the French in Española, by the Merchants of North America, under colour of flags of truce.* By a Merchant of London."

This merchant states, "That, on a moderate computation, not so little as £400,000 sterling's worth of commodities, of British

Smollett, vol. xv. pp. 8, 9, 10. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 374. Monthly Review, 1760, p. 507.

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manufacture, or the produce of our colonies, have, during this war, been sent to the French islands from North America, which must bring back into this kingdom the enormous profit of £3,200,000." He adds, "We may with truth affirm, that Española, thus circumstanced, is equally valuable to the British nation, in the hands of the French, with any of our own islands, and much more so than Guadaloupe. The trade," he continues, "has been carried on with at least the implied consent and approbation of the government; for it cannot be supposed that his Majesty's governors in North America, who granted flags of truce to private merchants, to carry French prisoners to Española and bring back others in return, at their own expence, were ignorant, that in so doing they had a view to their own private advantage; nor could they be ignorant how that advantage arose, when the flags returned to the ports from whence they first proceeded, and then made regular entries at the several custom-houses of the respective cargoes of foreign sugars with which they were loaded."

This is a curious proof of traffic with the West Indies without the expence of an establishment.

Mr. Nathaniel Gilbert, a methodist, and Speaker of the House of Assembly in Antigua, collected a few persons in his own house for exhortation and prayer, and afterwards publicly preached the gospel to the slaves. "Amidst torrents of reproach he persevered till he had formed a society of nearly 200." This was the first methodist society formed in the West Indies. Mr. Gilbert continued to labour among the Negroes until his death. After his death, two black women continued praying and meeting with those who attended every night, until the arrival of Mr. Baxter in 1778.

The malversation of the officers of "the Company of Cuba" ruined the Company, and forced them to give up all further operations.

In Jamaica, from the year 1739 to 1760, no less than 55,937 acres of land were forfeited by default of the proprietors, in not opening five acres per annum, as the law directs, and for non-payment of quit-rents; and about 50,000 acres were in that time patented.

Three hundred and nine barrels of gunpowder, each of 100 lbs. weight, were received at Fort Charles — "which makes the tonnage of that year, of the ships that came to Kingston harbour, 30,900 tons."

Dr. Coke's History of the West Indies, vol. i. p. 213.; vol. ii. pp. 427, 428.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 435.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 406.; vol. ii. p. 149.

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By an act passed this year, the ports of Kingston, Savannah-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and St. Lucia, in Jamaica, are declared, under certain restrictions, free ports, for any foreign vessel from any foreign colony or plantation in America, not having more than one deck. This act was to continue in force until 1773, and to the end of the then next session of parliament.

Between the 26th of July and the 10th of November, near 200 persons died at Basse Terre, St. Christopher's, of the fever.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed seven sail, and consisted of 878 hhds. of sugar, forty-five tierces of coffee, and twenty-eight bales of cotton.

In the beginning of December, a barber, at Basse Terre, Guadaloupe, named Boidin, quarrelled with an English sailor about a Mulatto girl. Not satisfied with fighting with their fists, they agreed to meet the same night on the bridge of Basse Terre city. Boidin came first, and shortly after the sailor with his captain, each armed with a sword, and several other Englishmen armed with clubs, who all fell upon Boidin; he wounded two of them, but at last was dragged to the warehouse belonging to the ship, where they put a rope round his neck, and were upon the point of hanging him — when Mr. Netercot, an Antigua merchant, called the guard, and saved his life. The officers of the guard sent Boidin to Fort Royal, until the governor of the fort, Colonel Melville, examined into the affair. The captain and sailor were also seized, and sent to prison. Upon this, at seven in the evening, 200 Englishmen, armed, repaired to the prison to rescue their countrymen. The inhabitants were alarmed, and detachments of soldiers were sent to disperse the rioters, and bring the two prisoners to the fort.

Governor Crump insisted that an example should be made of the guilty. The captain and sailor were condemned to pay Boidin 3000 livres, and all his expences, which amounted in all to about 8000 livres. This disturbance occasioned reports of a conspiracy and revolt at Guadaloupe.

Governor Crump died at Guadaloupe, and was succeeded by Colonel Melville.

His Majesty's sloop Virgin, Captain St. Loe, on her passage from Barbadoes to Guadaloupe, was taken by three French privateers, after a severe action, in which Captain St. Loe was killed, and several of the crew.

His Majesty's ship Hampshire, of fifty guns, Captain Usher,

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[1] Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii. p. 665.
Annual Register, 1760, p. 68. — Deshayes the Agent's Letter, p. 88. — p. 97.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 374. 376.

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was lost on the Colorados, off the west end of Cuba. The crew were saved, and carried to the Havana.

His Majesty's ship Griffin, of twenty-eight guns, was wrecked, October 25th, on the island of Barbuda, and fifty of her crew drowned.

His Majesty's ship Mermaid, of twenty-four guns, was wrecked upon the Bahamas — crew saved.

The boats of his Majesty's ships Trent and Boreas, commanded by the first lieutenants of their respective ships, Messrs. Miller and Stuart, in Cumberland harbour (in Cuba), attacked the Vainqueur, of ten guns, sixteen swivels, and ninety men, and the Mackau, of six swivels and fifteen men. One barge was sunk, and eleven men killed and wounded, before the vessels surrendered. The captors then proceeded further up the Lagoon, to attack the Guespe, of eight guns and eighty-five men. The French set her on fire before the boats got up.

1761.

The Saint David privateer, from Martinico, captured the Prince of Bevern, Nichols, belonging to Liverpool, after a severe action. Captain Nichols had only eighteen white men on board; and the Frenchmen, in revenge for their captain and forty of the crew being killed, on boarding the Prince of Bevern, after they had struck their colours, "killed the mate, carpenter, doctor, and several others in cold blood, cutting their arms, hands, and legs off with cutlasses, and firing their pistols through their bodies!" The captain received two deep cuts in his head, but was not killed. Only four of the English escaped, being dangerously wounded, though none of them were hurt in the action.

On the 7th of January, his Majesty's ship Trent captured Le Bien Aimé, of twenty guns, after an hour's action, during which the French had twenty men killed and wounded, and the English six: she was from Martinico, bound to France.

His Majesty's ships Centaur and Hampshire captured, near Donna Maria Bay, St. Domingo, the St. Anne: she was pierced for sixty-four guns, but had only fifty-eight mounted, and a crew of 389 men. She had a valuable cargo on board.

On the 21st of December, Rear-Admiral Holmes died: he was succeeded in the command of the fleet at Jamaica by Captain Arthur Forrest, until the arrival of Sir J. Douglas.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 426. 452.
Annual Register, 1761, p. 97, Rear-Admiral Holmes's Letter. — pp. 141. 154.

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At Nevis, a conspiracy was discovered amongst the Negroes, for massacring all the Whites. The island was very sickly, "occasioned by the want of hurricanes and high winds."

Barbadoes, to 1761, returned a yearly average of sugar, 25,000 hhds.

The number of Negroes in Jamaica was estimated at 146,000. The Assembly doubled the deficiency-tax, and taxed the absentees heavily.

Upon the 31st of March, at four P.M. the sea at Barbadoes began to flow; at eight it appeared to ebb; but at ten, it increased considerably, and continued so till six the next morning. A similar agitation in the water was observed there at the time the earthquake happened at Lisbon, in 1755.

At Surinam, the insurgent Negroes waged a regular war against the white colonists.

The Dutch settlers at Surinam concluded a treaty of peace with the Maroon Negroes, founded so exactly on the basis of equality between the two parties, that the Dutch plenipotentiaries were obliged to ratify the treaty according to the African forms.

The Negro chief was named Araby, and his influence extended over the whole of the wild Negroes. The treaty was signed at Ouca, and was generally respected. Many forsaken estates were, in consequence of it, again inhabited, and the Dutch West India Company paid about £5,000,000 sterling to renew their charter.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed six ships, and consisted of 1177 hhds. of sugar, 274 bags of coffee, and 50 bales of cotton.[1]

Annual Register, 1761, pp. 95. 160.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 510.; book ii. sect. 3. p. 180.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 18. Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 377.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 345. — Appendix.

1 Abstract of a letter in the Dutch Philosophical Transactions, on the animal electricity of the conger-eel, written the 7th of June, 1761, from Rio Essequibo, in South America, by Mr. Lott, surgeon of that colony: —

"The fish here called the drill wisch, or conger-eel, is a kind of eel, in length from one to five feet, and of this singular quality, that it produces all the known effects of electricity — the like shock, the like real or supposed cures. I at first cured fowls, grown paralytic by contractions of the nerves; and then, proceeding from animals to men, by electrifying a paralytic, by striking his knees three times with one of these fishes fresh taken. The shock was such as to throw him down, with the two persons who held him; but he soon got up, and instead of being carried from the place of operation, walked away, as if nothing had ever ailed him. With this admirable eel I have likewise cured nervous disorders, fevers, and very severe head-achs, to which the slaves here are peculiarly subject. Some of these wonders were performed before the governor, and several other persons of consideration." — *Annual Register*, 1764, p. 91.

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On the 6th of June, Sir James Douglas, with four sail of the line and some frigates, with a body of troops from Guadaloupe, under the command of Lord Rollo, appeared off Roseau, in Dominica, and sent a manifesto on shore, which was answered by two deputies coming off to treat for the surrender of the island. But M. Longprie, the governor, persuaded the inhabitants to man the intrenchments, and defend the place.

Sir James Douglas, therefore, anchored close in shore, and the troops were landed under the fire of the squadron. The grenadiers of the 4th and 22d regiments soon stormed the intrenchments, Lord Rollo and Colonel Melville leading them on. The enemy were driven from every post, and M. Longprie and other officers taken at their head quarters. Next day the inhabitants surrendered, and took the oaths of allegiance to His Britannic Majesty.

As the island was taken by assault, Lord Rollo gave the inhabitants no other terms than a protection, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known.

The native Caribs professed to like the English, and were to deliver up their arms in a body.

The legislature of Antigua passed an act, to direct that every person manumitting a slave should give security in a bond that the person so enfranchised should not become chargeable to the parish.

At Jamaica an act was passed, to prevent grants and devises from white persons to Negroes. Real estates, though bequeathed to Negroes, to go to the heir at law. Personal estates, though bequeathed, to go under the statute of distribution.

By art. 6. trustees not allowed to demur to bills in equity.

"7. Negroes and Mulattoes not born in wedlock, incapacitated to purchase more than £2000 in reality.

"8. Persons resident in Great Britain excepted for a time.

"9. Persons may devise £2000, and no more, to any person as before.

"12. Persons of the fourth degree may claim."

Mr. Long, who says the act passed in 1762, adds:—

"The Assembly at Jamaica found, by inquiry, that property to the amount of between £200,000 and £300,000, including four sugar estates, seven penns, thirteen houses, &c. had been devised to Mulatto children. "And, duly weighing the ill

Smollett, vol. xv. p. 249, 250. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 451.
Annual Register, 1761, p. 139, Lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas's Letters.—Lord Rollo's Dispatch, p. 139.
Mathieson's Short Review of the Reports of the African Institution, p. 87.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 48. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 323.
Code de la Martinique, tom. iii. p. 295, quoted in Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 99.

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consequences that might befall the colony, by suffering real estates to pass into such hands," passed a law, that a devise from a white person to a Negro or Mulatto, exceeding £2000 currency in value, should be void."

Thus acting upon the French maxim, "La couleur est vouée à la servitude, rien ne le peut rendre égale à son maître."

Ordinance of the French general and intendant, Martinico, concerning persons affranchised, the 1st of September, 1761:—

"Art. 1. All Mamelukes, Mestees, Mulattoes, Negroes, and generally all persons of colour of either sex, who pretend to be free, and live as such, to deliver in their titles of liberty within three months.

"5. All those who enjoy freedom without titles agreeable to the ordinances of the King, shall be confiscated and sold as slaves for the profit of the King; reserving, however, the right of confirming the freedoms of such as by good conduct shall have merited the same.

"6. The sale of slaves who do not enjoy the right of freedom to be at the diligence of the director-general of the King's domain.

"7. Captains of militia to deliver to the intendant exact returns of all Mamelukes, Mestees, Mulattoes, Negroes, and others of colour serving in their companies, together with their ages, number of children, sex, and place of residence.

"9. Registers, after completion, to be deposited with the director-general of the domains, who is in future to insert therein the names of those who are affranchised; and those who may be affranchised by the general and intendant, or their successors, are to be likewise communicated to the directeur des domains.

"10. After the three months allowed, those who do not deliver their titles of freedom, to be considered as not having any, and as usurpers of liberty, and, as such, to be sold for the profit of the King.

"11. Persons of religious orders to observe strictly the ordinances of the 24th of October, 1713, and the 15th of June, 1736, and to be careful not to baptize, as free, any children whose mothers cannot prove their title to freedom."

1762.

January the 4th, war was proclaimed against Spain, at the usual places, and with the usual solemnities.

December the 9th, at Carthagena, a storm from the southward,

Annual Register, 1762, pp. 65. 77. 108.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.

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which was followed by an earthquake, destroyed great part of the walls of the town, and many houses: the floods from the mountains came down with a rapidity never before seen, and vast quantities of mud choaked up the entrance of Boca Chica. Two Spanish men-of-war were driven on shore, and the castle of Santa Maria was entirely destroyed.

Upon the 3d of November, the preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain were signed by the Duke of Bedford at Fontainbleau.

The exports from Demerary and Essequibo employed ten ships, and consisted of 2988¾ hhds. of sugar, 43 tierces and 238 bags of coffee, and 10 bales of cotton.

Upon the 5th of January, Rear-Admiral Rodney, with eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and transports, and eighteen battalions of troops, 13,965 men, under the command of Major-General Monckton, sailed from Barbadoes. Admiral Rodney detached five sail of the line to Fort Royal Bay, and ordered one of the ships to hoist a flag similar to his. At the same time, to distract the enemy's attention, five frigates were sent off La Trinité, on the opposite side of the island: he anchored himself, on the 8th, in St. Anne's Bay, Martinico. The line-of-battle ships silenced the batteries on that part of the coast, in doing which the Raisonnable was lost on a reef of rocks: her men and stores were saved. The general, however, judging this to be an improper place for landing the troops, sent two brigades, commanded by Generals Haviland and Grant, to the bay of Petite Anse. The troops were landed, and marched to the heights opposite Pigeon Island.

On the 10th Captain Hervey, in the Dragon, silenced a strong fort in Grand Anse, landed his marines, and took possession of it, until General Haviland sent Colonel Melville, with 800 men, to relieve them. General Haviland, finding the roads impassable for cannon, sent to inform General Monckton that the troops had better be reimbarked. During the night the brigades were attacked, but the assailants were compelled to retreat with loss; and the troops, after blowing up the batteries at St. Anne's, reimbarked, and proceeded to Fort Royal Bay. Various feints were ordered at different parts of the island.

Early in the morning of the 16th, the ships began to cannonade the batteries in Cas des Navire Bay. Having silenced them by noon, the troops were landed without any loss, and General Monckton formed his army on the heights above the bay, and as soon as the tents could be landed, encamped there.

Smollett, vol. vii. p. 145. Annual Register, 1762, p. 33.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 518. 522.; vol iii. p. 364.

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The general resolved to besiege Fort Royal, and to carry the heights of Garnier and Tortueson, which the enemy appeared resolved to defend. The English had to cross a ravine to the attack, and to protect them a battery was necessary. On the 24th, at day-dawn, Brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, supported by Lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the enemy. At the same time, Brigadier Rufane, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched to attack the redoubts along the shore to the right, 1000 seamen, in flat-bottomed boats, rowing up as he advanced; and another brigade, under Colonel Scot, advanced to turn the enemy upon their left, which they did: at the same time the grenadiers were driving all before them. By nine A.M. Morne Tortueson, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was defended, was in possession of the English.

Thus was the post that, without artillery, had checked General Hopson, and induced him to abandon the hope of conquering the island, carried in the course of a few hours!

The French retired in confusion to Morne Garnier and Fort Royal. Colonel Scot, with Walsh's brigade, advanced on the left, and took up an advantageous post opposite Morne Garnier: these were supported by General Haviland's corps, and the road between was covered by the marines.

Next day, the English began to erect batteries against the citadel of Fort Royal, but were greatly annoyed from Morne Garnier. At four P.M. on the 27th, the French made a furious attack on the posts occupied by the light infantry and Brigadier Haviland. They were repulsed with great loss; and the English troops passed the ravine with the fugitives, seized their batteries, and took possession of the ground. Walsh's brigades, and the grenadiers under Grant, marched to their assistance when the attack began. Major Leland, on the left, took possession of a redoubt without any resistance. By nine P.M. this very strong post was completely carried: it commanded the citadel against which their own artillery was turned in the morning. The French regulars had retired into the town, but the militia dispersed in the country.

On the 30th, the general ordered Morne Capuchin to be taken, and upon it batteries to be erected, about 400 yards from the fort. The enemy, seeing the preparations for attacking the place, beat the chamade on the evening of the 3d of February.

Next day, the governor surrendered the place by capitulation; and on the 4th of February, the gate of the citadel was delivered up to the English. The garrison, to the number of 800, marched out next morning, with the honours of war.

Deputations now arrived from different quarters of the island,

Smollett, vol. vii. pp. 146, 147, 148. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 525.

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desiring a capitulation; but M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he proposed to defend.

On the 7th, Pigeon Island surrendered by capitulation, with the same terms as the citadel. The troops were to be transported to Rochefort, in France; the militia to remain prisoners of war, until the fate of the island should be determined.

Fourteen privateers were found in the harbour of Fort Royal. As the troops were embarking to attack St. Pierre, two deputies from M. de la Touche arrived with proposals of capitulation for the whole island.[1] On the 14th, the terms were settled; on the 16th, the English took possession of St. Pierre, and all the forts

Smollett, vol. vii. p. 148.

[1] *Articles of Capitulation of the Citadel of Fort Royal, Martinico, the 4th of February*, 1762:—

"Article 1. The commanding officer of the citadel shall march out at the head of the garrison, composed of troops detached from the marine, the royal grenadiers, cannoniers, bombadiers, and Swiss, the different detachments of militia and freebooters, and the other volunteers, with the honours of war, drums beating, lighted match, colours flying, two pieces of cannon, and three rounds of ammunition for each.

"Answer. The troops of His most Christian Majesty in garrison shall march out with drums beating, colours flying, and two pieces of cannon, two rounds of ammunition, and shall be embarked and sent to France as soon as possible, at the expence of His Britannic Majesty.

"2. The garrison shall be sent to the port of Rochefort, in France, by the most short and expeditious way, at the expence and in the ships of His Britannic Majesty.

"Answ. Answered in the first.

"3. The said garrison shall be lodged and maintained in the town of Fort Royal, till their departure, at the expence of His Britannic Majesty.

"Answ. They shall be maintained at the expence of His Britannic Majesty, and shall be embarked, as in the first article.

"4. That it shall be lawful for the officers, Creoles, and others, to go into the island, and stay there as long as it shall be necessary to settle their affairs.

"Answ. A reasonable time will be allowed to the officers to settle their affairs, they behaving according to the rules of war.

"5. That the officers and others who have effects in the country shall keep them.

"Answ. Granted.

"6. That the officers shall take their servants along with them.

"Answ. Granted.

"7. That the militia, and other inhabitants that now make part of the said garrison, may retire to their homes, with their servants likewise.

"Answ. Answered in the first article.

"8. That the volunteers of St. Vincent, who came here to the succour of the place, shall be furnished with a boat and provisions to carry them home again, with their servants, arms, and baggage, as soon as possible.

"Answ. To remain prisoners of war.

"9. That the inhabitants likewise shall be furnished with shallops or boats, to carry them to the different quarters of the island.

"Answ. Refused.

"10. That the sick and wounded shall be removed to the hospital of this city, to be there taken care of by our own surgeons till they are perfectly recovered, and that the commissary of His Britannic Majesty shall take care to furnish them with subsistence.

"Answ. They shall be taken the same care of as our own men, and may be attended by their surgeons.

"11. That the said hospital shall take away with them their medicines, and all their utensils and effects in general.

"Answ. Granted.

"12. That the chaplain of the troops

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in the neighbourhood; while the governor, with M. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, and his staff, with some grenadiers, were embarked for France in transports.

The conquest of this island cost the English about 400 men, including officers killed and wounded.

While General Monckton was regulating the capitulation of Martinico, Commodore Swanton, with a small squadron, sailed for Grenada, the inhabitants of which island refused to surrender upon being summoned. The arrival of a body of troops, under Brigadier-General Walsh, induced them to alter their determination; and in February, the same terms were granted them which had been granted to the people of Martinico. The Grenadillas were included: their produce was estimated at 16,000 hhds. of sugar, and 27,000 lbs. of indigo.

Tobago and St. Vincent's were taken at the same time. The French had settled upon them, although by former treaties they were to be considered neutral.

The island of St. Vincent's, at the time of its surrender, con-

Smollett, vol. vii. pp. 149, 150. 175. Edwards, vol. i. p. 360.
Colquhoun, p. 356. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 528.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 184.

shall be permitted to administer spiritual succours to the sick, as well as others of the troops, and publicly to bury the dead without molestation.

"Answ. Granted.

"13. That the said sick shall, after their recovery, follow the fortune of their respective corps, as well as those who shall be actually in the hospitals without the town.

"Answ. Granted.

"14. That there shall be a general inventory taken by commissaries named by each party, of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and all other effects within the place.

"Answ. Granted.

"15. That the English prisoners detained in this citadel shall be exchanged for ours. Among others, M. de Caponé, major of this citadel and island, shall be included in the exchange, to follow the fortune of the officers of the place.

"Answ. Refused.

"16. That the effects of the officers and men belonging to the royal grenadiers, which were left upon Morne Garnier, shall be restored to them.

"Answ. It cannot be complied with, as it will be impossible to recover them.

"17. That the armed free Negroes and Mulattoes, that entered into the citadel as attendants on the companies of militia, shall go out likewise with the said companies.

"Answ. They shall remain prisoners of war, until the fate of the island is determined.

"18. That three days shall be granted for the evacuation of the place, at the end of which time the gate shall be given up to the troops of His Britannic Majesty, whilst the garrison shall march out.

"Answ. The gate of the fort shall be given up to the troops of His Britannic Majesty this evening at five o'clock, and the French garrison shall march out at nine to-morrow morning.

"19. That before the capitulation is settled, the commanding officer of the place shall be permitted to communicate it to the general, and in the meantime there shall be a suspension of arms, and that all works shall cease on both sides.

"Answ. After the capitulation is signed, and the gate of the fort possessed by the British troops, the commandant shall be allowed to acquaint his general with it.

"Robert Monckton.
"De Lignery.
"G. B. Rodney."

Beatson's Mem. vol. iii. p. 368.

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tained 800 Whites and 3000 slaves, and its exports were estimated at £63,625 per annum.

Soon after the English had taken possession of Martinico, a French fleet was seen for two days to windward of the island. Admiral Rodney endeavoured in vain to bring them to action.

On the 9th of November, Captain Tonyn, in his Majesty's ship Bruné, off Carthagena, captured L'Oiseau, a French frigate of twenty-six guns, commanded by the Chevalier de Modene, after a severe action.

On the 24th of February, the Honourable Captain Hervey, in the Dragon, seventy-four; with the Norwich, fifty, Captain William M'Cleverty; Penzance, forty, Captain Boyd; Dover, forty, Captain Chaloner Ogle; and Basilisk, of eight guns, Captain Brice, was detached by Admiral Rodney, with orders to attack St. Lucia, if his force was sufficient; if not, to report to the admiral. Captain Hervey sent an officer to summon the governor, M. Longueville, to surrender, and went himself in a midshipman's uniform, to obtain correct information of the enemy's strength, and act as interpreter. They were conducted to the governor, who declared his resolution to hold out to the last extremity. Captain Hervey, having ascertained that ships could come very near the fort, resolved to enter the harbour. Upon the approach of the ships, M. Longueville surrendered, upon the following terms:—

"Art. 1. The troops of the Most Christian King, which are in the island of St. Lucia, shall be allowed the same capitulation with the island of Martinico. They shall be supplied with a vessel and provisions to remove to the said island. They shall leave St. Lucia with the honours of war, their arms and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, and a field-piece, and so proceed to Martinico, with ten rounds for said field-piece, and be allowed two days to bring their baggage from the redoubts.

"Answer. The troops of His Most Christian Majesty shall march out of their garrisons and posts with the honours of war, and be allowed a field-piece of cannon, with four rounds and lighted match. They shall be allowed forty-eight hours to take their baggage from the redoubts, and then be embarked, at His Britannic Majesty's expence, for Martinico, and from thence to France as soon as possible.

"2. The inhabitants of this island ask the same terms which have been granted to those of Martinico, by the late capitulation made with M. le Vassor, our general.

"Answ. The inhabitants of St. Lucia shall immediately surrender up their arms, send in their names, with the places of their abode, and submit themselves, *at discretion*, to His Britannic

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 383.

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Majesty; but they shall not be obliged to take up arms against His Most Christian Majesty.

"3. All forts, garrisons, posts, cannon, mortars, magazines of ammunition and provisions, and implements of war, shall be delivered up, *bonâ fide*, to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them.

"ANSW. Granted.

"4. The inhabitants shall have free exercise of their religion — the priests and nuns shall be preserved in their curés and convents, until His Britannic Majesty's pleasure is known.

"ANSW. Granted.

"5. All archives and papers which may be necessary and relative to the government of the island to be faithfully given up, as also all plans of the island, fortifications, harbours, bays, &c.

"ANSW. Granted.

"6. All vessels whatsoever, that have been employed on any other voyage, or on any other account, than merely transporting the produce of the island from one place to another in this island, or carrying such produce from this island to the island of Martinico only, shall be seized by his Majesty's ships at St. Lucia.

"ANSW. Granted.

"Dated on board his Majesty's ship Dragon, at St. Lucia, February the 26th, 1762.

"A. HERVEY.
"LONGUEVILLE."

Captain Clarke, in his Majesty's sloop Ferret, attacked a valuable ship from the Caraccas, bound to Cadiz, armed with twenty-four guns, in a small bay in Porto Rico, behind a reef of rocks and a sand bank. In the night, the Ferret's boats found a channel of fifteen feet water — through this the sloop entered the next morning, and grounded within point-blank shot of the enemy. After an action of two hours, the Spaniards struck, and abandoned the ship, of which the Ferret's boats took possession: she proved a very valuable prize.

Captain Joseph Mead, in his Majesty's ship Fowey, of twenty-four guns, off Tiburon, engaged the Ventura Spanish frigate, of twenty-six twelve-pounders. After engaging an hour and a half, both ships sheered off to repair damages; and next morning, at day-light, the Fowey brought her to action again, and succeeded in taking her. She had forty killed, and several wounded: the Fowey had ten killed, and twenty-four wounded.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 533, 534.

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On the 3d of April, Captain Carket, in his Majesty's ship Hussar, attacked four ships at anchor, under a fort in Tiburon Bay. He burnt one of sixteen guns, sunk one of fourteen, and cut out the other two, one of sixteen, the other of twelve guns, both laden with flour and indigo.

In May, the Hussar was wrecked on a rock near St. Domingo, and three of her crew drowned. The rest were sent to Jamaica. His Majesty's ship Chesterfield, of forty guns, was lost in the Old Straits of Bahama.

Upon the 23d of May, the fleet under the command of Sir George Pococke, with troops on board, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, were joined, off Cape Nichola Mole, by a squadron under the command of Sir James Douglas, from Martinico. The whole force now amounted to 19 sail of the line, 18 smaller ships of war, and about 150 transports, having on board 12,041 troops.[1] A detachment from North America,

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 535.; vol. iii. p. 428. Smollett, vol. vii. p. 238.

[1] *A List of His Majesty's Ships in the West Indies, July the 12th.*

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
Norfolk	Rear-Admiral Cornish .... Richard Kempenfelt	74
Lenox	Robert Jocelyn	74
Grafton	Hyde Parker	70
Elizabeth	Richard Tiddeman .... Isaac Ourry	64
Weymouth	Richard Collins	60
York	Henry Cowell	60
Panther	William Newson	60
Medway	John Bladen Tinker	60
America	Samuel Pitchford	60
Falmouth	William Brereton	50
Chatham	Thomas Lynn	50
Argo	Richard King	28
Seaford	John Peighin	20
Seahorse	Charles Cath. Grant	20
Baleine	Philip Affleck	20
South Sea Castle	George Ourry	24
Tyger		—

With Sir George Pococke.

Namur	Sir George Pococke .... John Harrison	90
Valiant	Hon. Augustus Keppel .... Adam Duncan	74
Cambridge	William Goostry	80
Dublin	Edward Gascoigne	74
Dragon	Hon. Augustus J. Hervey	74
Temeraire	Matthew Barton	74

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under Brigadier-General Burton, and another from Jamaica, which together amounted to upwards of 2000 men, joined the army during the siege.

The admiral, with this fleet, proceeded through the difficult passage on the north side of Cuba. Captain Elphinstone, in his

Smollett, vol. vii. p. 238.

List of His Majesty's Ships in the West Indies, with Sir George Pococke — continued.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
Culloden	John Barker	74
Temple	Lucius O'Brien	70
Orford	Mar. Arbuthnot	70
Devonshire.....	Richard Bickerton	66
Marlborough ...	Molineux Schuldham	68
Belle Isle.....	Joseph Knight	64
Stirling Castle ..	Michael Everett	64
Hampton Court.	Alexander Innis.....	64
Defiance.....	George M'Kenzie.....	60
Rippon.....	Edward Jekyll.....	60
Nottingham	Samuel Marshall	60
Pembroke.....	John Wheolock	60
Edgar	Francis S. Drake	60
Hampshire.....	Arthor Usher.....	50
Dover.....	Hon. P. J. Percival	44
Alarm	Charles Wolseley	32
Richmond	John Elphinston	32
Trent	John Lindsay.....	28
Echo	John Lendrick.....	24
Mercury.....	Samuel Gran. Goodall....	24
Portmahon.....	Thomas Lempriere.....	24
Cygnet.....	Hon. Charles Napier.....	18
Bonetta.....	Lancelot Holmes	10
Lurcher.....	James Walker	6
Granado.....	.....	—
Basiliak	Robert Brice.....	—
Thunder	Philip Boteler	—
Centaur	Arthur Forrest.....	74
Alcide	Thomas Hankerson.....	64
	At Jamaica.	
Deptford	Dudley Digges	50
Winchester	John Dalrymple	50
Sutherland.....	Julian Legge	50
Penzance	John Boyd	44
Stag.....	.....	32
Cerberus	Charles Webber.....	28
Fowey	Joseph Mead.....	24
Rose	Francis Banks.....	20
Glasgow	Richard Carteret	20
Ferrit.....	James Alms	14
Port Royal	John Hinxman	—
Centurion	Sir James Douglas ..... / James Galbraith	50
Borcas.....	Samuel Uvedale.....	28
Viper.....	John Urry	10

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Majesty's ship Richmond, led the fleet: he had been down the Straits to Cayo Sal, returning the same way, and had taken sketches of the land and cayos on both sides.

"The whole fleet then stood through the Old Straits of Bahama, on the 27th of May, led by the Richmond frigate, Captain Elphinstone, on the starboard bow, and the Alarm frigate, Captain Alms, on the larboard: they passed the narrowest part, between Cape Lobos and Cayo Confites, in the night, keeping good fires on each for their directions. June the 2d, the Alarm, and Echo, 28, Captain John Lendrick, were ordered ahead, to lie on the Cayo Sal bank, and make signals for avoiding danger to the ships as they advanced. June the 3d, the Alarm discovered five sail ahead in the north-west, and the admiral made signal to chace: it fell calm. Captain Alms, in the Alarm, rowed up, and at two P.M. attacked and captured the two largest vessels, the Thetis, Spanish frigate, 22 guns, 180 men, and the Sphynx, 18 guns, 75 men. The action lasted three-quarters of an hour. The Alarm had fourteen killed, twenty-six wounded. The other three sail escaped."

On the 6th of June, Admiral Pococke lay to, five leagues to windward of the Havana. Having given his directions for the disembarkation of the troops, and left Commodore Keppel to superintend that service, he, with the rest of the fleet, proceeded off the harbour, where twelve sail of the line and several merchant vessels were at anchor.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 540.
Memoirs of Captain James Alms, sen., Naval Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 560.
Smollett, vol. vii. p. 239.

List of His Majesty's Ships in the West Indies — continued.

At the Leeward Islands.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.
Foudroyant	Robert Duff	80
Vinguard	Robert Swanton	70
Modeste	John Hollival	64
Falkland	Francis W. Drake	50
Norwich	William M. Cleverly	50
Rochester	Thomas Burnett	50
Woolwich	William Bayne	44
Repulse	John Carter Allen	32
Crescent	Thomas Collingwood	32
Levant	.....	28
Lizard	.....	28
Actæon	P. H. Ourry	28
Aquilon	Chaloner Ogle	28
Amazon	Basil Keith	24
Antigua	John Neil Pleydell	—
Guadaloupe	Roger Williams	—
Virgin	Charles Buckner	—
Kinsale	.....	—

Naval Chronicle, vol. xviii. p. 294.

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Next morning, Admiral Pococke embarked the marines in boats, and made a show of landing them about four miles to the westward of the harbour; whilst the earl, with the whole army, landed about six miles to the eastward of the Moro Castle, between the rivers Boca-nao and Coximar, without any opposition. A considerable body appearing as if they intended to oppose the earl in passing the Coximar river, Captain Hervey, in the Dragon, was ordered to run in and batter the castle, which he soon silenced, and the army passed unmolested.

On the 8th, the Earl of Albemarle having brought saddles and bridles from England for a troop of light dragoons, consisting of 100 men, they were mounted on horses taken from the enemy, and proved exceedingly serviceable as patroles, and in driving in cattle.

On the 11th, Colonel Carleton drove the Spaniards from a redoubt on the top of Cavannos, a hill which overlooks the Moro: here a post was established. At the same time, three bomb-vessels, protected by the Stirling Castle and Echo, threw shells into the town. The Condé de Superunda, viceroy of Peru, and Don Diego de Tavares, the governor of Carthagena, assisted Don Juan de Prado, the governor of the city, with their advice. The Marquis del Real commanded the fleet. By the 12th, three large ships were sunk in the mouth of the harbour behind a strong boom, so as entirely to block up the channel. The garrison amounted to 27,610 troops, of whom 14,000 were militia and people of colour, and 9000 sailors and marines belonging to the fleet.

Admiral Pococke ordered four sail of the line to cruize in the offing, and anchored, with the rest of his fleet, off Chorrera River, four miles to the westward of the Havana, where there was plenty of wood and water. Here, at the request of Lord Albemarle, 800 marines, under Majors Campbell and Collins, were encamped, and Colonel Howe joined them with a reinforcement of 1200 men. This was to divide the enemy's attention, whilst the earl attacked the Moro. He was encamped in the woods, between the river Coximar and the Moro, with a corps under Lieutenant-General Elliot at Guana-macoa, to secure the avenues on the side, and his communication with a large tract of country, which, it was hoped, would supply the troops with water, vegetables, and fresh provision.

Major-General Keppel commanded the attack upon the Moro. The name of the chief engineer was Mackellar, a distinguished officer. On the 29th, the Spaniards landed 1000 picked men,

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 542. Annual Register, p. 39. Smollett, vol. vii. p. 240.

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with a detachment of Negroes and Mulattoes, in two divisions, on the right and left of the Moro, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers. They were repulsed with the loss of 200 men.

On the 1st of July, the besiegers had twelve battering cannon, 24-pounders, six 13-inch mortars, three 10-inch and 26 royals, playing upon the fort. The Spaniards had seventeen guns and one mortar mounted on the front attacked; and the attention of the garrison was divided by an attack upon the north-east face by his Majesty's ships Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by Captains Hervey, Goostrey, and Burnet. Captain Goostrey was killed, and the ships suffered severely, without doing much injury to the Spaniards. The Moro was too high to be much affected by their artillery. Captain Campbell was obliged to quit the service, for not fulfilling the directions he had received, to place the leading ship properly. The parapet of the Moro was of masonry; the ditch of the front attacked was seventy feet from the edge of the counterscarp, more than forty of which were sunk in the rock. On the 2d, about noon, the besiegers were obliged to slacken their fire, to prevent the battery from catching fire, from the constant fire, and the dryness of the fascines, there not having been any rain for fourteen days.

On the 15th, the enemy's fire was totally silenced before night. On the 16th, they fired twice from two guns. The rest of the day, they fired from musketry and wall pieces. The approaches began to be advanced this evening.

On the 3d of July, the principal battery of the besiegers, chiefly constructed of timber and fascines, being dried by the sun, caught fire, and almost the whole work was consumed.

The soil in the neighbourhood afforded but little earth, so that it was thought necessary to carry on the approaches by sap, which was greatly facilitated by the engineers being supplied with bags of cotton, from some ships of Sir James Douglas' convoy.

Epidemical distempers began to make great havoc in the army and navy. The troops were but ill supplied with water and refreshments; and their spirits sank with the increase of duty, occasioned by diminished numbers. Five thousand soldiers and three thousand sailors were in the sick list.

On the 19th of July, the besiegers took possession of the covered way before the point of the right bastion, and a new sap was begun at this lodgment. The only place by which the foot of the wall was accessible was a thin ridge of rock, left at the

Smollett, vol. vii. pp. 241. 243. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 551. Annual Register, 1762, p. 41.

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point of the bastion, to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwise have been open to the sea. Along this ridge the miners passed, without cover, to the foot of the wall, where they made a lodgment with little loss. Meanwhile, a shaft was sunk without the covered way, to form a mine for throwing the counterscarp into the ditch, should it be necessary to fill it. The ditch cut in the solid rock was eighty feet deep, and forty feet wide.

In the night of the 20th, a serjeant and twelve men scaled the sea-line a little to the right of the mine, and found only nine or ten men asleep in that part of the work. They awoke before the serjeant and his party got to them, and ran to give the alarm. The English retreated; they were ordered up a second time, but found the attempt was not to be repeated. Had the party been briskly succoured, the fort might have been carried.

Next day, at four A.M., 1500 men, in three divisions, attacked the besiegers in three places; at the same time, a heavy fire was kept up from Fort Punta, the west bastion, the lines and flanks of the entrance, and the shipping. All three parties were repulsed, with the loss of 400 in killed and prisoners. The English lost about fifty killed and wounded.

This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro, which held out with a sullen resolution, and made no proposal to capitulate, though the enemy were undermining its walls.

On the 26th, a merchant frigate of two decks, which, moored across the entrance before the west bastion, had annoyed the besiegers, was sunk by a howitzer from Dixon's battery. On the 28th, the arrival of fresh troops from North America, under Brigadier-General Burton, reanimated the soldiers. Four of the transports were wrecked on Cayo Confites, but the seamen and troops got on shore, and Captain Elphinstone was sent to bring them away.

On the 30th, at two A.M., a floating battery was towed out of the harbour to fire into the ditch. The fire of the covering party soon compelled her to retire. In the afternoon, two mines were sprung, with such effect, that a practicable, though narrow and difficult breach was made in the bastion. It was assaulted — Lieutenant Charles Forbes, of the Royals, led the way with great intrepidity. The troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart formed as they mounted, and after a short but severe contest, drove the enemy from the ramparts. One hundred and thirty Spaniards were killed, several of whom were officers of distinction. Don Luis de Velasco, the governor of

Annual Register, 1762, pp. 41, 42. Smollett, vol. vii. p. 244. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 557.

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the fort, was one of them: he had attracted general admiration by his romantic gallantry, and fell defending the colours. He had made an intrenchment round his colours, where, with 100 men, he defended them. All his companions were either killed or fled: he, disdaining to retire or call for quarter, received a mortal wound, and fell offering his sword to his conquerors. The Marquis Gonzales, second in command, was also killed. About 400 of the garrison laid down their arms, and were made prisoners; the rest, in attempting to escape in boats to the Havana, were either killed or drowned. The loss of the English was only fourteen killed, and twenty-nine wounded.

A few desperate Spaniards retired to the light-house in the Moro; and while Lieutenants Forbes, Nugent, and Holroyd were congratulating each other, fired upon them, and killed the two latter. Mr. Forbes, exasperated at the death of his friends, attacked the light-house, and put every man in it to the sword. During the siege, the Spaniards lost 1000 men.

The governor of the Havana now directed his hottest fire against the fortress he had lost. A line-of-battle ship was sent to batter it, but in a few hours she was removed.

On the 8th, the Richmond and Squadron arrived with the troops and seamen from the wrecked transports. Captain Banks, of the Lizard, informed the admiral, that on the 21st of July, between Mariguana and the North Caicos, two French line-of-battle ships, three frigates, and six sloops, had chased the convoy, and taken five transports, with 500 men on board.

General Keppel erected new batteries on the Cavannos: they were finished by the 10th of August. The earl then sent to summon the governor to surrender, who replied, that he would defend the place to the last extremity.

Next morning, the 11th, at day-break, forty-five cannon and eight mortars began to play upon the town and the punta. Before ten, the punta was silenced; by eleven, the north bastion was almost disabled. About two P.M. white flags were displayed from all parts of the fortification, and on board the admiral's ship, and a flag of truce arrived at head-quarters, with proposals of capitulation. The Spaniards wished the harbour to be declared neutral, and that their ships might go to Spain, but were obliged to give up both points. The capitulation was signed on the 13th, and on the 14th the English troops took possession of their conquest. The garrison, about 900 men, and the sailors, with the viceroy of Peru and governor of Carthagena, were to be sent to Old Spain. The English loss during the siege was 500 killed or mortally wounded. From their landing

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 560. Smollett, vol. vii. p. 245.

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upon Cuba, to the 13th of August, the English lost 1790 in killed, wounded, and missing, and dead from other reasons, and about 700 died soon afterwards of the fever.

Twelve sail of the line, nine of them fit for sea, two upon the stocks, and several merchant vessels, royal property, to the amount of near £2,000,000, exclusive of an immense quantity of artillery and warlike stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

About this year, Thomas Raffles is said to have carried to Jamaica the "formica omnivora" from the Havana. At Jamaica it is known by the name of the Raffles' ant.

The Marlborough, of seventy guns, one of Sir George Pococke's fleet, parted from the admiral on his passage to England, in a severe gale of wind, during which their leaks increased, so that the greatest exertions could hardly keep her afloat. Captain Burnet ordered thirty guns to be thrown overboard, and the anchors to be cut away, in hopes of easing the ship. On the 28th of November, she became quite waterlogged, when, to the great joy of all on board, at day-break on the 29th, his Majesty's ship Antelope of fifty guns hove in sight, with a convoy from Newfoundland to Lisbon. She answered the Marlborough's signals of distress, and was in time to save the crew and some chests of money. When the last boat shoved off, the water was up to the orlop deck, and two of the crew were taken drunk and asleep from the lower deck. She was set on fire, and the Antelope made sail for Lisbon.

The Temple, Captain Legge, another seventy gun ship, belonging to the same fleet, foundered upon the passage home, as did twelve of the transports. Their crews were saved by the ships in company.

Captain Carteret, in his Majesty's sloop Merlin, was cruizing off Cape François, when M. de Blenac's squadron arrived there: it was night, and some of the squadron chaced and came very near the Merlin, who made signals as though to her own admiral, hoisting lights and firing guns. The stratagem succeeded: the chasing ships were recalled, and all the squadron made sail for the Cape, in such haste, that the Dragon, sixty-four, one of the squadron, run on a sand-bank and was lost.[1]

Smollett, vol. vii. p. 246. Edwards, vol. i. p. 383.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 371. 535. 571.

[1] A similar stratagem was practised by Vice-Admiral Cornwallis, in June 1795, when he was chased by the French fleet off L'Orient. He ordered the Phæton frigate ahead, and to let fly her royal sheets and fire guns, as though she was making signals to another fleet. It succeeded — the enemy left off chase.

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In April, Brigadier-General Rufane was appointed governor of Martinico.

Copy of a Letter from Sir George Pococke, to Mr. Cleveland, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated on board the Namur, off Chorrera River, the 14th of July.

" Sir,

" Agreeable to my intention, signified to you by my letter, dated the 26th of May, by the Barbadoes sloop, (a copy of which is inclosed), I bore away with the fleet the next afternoon, having the day before sent the Bonetta sloop, Captain Holmes, with a Providence pilot on board him, to direct the vessels to their proper stations on the Cuba side, and Bahama banks, that we might be guided by their signals in our passage. Luckily, the next day the Richmond joined us; she had been down the Old Straits to Cayo Sal, and Captain Elphinstone had been very diligent and careful in his remarks going through and returning back, having taken sketches of the land and cayos on both sides. He kept ahead of the fleet, and led us through very well. We passed the narrowest part in the night, between Cape Lobos and Cayo Confites, keeping good fire-light on each cayo for our directions, and found Lord Anson's Spanish chart of the Old Straits a very just one.

" The Providence pilot, who was on board the Bonetta sloop, placed the Trent, Captain Lindsay, at the first station on the Cuba side, forty-five leagues to the eastward of where she ought to have been. This occasioned some of the others never to find the cayos where they were sent to lie on, but no ill consequence attended it, though we find the pilots in general ignorant of the passage.

" On the 2d, in the morning, the Alarm and Echo, being ordered a-head to lie on the Cayo Sal Bank, the former made the signal for seeing five sail on the N.W. quarter. They both chased, with other ships, and about two in the afternoon, Captain Alms, in the Alarm, came up with and engaged the Thetis, a Spanish frigate, of twenty-two guns, and a hundred and eighty men; and the Phœnix store-ship, armed for war, of eighteen guns and seventy-five men; and in three-quarters of an hour both struck to her. The Thetis had ten men killed and fourteen wounded; the Alarm had seven men killed and ten wounded. A brigantine and two schooners were at first in company with them — one of the latter escaped; they were bound for Sagoa in the Straits, for timber for the use of the ships at the Havana, from whence they had sailed twelve days before.

" During all the passage through the Old Straits of Bahama,

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 538. Naval Chronicle, vol. viii. p. 456.

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we had fine weather, and little current; and on the 5th, in the evening, got clear through, and saw the Matanzas. On the 6th, in the morning, brought to, about five leagues to the eastward of the Havana, to issue out directions to the captains of the fleet and masters of the transports, with regard to landing the army; and having appointed the Honourable Commodore Keppel to conduct that part of the service, leaving with him six ships of the line, and some frigates, and having manned the flat-bottomed boats from the fleet, I bore away at two o'clock in the afternoon, with thirteen ships of the line, two frigates, the bomb vessels, and thirty-six sail of victuallers and store-ships, and run down off the harbour, where I saw twelve Spanish ships of the line, and several merchant ships.

"Next morning I embarked the marines in the boats, and made a feint of landing, about four miles to the westward of the Havana. About the same time the Earl of Albemarle landed with the whole army, without opposition, between the rivers Boca-noa and Coximar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro; but there appearing a body of men near the shore, Mr. Keppel ordered the Mercury and Bonetta sloops in-shore, to scour the beach and woods; and a more considerable body of men appearing afterwards, as if they intended to oppose the Earl of Albemarle in passing Coximar river, the commodore ordered Captain Hervey, in the Dragon, to run in and batter the castle, which in a short time he silenced, and the army passed over unmolested.

"The 8th, I sent two frigates in-shore, to sound, from as near the Punta fort as they could, down along the west shore; they found anchoring ground for three leagues down the coast, from twenty to five fathoms water, and easy landing for any number of men. This afternoon, the enemy sunk one of her largest ships of war in the entrance of the harbour, and another early next morning. The Earl of Albemarle having acquainted me that the Cavanois (or hill above the Moro) would be soon attacked, and to facilitate the measure, desired me to make a division on this side, accordingly, the 10th, in the evening, I ordered Captain Knight, in the Belle Isle, to go in and batter the castle of Chorrera, and sent the Cerberus, Mercury, Bonetta, and Lurcher with her, to keep firing in the woods in the night, and embarked all the marines in the boats.

"The next forenoon the enemy quitted the fort; and at one o'clock Colonel Carleton (quartermaster-general) attacked the Cavanois, and soon made the enemy retreat down the hill, with little loss on our side. I ordered three bomb vessels to anchor this night, to throw shells into the town, which they accordingly

Naval Chronicle, vol. viii. p. 456.

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performed, under cover of the Edgar, Stirling Castle, and Echo.

"On the 12th, a third ship being sunk in the entrance of the harbour's mouth, which entirely blocked it up, I ordered four ships of the line to continue cruizing in the offing, and anchored with the rest off Chorrera River, about four miles from the Havana, which affords us plenty of good water and wood.

"Having found it necessary to order 800 marines to be formed into two battalions, commanded by the Majors Campbell and Collins, Lord Albemarle signified his request that they might be landed, and encamped on this side; at the same time his lordship ordered a detachment of 1200 men over, under the command of Colonel Howe. Accordingly, they were landed on the 15th, and have proved very serviceable.

"Commodore Keppel remains on the east side at anchor off Coximar River, with such ships of war and transports as we find necessary; where he constantly keeps a number of people on shore, which the Earl of Albemarle thinks necessary to assist the army in landing their cannon and ordnance stores of all kinds, or manning batteries, making fascines, and supplying the army with water from this side, there being no water or wells on the Cavanois, as the weather has been for the greatest part very dry. We have landed cannon that have been desired, of different calibres, from the ships of war, two mortars from the Thunder bomb on the east side, and two from the Granado on this side, with old cables made up for erecting defences, and old canvas for making sand-bags, with ammunition and every other assistance in our power; and the utmost cordiality and harmony subsists between the two corps.

"On the 20th, the bomb batteries began to play against the Moro; but the want of earth retarded our batteries of cannon from being ready till the 1st of this month, when it was thought that three large ships would prove serviceable to be placed against the north-east part of the Moro. I therefore ordered for that service the Dragon, Marlborough, and Cambridge, Captain Hervey having readily offered to command the attack, and made every judicious disposition in placing the three ships. The Stirling Castle was ordered to lead until the first ship was properly placed, and then to have made sail off; but Captain Campbell not having performed that service agreeable to the orders he received from Captain Hervey, he has complained of him, and desired his conduct may be inquired into, which shall be done as soon as the present affairs will permit.

"As the ships were to move from the eastward, where Mr. Keppel was stationed, (who in justice to him, I am glad to

Naval Chronicle, vol. viii. p. 456.

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say, executes the duty entrusted to him with an activity, judgment, and diligence, no man can surpass), I directed him to superintend the attack, and to give Captain Hervey his orders to proceed when he saw it convenient. Accordingly, the ships were ordered to weigh the evening of the 30th of June; and next morning went down (Captain Hervey having the signal out for the line) the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, and were placed, as well and as near as their stations would admit of, against a fortress so high as the Moro, with an intention to dismount the guns, as well as beat down the wall. They began to cannonade about eight o'clock; and after keeping a constant fire until two in the afternoon, the Cambridge was so much damaged in her hull, masts, yards, sails, and rigging, with the loss of so many men killed and wounded, that it was thought proper to order her off; and soon after the Dragon, which had likewise suffered in loss of men, and damage in her hull; and it being found that the Marlborough, Captain Burnett, could be of no longer service, she was ordered off likewise.

" The number of killed and wounded are as follows: —

	Killed.	Wounded.
Dragon - -	16	37
Cambridge - -	24	95
Marlborough -	2	8

" The Dragon, on the water's falling, had touched aground, and was forced to stave her water casks to lighten her, but has received no damage, as can be perceived, from it. The captains behaved becoming gallant officers, as they expressed great satisfaction in the behaviour of the officers and men under their command; and we have to regret the loss of Captain Goostrey, who, though killed soon after the Cambridge brought up, carried her down with the greatest calmness and spirit. Captain Lindsay, of the Trent, supplied his place during the remainder of the action, and approved himself a brave man. I offered him the command of that ship, or of the Temple, or Devonshire, the former being vacant by the death of Captain Legge, and the latter by Captain Marshall's going into the Cambridge.

" The Earl of Albemarle signified to me the ships had done incomparably well, having drawn much fire from our batteries, by which means they had an opportunity of dismounting some of the Moro's guns, that played against them.

" The Defiance and Hampton Court being ordered to cruize between Port Mariel and the Bay of Honda, in going down saw two sail at anchor off Port Mariel harbour, which Captain Mackenzie, of the Defiance, brought out after some firing had passed.

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All but twenty men had left them. They were the Venganza frigate, of twenty-six guns, and the Marte of eighteen guns, which had been out on a cruize. I sent the Sutherland, Cerberus, and Lurcher, to cruize off the Matanzas, and reconnoitre the bay, and the Richmond and Alarm to cruize off the capes of St. Antonio and Correistes. They took a schooner, on the 22d of last month, off the west end of Cuba, loaded with coffee, from Española, bound to New Orleans. The cruizers are now all returned without any particular intelligence.

"The Alcide, Sutherland, Cerberus, and Ferret sloop, have joined the fleet since we have been here. The Centaur sprung her mainmast in heaving down, but Sir James Douglas (who arrived here on the 12th, with the Jamaica fleet,) informs me she will soon be here also."

This letter was soon followed by another, announcing the important intelligence of the surrender of the Havana, with farther particulars respecting the siege.

"Sir,

"I desire you will acquaint their Lordships, that it is with the greatest pleasure I now congratulate them on the great success of his Majesty's arms, in the reduction of the Havana, with all its dependencies.

"The Moro fort was taken by storm the 30th of last month, after a siege of twenty-nine days, during which time the enemy lost above a thousand men, and a brave officer in Don Luis de Velasco, captain of one of their men-of-war, and governor in the Moro, mortally wounded in defending the colours, sword in hand, in the storm. And on the 11th instant, the governor of the Havana desired to capitulate for the town, which was granted, the articles agreed to, and signed, (a copy of which I enclose); and we were put in possession of the Punta and Land Gate the 14th. With this great and important acquisition to his Majesty, have also fallen twelve large men-of-war of the line, as per list, three of which were sunk, with a Company's ship, in the entrance of the harbour. Nine are fit for sea, and two upon the stocks. A blow that I hope will prove more capital to the enemy, as they receive it so early in the war, and I may venture to say, will leave all their settlements in this part of the world exposed to any attempts that may be thought proper to be made on them. But however trivial, with the possession of the Havana, it may appear, yet I cannot help mentioning the discovery and possessing the harbour of Mariel, about seven leagues to the leeward of this, and which we had made ourselves masters of, though the enemy had endeavoured to hinder it, by

Naval Chronicle, vol. viii. p. 456.

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sinking ships in the entrance, and we had lately sent near 100 transports, with some men-of-war there, for security against the season, in which we are already advanced.

"It will be needless, as almost impossible, for me to express or describe that perfect harmony that has uninterruptedly subsisted between the fleet and army, from our first setting out. Indeed, it is doing injustice to both to mention them as two corps, since each has endeavoured, with the most constant and cheerful emulation, to render it but one, uniting in the same principles of honour and glory for their king and country's service. I am glad, on this occasion, to do justice to the distinguished merit of Commodore Keppel, who executed the service under his direction, on the Coximar side, with the greatest spirit, activity, and diligence; and I must repeat, that the zeal his Majesty's sea officers and seamen exerted in carrying on the services allotted to them, is highly to be commended.

"I shall now beg leave to refer their lordships to Captain Hervey for all further particulars, who I send with this letter, and who has approved himself a brave and deserving officer in this expedition, and therefore think myself obliged to recommend him to his Majesty.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"G. Pococke."

A List of Ships that were in the Harbour of the Havana.

GUNS.	SHIPS.
70 ...	Tiger (El Marquis Real Transport), surrendered with the city.
70 ...	Reyna, ditto.
70 ...	Soverano, ditto.
70 ...	Infante, ditto.
70 ...	Neptune, sunk.
70 ...	Aquilon, surrendered.
64 ...	Asia, sunk.
60 ...	America, surrendered with the city.
60 ...	Europe, sunk.
60 ...	Conquestador, surrendered.
60 ...	San Genaro, ditto.
60 ...	San Antonio, ditto.

In September, Rear-Admiral Keppel, in his Majesty's ship Valiant, with a squadron under his command, off Cape François, captured twenty sail of merchant ships, and their convoy of four merchant frigates. Six privateers from New York and the West Indies captured five of them in the night, and assisted Admiral Keppel the next morning in taking the rest.

In December, the Earl of Albemarle sailed from the Havana in the Rippon for England. He left his brother, Major-General Keppel, governor of the Havana.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 573. Smollett, vol. vii. p. 177.

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The governor's house at Jamaica was completed this year: it was designed and approved of under the administration of Lieutenant-governor Moore, and built under the inspection of Mr. Craskell. The expence of building and furnishing it was estimated at £30,000 currency.

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In February, the Negroes at Berbice, to the amount of several thousands, rebelled, and in a few days made themselves masters of all the plantations in the settlement. They burnt and destroyed every thing, killed the Negroes who would not join them, and put many of the Whites to cruel deaths, the rest of whom fled to Fort Nassau, but fearing their communication with the sea-coast might be obstructed, the governor retired with the white inhabitants on board the ships, blew up the fort, and sailed to the entrance of the river, to wait there for assistance.

The inhabitants of Demerary and Essequibo were thrown into consternation by the fate of their neighbours. At this time an armed vessel from Barbadoes, commanded by a lieutenant of the navy, was sent by Admiral Douglas with troops to Demerary. Their arrival frustrated the rebellious designs of the slaves, and the dissensions among the rebels at Berbice prevented their intended visit. In the interim, Dutch troops from Surinam, Curaçoa, and St. Eustatia, arrived at Berbice: with these the governor sailed up the river, and took possession of the Dauger-head, a large plantation belonging to the West India Company, where he maintained himself until the arrival of an armament from Holland, when the rebels were soon driven into the woods, from whence hunger and the arrows of the Indians obliged them to return to their former slavery. Several hundreds were burnt, or broken upon the wheel, with that cruelty for which the Dutch are notorious.

The Caribbee Indians were auxiliaries, and greatly assisted the Dutch in subduing the rebels. These Indians consider the Blacks an inferior race, and despise them.

Mr. Brougham, in his Colonial Policy, b. i. § 3. p. 360, states this to have happened in 1760.

The brigantine Polly, in her passage from the Havana to Jamaica, took fire, occasioned by drawing off rum in the hold. By this accident, two officers, one serjeant, two corporals, seventy-one soldiers, four sailors, four women, and one child, perished. [1]

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 6. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 193. Annual Register, 1763, pp. 58. 84.

[1] It never ought to be allowed in any ship.

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Several pirates infested the West India seas: they were of all nations, and some were taken and executed.

The average exports from Martinico and Guadaloupe amounted to £779,066 sterling.

Grenada produced 11,000 hogsheads of sugar this year.

Martinico was first infested by ants in the autumn of this year. "These insects were," Dr. Coke says, "undoubtedly, brought to these islands (the West Indies) with the ships that bring the Negroes from Africa, where they abound, and raise pyramidical nests in hillocks of considerable size."—"Some time before they appeared in Martinico, they had ravaged Barbadoes to such a degree, that it was deliberated whether that island, formerly so flourishing, should not be deserted."

In Martinico they destroyed all the culinary vegetables: "the quadrupeds were hardly able to subsist; and the largest trees were infested in such a manner with these insects, that the most voracious birds would not light upon them. In short, the greatest precaution was requisite to prevent their attacks on men who were afflicted with sores, on women who were confined in child-bed, and on children that were unable to assist themselves."

The population of Dominica was returned at 1718 Whites, 500 free Negroes, and 5872 slaves.

The following ordonnance was published at Paris, July 15th, 1763:—

"When young men of family shall be guilty of irregularities capable of wounding the honour or disturbing the quiet of their families, or which are reprehensible by the police, without being crimes punishable by law, it shall be lawful for their parents to ask the secretaries of state in the departments of war and of the marine, to transport them to the island of Desiradé. If the proofs which they shall be obliged to deliver for that effect are found just, an order shall be delivered to them from the King, by virtue of which they may conduct, at their own expence, those young men to the port of Rochefort, where they shall be detained in prison, and maintained at the King's expence, till they be put on board a packet-boat, the commander of which shall be answerable to his Majesty for their safe custody. During the voyage they shall mess with the common sailors, and at their arrival at Martinico, the captain shall consign them to the governor-general of the island, and take a receipt for them, which, at his return to France, he shall deliver to the secretary

Annual Register, 1763, pp. 83, 84. 92.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 528.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 20. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 313.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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of state. The young men shall be sent to prison by the governor-general, and dieted as the common soldiers, till they be sent to Desiradé. On their arrival there, the commandant to whom they shall be delivered shall station them in a fruitful, healthy part of the island. They shall be lodged in cabins built on purpose for them. He shall forbid them the use of any sort of arms, and take all necessary precautions to prevent their making their escape. They shall be fed as the common soldiers are, and shall be furnished gratis with instruments for tilling the earth, and seed to sow it, and the produce shall be for their own benefit. They shall be new-clothed every year; and, in case of sickness, received into the hospital as soldiers. They shall be distributed into classes as soon as they discover any signs of amendment; and the commandant shall give an account to the minister at war and of the marine, that he may inform the parents. In case it should be discovered that their families, notwithstanding their reformation, want to keep them abroad, that they may enjoy their estates, the young men shall be assisted to recover them, if they choose to remain in the colonies; or they shall even be allowed to return to France, to take care of their affairs in person."

A tolerably severe punishment for "irregularities" not amounting to "crimes punishable by law."

Ordinance of the French General and Intendant concerning butchers, the 1st of September, 1763.

"Art. 3. Forbidding slaves from following the trade of butchers, or re-selling meat bought by them of butchers, under pain of being flogged and pilloried, and also confiscation of the slave to the benefit of the King, if it shall be proved that the master authorized them to do so. Slaves, however, allowed to sell pork as usual."

October the 18th, 1763, another ordinance was issued respecting the marechaussée.

"Art. 10. Slaves arrested in town of the domicile of their masters, or in the neighbourhood thereof, either by day or night, not to be considered as runaways, should they not have been denounced previously. Masters who make a false declaration respecting their slaves, to be fined 300 livres.

"11. Slaves arrested in town at night, three leagues from their masters' domicile, shall be taken as runaways, and twelve livres paid for their capture. Slaves taken after nine o'clock, without a billet from their masters, specifying the mission on which sent, to be likewise taken up.

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 49.

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" 12. White officers of the marechaussée, who meet slaves out of the town with produce or merchandise for sale, without a permission from their masters to that effect, to arrest and conduct them to prison.

" 14. All slaves found after nine o'clock at night from their masters' dwellings, without permission, to be arrested, and conducted to prison."

Another ordinance was issued at the same time, respecting the commutation of capital punishment.

" Art. 1. The punishment of death, in cases of marronage, for the third offence; and those to the galleys, whether limited or for life, to be commuted to condemnation to the chain, unless otherwise ordered by the King. Slaves to be chained by twos, and to be employed in the King's works, or in repairs of the high roads.

" 2. Slaves to be condemned to the chain in perpetuity, in all cases of marronage, for the third offence, or of other crimes, which agreeably to the laws can be punished by the galleys, either for a limited period, or for life.

" 3. Slaves condemned to the chain to be paid for to their masters, who have denounced them, according to their appraisement, out of the funds appropriated to that purpose.

" 4. Slaves thus condemned to the chain, to be fed at the public expense, with the exception of the time they shall be employed on the public works of the colony, in which case they are to be provided for at the expense of the parties who are obliged to contribute to the expense of the work.

" 5. These chain slaves, when employed on the works of the colony, are to be placed under the charge of a soldier, serjeant, or other men of that description; and the guardian of such slaves to be paid four livres per day, without other allowance.

" 6. Slaves considered bad subjects can be put to work in the chain without being, however, marked — cannot be done, however, without the master's consent.

" 7. Slaves condemned to the chain to be marked with a fleur-de-lis on the left cheek, for the purpose of being recognised in case of escape."

Upon the 10th of February, a definitive treaty of peace, between His Britannic Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain, was concluded at Paris. The following articles are those which relate to the West Indies: —

" Art. 2. The treaties of Westphalia, of 1648; those of Madrid, between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1667 and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen, of 1678 and 1679; of Ryswick, of 1697; those of peace and of commerce, of Utrecht, of 1713; that of Baden, of 1714; the treaty of the

Smollett's History of England, vol. vii. p. 266, 12mo.

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triple alliance of the Hague, of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London, of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna, of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, of 1748, and that of Madrid, between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750 — as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February, 1668, of the 6th of February, 1715, and of the 12th of February, 1761; and that of the 11th of April, 1713, between France and Portugal, with the guarantees of Great Britain — serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and the present treaty. And, for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed, in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word; so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenour, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties. And all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence to subsist contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

"8. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Mariegalante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the British arms: provided that His Britannic Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover the debts, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to His Britannic Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. But as the liberty granted to His Britannic Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them, it has been expressly agreed between His Britannic Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels which shall have leave to go

Smollett, vol. vii. p. 273.

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to the said islands and places restored to France shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast, shall sail at a fixed time, and shall make one voyage only —all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that His Most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France; and that the merchandise which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

"9. The Most Christian King cedes and guarantees to His Britannic Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony inserted in the fourth article of those for Canada. And the partition of the islands called neutral is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right: and the high contracting parties guarantee the partition so stipulated.

"17. His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and His Catholic Majesty shall not permit His Britannic Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and, for this purpose, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects. And His Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers on the Spanish coasts and territories as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

"19. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havana; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by His Britannic Majesty's arms — provided that His Britannic Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to

Smollett, vol. vii. p. 273.

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settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates; to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for their use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose the term of eighteen months is allowed to His Britannic Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. But as the liberty granted to His Britannic Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions are not taken to prevent them, it has been expressly agreed between His Britannic Majesty and His Catholic Majesty, that the number of English vessels which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast, shall set sail at a fixed time, and shall make one voyage only — all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that His Catholic Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for their greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

" 22. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be respectively and *bonâ fide* delivered or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or at latest four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever place the said papers or documents may be found.

" 24. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and the evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the twelfth and thirteenth articles of the preliminaries, signed the third day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done — Guadaloupe, Desirade, Mariegalante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifica-

Smollett, vol. vii. pp. 277. 279.

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tions of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the 7th article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty—and the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done. And, according to the conditions of the 6th article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter and of Miquelon at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The fortress of the Havana, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done; and at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the 20th article. All the places and countries of His Most Faithful Majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the Portuguese colonies which may have been conquered shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored, with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty."

After the conclusion of the peace, the British government sent positive directions to their West India governors and ships of war, to break off all kind of intercourse with the French and Spanish settlements. In a few months the French and Dutch islands gained by smuggling above a million of dollars, which would otherwise have been laid out at Jamaica. The *most earnest representations* were sent over by the English colonists, and *less rigorous orders* were issued in consequence.

Denmark declared the ports in St. Thomas's and St. John's free ports for all American produce, on paying five per cent.; but European goods were only to be imported in Danish bottoms.

Smollett, vol. vii. pp. 280. 420, 421.

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The island of St. Lucia, which, since the treaty of 1731, had been occupied by French and English, though possessed by neither, was frequented by both: it had been a dépôt for a contraband traffic with the islands of both nations, and had prospered by smuggling. It was now ceded to France, and those sources of its prosperity cut off.

The French ministry sent over 800 men to colonize the island, most of whom were soon killed by the climate; but these were replaced by better-seasoned colonists from the neighbouring islands.[1]

October the 7th, the King of England issued a proclamation, which states, "That, for the speedy settling various governments, of which Grenada is one, and from his paternal care for the security of the liberties and properties of the inhabitants, he had given express power and direction to the governor thereof, that, as soon as the state and circumstances of the colony will admit, he shall, with the advice and consent of his Majesty's council, summon and call general assemblies, and, together with his Majesty's council, with the representatives of the people freely elected by the freeholders and inhabitants thereof, in general assembly, make laws and statutes to bind the people thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England."

The population of the Grenadas was returned at 1225 Whites, 455 free Negroes, and 12,000 slaves.—1594 slaves were imported this year; "and it was said that these islands would require an annual supply of 3000."

By the treaty of Paris, of February the 10th, 1763, the island

Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 358.
Adolphus's History of George III., chap. vii. p. 140, 4th edit.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 296, 297.
Examination of the Slave Registry Bill, Lond. 1816.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Annual Register, 1773, p. 85.

1 "The inhabitants of St. Lucia have discovered an animal flower. In a cavern of that isle, near the sea, is a large basin, from twelve to fifteen feet deep, the water of which is very brackish, and the bottom composed of rocks, from whence at all times proceed certain substances, which present at first sight beautiful flowers, of a bright shining colour, and pretty nearly resembling our single marygolds, only that their tint is more lively. These seeming flowers, on the approach of a hand or instrument, retire, like a snail, out of sight. On examining this substance closely, there appears in the middle of the disk four brown filaments resembling spider's legs, which move round a kind of yellow petals, with a brisk and spontaneous motion. These legs reunite like pincers to seize their prey; and the yellow petals immediately close to shut up that prey, so that it cannot escape. Under this appearance of a flower is a brown stalk of the bigness of a raven's quill, and which appears to be the body of some animal. It is probable that this strange animal lives on the spawn of fish, and the small insects which the sea throws up into the bason." *Annual Register*, 1764, p. 49.

This zoophyte is mentioned by Dr. Pinckard, in his *Notes on the West Indies*, vol. i. p. 348. as being known at Barbadoes.

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of St. Vincent was ceded to Great Britain, without any notice being taken of the Caribs. It was then supposed to contain between four and five thousand French inhabitants, and the Caribs to amount to upwards of a thousand fighting men.

Many of the French, not choosing to live under the English government, sold their property and left the island.

The Black Caribs in St. Vincent's were estimated at 2000. The government of that island has eight small islands attached to it, called Union, containing 2150 acres; Bequia, 3700; Canouane, 1777; Mustiqua, 1200; Petit St. Vincent, Petit Martinico, Maillereaw, and Balleseau.

In St. Vincents, there were 695 white men, 1138 free Negroes, and 3430 slaves.

The population and produce of the island of Cayenne were estimated to be nearly the same as in 1753.

General Robert Melville was, upon the 8th of October, appointed governor of Dominica. Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were included in his government. It was a new government, and called the "Government of Grenada."

Upon the cession of the island of Dominica to the English, commissioners were sent out to dispose of the lands by public sale to English subjects, in allotments, "of not more than 100 acres of such land as was cleared, and not exceeding 300 in woods, to any one person who should be the best bidder for the same." These allotments were disposed of for the benefit of the crown, and were confirmed to the purchaser by grants under the great seal of England.

Each purchaser was to keep one white man, or two white women, for every 100 acres of land, as it became cleared; or, in default thereof, to forfeit the lands.

The commissioners were also empowered to grant leases to the French inhabitants, of such lands as were found in their possession at the surrender of the island, on condition of their taking the oaths of allegiance. These leases were for seven, fourteen, and some for forty years absolute, renewable at the expiration of the same. Each possessor was to pay his Majesty two shillings per annum for every acre of which the lease should consist; and they were not to sell or dispose of their lands without the approbation of the governor for the time being.

The commissioners were also empowered to make grants to such English subjects as should be deemed fit objects of his

Annual Register 1763, p. 131.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Atwood's History of Dominica, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5. 195.

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Majesty's bounty, in allotments of not more than thirty acres of land to any one person.

Such lands as were proper for fortifications and the use of the army and navy were to be reserved, together with a boundary of fifty feet from the sea-shore, round the whole island; and all mines of gold and silver that might be found, were to belong to the crown.

Ninety-six thousand three hundred and forty-four acres were disposed of, in allotments of from fifty to one hundred acres, which produced £2312,090 11s. 6d. sterling. The Frenchmen, 343 in number, became lessees of 10,541 acres. These persons chiefly confined themselves to the cultivation of coffee, the quality of which is generally considered as superior to that raised in the other British colonies.[1]

Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 350.

[1] "The vegetable fly is a remarkable insect: it is of the appearance and size of a small cockchafer, and buries itself in the ground, where it dies, and from its body springs up a small plant, which resembles a coffee-tree plant, only its leaves are much smaller. The plant which springs from this insect is often overlooked, from the supposition people have of its being no other than a coffee plant, but on examining it properly the difference is easily distinguished, from the head, body, and feet of the insect appearing at the root as perfect as when alive."—*Atwood's History of Dominica*, p. 69.

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1763, Dr. William Watson states, "I have received a letter from our learned and ingenious member, Dr. Huxham of Plymouth, in which, among other things, he informed me, that he had lately had, by permission of Commissioner Rogers, obtained a sight of what is called the vegetable fly, with the following description of it, both which he had from Mr. Newman, an officer of General Duroure's regiment, who came from the island of Dominica. As this description seemed to the doctor exceedingly curious, he has sent it me exactly transcribed from Mr. Newman's account, and is as follows:—'The vegetable fly is found in the island of Dominica, and (excepting that it has no wings) resembles the drone, both in size and colour, more than any other English insect. In the month of May it buries itself in the earth, and begins to vegetate. By the latter end of July the tree is arrived at its full growth, and resembles a coral branch, and is about three inches high, and bears several little pods, which, dropping off, become worms, and from thence flies like the English caterpillar.' Dr. Huxham had received a similar account from Captain Gascoign, of his Majesty's ship Dublin, who had been at Dominica. As I had never seen this production myself, but had been informed that Dr. Hill had had the examination of some of them, I wrote to that gentleman to desire to be informed of the result of his inquiries, to which he very obligingly sent me the following answer:—'When Colonel Melvil brought these flies from Guadaloupe, Lord Bute sent me the box of them to examine. The result was this: There is in Martinico a fungus of the clavaria kind, different in species from those hitherto known. It produces soboles from its sides; I call it therefore clavaria sobolifera. It grows on putrid animal bodies, as our fungus expede equino from the dead horse's hoof. The cicada is common in Martinico, and in its nympha state, in which the old authors call it tettigometra, it buries itself under dead leaves to wait its change; and, when the season is unfavourable, many perish. The seeds of the clavaria find a proper bed on this dead insect, and grow. The tettigometra is among the cicadæ in the British Museum; the clavaria is just now known.

"'This, you may be assured, is the

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After the peace, 12,000 men were landed as labourers, some in the Isle du Salset, and some on the banks of the Kourou. For want of proper precautions, disease made immediate and dreadful ravages among them, and 1500 were washed away by the floods, which overwhelmed their ill-chosen settlement. Two thousand demanded to return to Europe, and were unwillingly brought back. About a million sterling was expended upon this speculation!

Paramaribo suffered from fire: the activity of the sailors alone prevented a general conflagration. The distress occasioned by this accident obliged the government to issue stamped cards to the amount of £40,000 sterling, instead of money.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed eight ships, and consisted of 2919¾ hogsheads of sugar, 19 tierces and 664 bags of coffee, and four bales of cotton.

"It appears by an official document from the Havana, dated in July, 1811, that from the earliest period to the year 1763, the Negroes imported into that and all other parts of Cuba did not exceed 60,000;" and that at the peace there were 60,000 slaves in the island.

The powder in the magazine at Fort Augusta in Jamaica, the best fortress in that island, was set on fire by lightning, and exploded with such violence, that not a stone of the foundation of the building was left. The place was hollowed into a large pond twenty feet deep, fifty broad, and one hundred long, from whence many springs of water issued. All the buildings in the fortress were destroyed. Forty-one persons were killed, and at the distance of a mile some were wounded. The loss was estimated at £15,000.

On the 30th of June, the Condé d'Aricla arrived at the Havana, with four sail of the line, and transports with 4000 Spanish troops on board; and on their producing an order from his Majesty for delivering up the British conquests in the island of Cuba, conformable to treaty, they were received with all due respect. On the 7th of July, the British garrison embarked, and the keys of the city were delivered to the Condé d'Aricla, whom His Catholic Majesty had appointed governor of the Havana.

Captain Stair Douglas, of his Majesty's ship Richmond,

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, pp. 317. 320. 345. — Appendix.
Inquiry into the Duty of compelling Spain to relinquish the Slave Trade in Northern Africa, 1816, pp. 57. 91.
Smollett, vol. vii. p. 363. 12mo. Annual Register, 1763, p. 113.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 574.

fact, and all the fact; though the untaught inhabitants suppose a fly to vegetate, and though there exists a Spanish drawing of the plants growing into a trifoliate tree; and it had been figured with the creature flying with this tree upon its back.'"—*Ann. Register*, 1764, p. 111.

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escorted a detachment of the Royals to take possession of Saint Augustine (the capital of East Florida), and Captain Frederick Maitland escorted a detachment of the 60th to take possession of Pensacola, the capital of West Florida.

Rear-Admiral Keppel was relieved at Jamaica by Rear-Admiral Sir William Burnaby.

1764.

The Spanish government established regular packet-boats, to sail from Coruña to the West Indies: they could only load with Spanish produce, and were obliged to return to the port of Coruña. This was considered an important alteration in the rights of the Cadiz traders.

The imports from Jamaica into Great Britain amounted to £1,076,155 1s. 9d.; and from England into Jamaica, £456,528 1s. 11d. The number of slaves imported was 10,223.

The population of St. Vincent's was reported at 2104 Whites, and 7414 slaves; of the Bermudas, at 5823 Whites, and 5201 slaves.

On the 1st of June, a French seventy-four, with a snow, sloop, and xebeque, landed upon Turk's Island, and carried off the inhabitants as prisoners to Cape François, with nine English vessels which they found off the island.

The property of the island was undetermined: it can only be inhabited in the dry season, and then the Bermudians and other British subjects resort thither to gather salt. They dwelt in huts covered with leaves. A kettle and a knife were their only utensils, and their dress a straw hat, with a coarse shirt and trowsers. The people of New England went there for salt, and paid for it by barter.

The French plundered and destroyed these huts, and carried the whole of the inhabitants, about two hundred, to Cape François. There they were detained one night, and next morning told they might go where they pleased, provided it was not to Turk's Island.

Mr. Littleton, the governor of Jamaica, lost no time in communicating the intelligence of this transaction to the British ministry, nor they in ordering Lord Hertford, the ambassador at the French court, to demand satisfaction for the injury.

Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 425.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 379. 500.; vol. ii. p. 442.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Smollett, vol. vii. pp. 414, 415.

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The Right Hon. George Grenville sent for Count de Guerchy, the French ambassador, and gave him to understand, "that the French forces, who had invaded and seized on Turk's Island, must immediately evacuate it, and restore it to the quiet possession of the British." The count alleged, that the King his master had claims upon that island, and that he was ready to enter into a negociation upon them. To this Mr. Grenville answered, "Whatever claims you may have, set them up, we will hear them, but first the island must and shall be restored. We will not hear of any claims or of any negociation, while it remains in possession of the French. It is absurd to seize the island, and then talk about claims. When it is restored to His Britannic Majesty, then, and not till then, will a single word about claims be heard or admitted. I shall wait nine days for your answer, in which time you may send to and receive advice from your court, whether the King your master will immediately order his forces to evacuate Turk's Island, and restore it to the full and quiet possession of the British, or not; and if I do not receive your answer at the end of that time, the fleet now lying at Spithead shall sail directly for the West Indies, to assert the rightful claims of Britain." Mr. Grenville gave the count leave to insert in his dispatches the conversation that had passed between them. On the sixth day, the order for restoring the island to the British arrived in London.

The French government disavowed the proceedings, disclaimed all intention of acquiring or conquering Turk's Island, and sent orders to Count d'Estaign, the governor of St. Domingo, for the French to abandon it immediately, and to restore every thing therein to the condition in which it was on the first of June, and to make reparation for the damage the English had received, according to an estimate to be settled by the governor of Jamaica himself.

The French erected two stone monuments, eighty feet high, upon the island, the materials of which were all brought from old France.

On the 30th of April, the French King issued an ordinance, establishing regulations for the practice of surgery in the French colonies in the West Indies;

"Art. 16. Forbidding all Negroes and Mulattoes, whether free or slaves, from exercising the profession of physician or surgeon, or from visiting the sick under any pretext whatever, under the penalty of five hundred livres, or corporal punishment, according to the nature of the case."

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 7. Smollett, vol. vii. p. 415.
Annual Register, 1764, p. 98.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 50.

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In March, a proclamation was issued for the sale of all his Majesty's lands in the island of Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. The purchasers were to pay twenty per cent. deposit, ten per cent. in one year, ten per cent. the next, and twenty per cent. every year after, till the whole shall be paid.

Every purchaser is to keep one white man and two white women for every hundred acres cleared, or to pay twenty pounds for every white woman, or forty pounds for every white man wanting; and penalties were imposed upon those who did not clear the quantity of land required by the proclamation. But no person was to purchase more than 300 acres of land in Dominica, or 500 in the other islands. Sixpence an acre is to be paid as a quit-rent for cleared lands, one penny a foot for ground-rent of tenements in towns, and sixpence an acre for fields.

No person was to have more than one town lot, which was to be accommodated with five acres of pasture land; and 800 acres, in each parish, are reserved for poor settlers, to be divided into lots of not less than ten, nor more than thirty acres each, to be granted in fee-simple.

Mr. Swinburne had a grant of 20,000 acres in St. Vincent's, and General Monckton one of 4000 acres. The remaining part of the island, 20,538 acres, were sold by auction for £162,854 11s. 7d.

The commissioners were directed to divide each island into parishes and districts. In every parish they were to trace out a town, its streets, market-place, and other public places, and then to parcel out the ground into proper allotments to build on, with a small field annexed to each. If the land be uncleared, it is to be granted by the governor, upon security given to build on it, inclose and fence it, in a reasonable time, and to pay the same quit-rent.

Certain districts of woodland were to be reserved to the crown — as woods, by the damps continually exhaling from them, and by the clouds they attract, are well known to furnish a perpetual supply of moisture, and prevent those droughts which frequently happen in other parts of that climate where such precautions have been neglected.

From a consideration that it was impossible for English ships to sail to and from the English islands in the West Indies, as well as for French ships to sail to and from the French islands, without often coming within a league of the shores belonging to the other, and even sometimes touching at their ports, His most Christian Majesty, by a letter to the governor and president

Smollett, vol vii. p. 382. 12mo.
Annual Register, 1764, p. 57. — 1765, pp. 75. 132. Edwards, vol. i. p. 421.

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of Martinico, dated the 16th of December, 1764, suspended the orders which he had formerly given, to seize and confiscate ships and cargoes in these circumstances, with a view to prevent the illicit trade heretofore carried on between his subjects and the English.

The claim of a noble lord, the Duke of Montague, to the island of St. Vincent, after a solemn hearing, was adjudged invalid; his lordship's ancestor, instead of landing there, clearing a certain quantity of land, and placing thereon a certain number of white people, having never so much as attempted to land, after miscarrying at St. Lucia. And it is in consequence of this determination, that St. Vincent's is mentioned with the other islands in the proclamation for the sale of the crown lands.

The island of St. Vincent's produced 12,000 andoulles of tobacco, 7900 cwts. of cocoa, and 14,700 cwts. of coffee.

Early in this year, the captains of the British men-of-war in the West Indies had orders to seize all foreign vessels, without distinction, that should be found in the English ports in the West Indies. These orders were countermanded in July.

There were 130 plantations on a small scale, in Demerary and Essequibo, this year. Their exports employed eight ships, and consisted of 2956½ hhds. of sugar, thirty-one tierces, and 211 bags of coffee, and two bales of cotton.

On the 29th of September, the governor of Jamaica issued a proclamation, in his Majesty's name, against public officers taking exorbitant fees, "particularly on the survey and passing of patents for land." And soon afterwards, prosecutions were commenced against the collector, naval officer, and deputy-secretary. The Assembly thanked his excellency for so doing.

The Trelawny Maroons attended Governor Littleton at Montego Bay, to the number of eighty-four men, women, and children. After going through their exercise, they brought their muskets and piled them at the governor's feet, which some of them desired to kiss, and were permitted. Captain Cudjoe, their leader, then made a speech in the name of all the rest, begging the continuance of the great King George's protection, and that his excellency would administer justice to them according to the happy treaty subsisting between them and the white people of the island. They were treated with a dinner, had a present of three cows, and were dismissed quite satisfied.

The latter end of this year, a merchant of Spanish Town, Jamaica, caused a writ of "venditione exponas" to be executed upon the coach-horses of one of the members of the Assembly,

Annual Register, 1764, pp. 57. 84. 107. — 1765, p. 179.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 22. Edwards, vol. i. p. 293.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 360.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 107.; vol. ii. p. 348.

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for an old debt. The House of Assembly considered this as an insult offered to the whole body, and at their next meeting ordered the deputy-marshal and his man to be taken into the custody of their messenger. These persons petitioned the governor, as chancellor, for their habeas corpus, which he granted. The Assembly considered their privileges were violated, and ordered the same persons to be again taken into custody by their messenger. The prisoners petitioned, as before, for their habeas corpus, which was again granted; and the messenger was ordered, the next morning, to wait upon the chancellor, which he did, with the persons he had in custody, whom the chancellor said he would hear, the next day, by their counsel. A numerous meeting took place: and the governor decreed that from the pleadings and his own private judgment, it did not appear to him, either from the laws of Great Britain, from those of Jamaica, or from any precedent, custom, or usage whatsoever, that any member of the Assembly of Jamaica should be protected during the session, except in his person only; and therefore the present confinement of the prisoners was illegal: upon which they were again set at liberty. This enraged the House of Assembly: they met — the House was cleared, and the doors locked. A general committee was formed; and when the speaker had again taken the chair, he reported from the committee, "That his Excellency, by taking upon himself, as chancellor, to hear and determine upon a matter which belonged to that House only to hear and determine upon, had acted in an unjustifiable manner, and was guilty of a flagrant breach, contempt, and violation of the rights and privileges of that House, and also an infringement of the liberties of the people." Whereupon it was resolved, that a remonstrance against the governor's conduct should be laid before his Majesty, requesting that his faithful subjects in Jamaica might be relieved from the imprudent, arbitrary, and oppressive government of the governor.

Early the next morning, before they could meet to finish this affair, the governor published their prorogation, and afterwards, by the advice of his privy council, dissolved them. Writs were issued for a new Assembly, returnable the 5th of the ensuing March.

The English settlers in the Bay of Honduras were cutting logwood, according to the seventeenth article of the treaty of Fontainbleau, when, upon the 22d of February, 1764, Don Joseph Rosado, the Spanish governor of Bacalar, obliged them to desist, and to confine themselves to Balize. The settlers sent a petition to the governor of Jamaica, stating, that in consequence of this order a total stagnation of trade had ensued, and that they saw no means of preserving themselves from starvation. Governor

Smollett, vol. vii. p. 416.

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Littleton sent an agent from Jamaica to settle matters if possible: he found that the "bay-men," by order of the Spanish governor, were limited to twenty leagues at the south side of the new river; and that if they were caught on the north side, confiscation of property and personal arrest was the consequence.

The British government applied to the court of Madrid for redress, and His Catholic Majesty commanded his governor to re-establish the British logwood-cutters in the several places from which he had obliged them to retire, and to suffer them to continue their occupation, without disturbing them under any pretence whatsoever. That which had been used on the present occasion was, that the logwood-cutters, by a stipulation between the two crowns, were to be furnished either with a royal schedule from Spain, or with a licence from the King of England, to prevent the Spaniards from being imposed upon by pretenders to the rights of British subjects. But the Spanish governor had not allowed the English any time to procure these documents.

1765.

Rear-Admiral Sir W. Burnaby, Bart., in his Majesty's ship Active, went to Balize, with the duplicate of the King of Spain's order to the governor of Yucatan; and on the 26th of March he reported to the admiralty, that he had seen the logwood-cutters reinstated at Rowley's Bite, the new river, and Rio Honda, by the commandant of Bacalar.

Sir W. Burnaby regulated the logwood-cutters, and fixed the limits of their trade up the rivers, according to the treaty with Spain: he also drew up a code of regulations for their police, and established the settlement on a most respectable footing.

The inhabitants were to appoint persons to hold courts of justice quarterly; who, assisted by a jury, were to try and determine all disputes whatsoever: which determinations were to be enforced by the commanding officer, for the time being, of his Majesty's ships of war at the place.

The principal inhabitants of the Bermudas formed a society, the members of which engaged "to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they have been written; to procure to all persons, of both sexes, an employment suitable to their dispositions; to bestow a reward on every man who has introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known; to give a pension to every daily workman, who, having assiduously continued his labour, and

Smollett, vol. vii. pp. 417, 418. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 9.
Annual Register, 1765, p. 100. Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 229, quoting Raynal.

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maintained a good character for forty years, shall not have been able to lay up a stock sufficient to allow him to pass his latter days in quiet; and lastly, to indemnify every inhabitant of Bermuda who shall have been oppressed, either by the minister or the magistrate."

On Tuesday the 26th of March, the new Assembly met at Jamaica: they supported the measures of the former Assembly, and refused to pass the money bills, except the determination upon record in the office of the register of the Court of Chancery was expunged. The governor refused to do this, and prorogued the Assembly unto the 16th of September following.

Upon the 13th of August, by proclamation, the Assembly met again; but the speaker, Charles Price, Esq. refusing to apply to the governor for the usual privileges, and declaring that it was not his intention to do so, his Excellency, in his Majesty's name, dissolved the Assembly.

In July, the governor of Jamaica ordered the attorney-general not to proceed to trial of the informations against the public officers; and soon afterwards his Majesty's order in council arrived, to enter a *noli prosequi* in all the informations.

The Coromantin Negroes, in Jamaica, rose in rebellion: the conspiracy was supposed to be very extensive, though but little damage was done. Thirteen were executed, thirty-three transported, and twelve acquitted. One white man was killed.

The Assembly brought in a bill for limiting the importation of slaves, which was stopped in its progress by the governor, who sent for the Assembly, and told them, that, consistently with his instructions, he could not give his consent.[1]

All the neutrals, so called, who remained at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, to the amount of between five and six hundred souls, except four or five families who took the oath of allegiance to the English, left that place, and embarked for Cape François.

Upon the 1st of April, considerable damage was done in Somerset parish, Bermudas, by an earthquake.

In April and May, several very violent shocks were felt at Dominica. In July, St. Eustatia was visited by a hurricane: the storm reached Martinico, where thirty-three ships were lost. At Guadaloupe, six ships and ten small vessels were lost.

Annual Register, 1765, pp. 76, 77, 78. 112. 181.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 109.; vol. ii. p. 465.
Barham's Observations, Quarterly Review, No. LXIV. p. 521.

[1] Mr. Barham has probably made a mistake in his date. If the governor's salary depended upon the importation duties upon slaves, from the previous conduct of the Assembly it would not be difficult to guess at their motive for wishing to limit the importation for a time.

The salaries of all the governors ought to be independent of the Assemblies.

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On the 25th of January, 1765, there was issued a memoir of the King, to serve as instructions to the Count d'Ennery, governor, and to the Sieur de Pernier, intendant of Martinique, recommending to them the greatest attention to the feeding of slaves by their masters, and prohibiting the giving of Saturday to the slaves to work, in lieu of granting them the allowance ordered by law.

February the 9th, 1765, the same officers issued an ordinance concerning persons of colour, free as well as slaves.

"ART. 2. Slaves belonging to different masters, who, under any pretext whatever, meet together in assemblies, to be flogged and marked for the first offence, and to be more severely punished in the event of repetition.

"3. Masters or others convicted, having permitted or tolerated, at their own houses, meetings of slaves, or having lent or hired their houses to slaves for the purpose of dancing, to be condemned, viz. masters, for the first offence, 100 livres, and double in case of repetition; and other persons who shall lend or hire their houses to slaves for the purpose of dancing, or otherwise, to be condemned 500 livres for first offence, and to be more severely punished in the event of a repetition.

"4. Slaves arrested in the streets, masked or disguised, to be flogged, marked, and placed in the pillory three hours for the first offence, and to be more severely punished for the second; and if found masked or disguised, with arms of any kind, to suffer death.

"5. Forbidding merchants and others from selling to slaves the arms mentioned in the preceding article, even with their masters' permission, under pain of being punished, according to the ordinances and regulations already issued to this effect.

"6. Masters ordered to see that the orders laid down in this ordinance be duly observed by their slaves."

May the 6th, 1765, the Conseil Souverain published an arrêt, ordering the inhabitants of the colonies to conform exactly to articles 22 and 24 of the edict of 1685, under pain of 500 livres fine.

And another, 2d July, in which the inhabitants are desired to keep planted in their plantations the quantity of manioc prescribed by law, or other produce equivalent thereto, under penalty of 500 livres.

On the 1st of August, 1765, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance concerning slaves employed as workmen.

"ART. 1. Masters forbid suffering their slaves to straggle about, or to keep private houses, under pretext of commerce or otherwise, under pain of confiscation of the slaves, as well as of the effects found in their possession.

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, pp. 50, 51

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"2. Proprietors of, or persons having houses, are forbid letting out chambers or shops to slaves of either sex: and all persons are forbid lending their names to slaves, either directly or indirectly, under penalty of 500 livres for the first offence, and severe punishment for the second.

"3. Slaves permitted to be employed as workmen at their masters' houses, and under their inspection. They are also permitted to be hired out to free persons, being handicraftsmen."

On the 12th of August, 1765, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance respecting the suppression of hawking.

"Art. 1. Forbidding persons of colour, of either sex, whether free or slaves, from carrying in trunks, bales, or baskets, merchandize for sale, from plantation to plantation, and in the towns. Forbidding them, likewise, from carrying poultry, fruits, vegetables, and other produce; the said articles to be sold in the markets of the towns only, under penalty of 300 livres against the master for the first offence, and of confiscation of the goods, &c.

"3. Persons of colour, whether free or slaves, allowed to carry to market poultry, fruit, vegetables, &c. for sale; the slaves to have their masters' permission, otherwise the poultry, fruit, &c., to be confiscated, and the slaves subject to the penalties laid down in former ordinances."

The Moravian missionaries arrived at Barbadoes.

"By the 6th of George III. chap. 12, it is declared, that the King's Majesty, with the Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, have power to make laws to bind the people of the British colonies in all cases."

Upon the 15th of November, orders were signed at the Treasury Board, "for the free admission of Spanish vessels into all the colonies." Mr. Long says, the orders were given, rather unwisely, in a public manner, and laid open what ought to have remained clandestine; so that the guards, cautions, and penalties against it were multiplied. It was in fact one government complying with the request of its colony, and authorizing smuggling into the colony of another state, with whom they were at peace; as though it could be right to encourage disobedience in your neighbour's children, because you would gain thereby!

An act was passed in England, declaring the officers in his Majesty's colonies entitled to demand and receive such fees as their predecessors were entitled to demand, on or before the 29th of September, 1764; and if the fees received by the comptroller of the customs did not equal one-third part of those received by the collector, it was declared lawful for him to demand a sum

Coke's West Indies, vol. i. p. 209.
Jordan's Examination of the Slave Registry Bill, p. 55.
Burke's Works, vol. ii. p. 209. Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. pp. 110. 197, 198.

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equal to that. For demanding more, the penalty was £50 for the first offence, and dismissal for the second. The plantation merchants inveighed bitterly against this law.

General Melville, the governor, called the first Assembly at Grenada this year. Previous to their meeting the four and a half per cent. duty was demanded by the British government, in lieu of the duties formerly paid the French King. This was resisted by the inhabitants, and became a question of law in the Court of King's Bench.

A considerable ferment was raised in the island, by government ordering a certain number of Roman Catholics to be admitted into the council and house of Assembly. Great disorders prevailed in consequence, which continued until it was captured by the French in 1779.

In consequence of the orders to the English men-of-war, to seize all foreign vessels in the English ports in the West Indies, the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica fell short £168,000 sterling of what they were in 1763.

The Spanish trade to their West India islands was laid open to most of the ports in Spain, with permission to return to any port of the mother country.

The quantity of British colonial sugar imported, exported, and consumed upon an average of five years, ending in 1765, was as follows: — Imported, 123,781; exported, 29,536; consumption, 94,245 hogsheads, of 12 cwt. each.

The inhabitants of St. Christopher's, instigated by the crews of some vessels from New England, burnt all the stamped papers upon the island, made the officers appointed to distribute them renounce their office, and went over in a body to Nevis, to assist their neighbours in taking the same rebellious precautions against the stamp act.

The French inhabitants of Grenada, in a fulsome petition, requested the King to grant them, "without distinction, every advantage of a British subject."

The trade from Cuba scarcely employed six vessels.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed eight ships, and consisted of 3678½ hhds. of sugar, 56 tierces and 881 bags of coffee, and 18 bales of cotton.

Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 356. Edwards, vol. i. p. 294.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. pp. 426. 442.
Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the State of the Colonies in 1807, p. 73, from Quarterly Review, vol. ii. p. 10.
Annual Register, pp. 56. 270. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.

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1766.

The sloop Fanny, Henderson master, from Jamaica to Honduras, was wrecked, on the 31st of October, off Cape Gracias à Dios. Eight of her crew died through fatigue and famine: the three survivors were saved by eating the dead bodies of their shipmates.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed nine ships, and consisted of 4120 hhds. of sugar, 37 tierces and 2532 bags of coffee, and 101 bales of cotton.

The number of slaves imported into Jamaica, from January 1765 to July 1766, was 16,760. Upon a gentleman's estate in Westmorland, thirty-three Coromantins, newly imported, rose, and in an hour killed and wounded nineteen white persons. They were soon defeated, some killed, and the remainder executed or transported.

Jamaica, act 43, sec. 5. Free Negroes absenting themselves from their respective Negro towns, to be deprived of their freedom. By sec. 7, they are to forfeit £100 if they purchase a slave.

The population of Dominica was returned at 2020 Whites, and 8497 slaves.[1]

In pursuance of directions from Old France, the commanding officer at Cape François ordered all English vessels to leave the island within forty-eight hours. Four, belonging to New York, were seized, and their crews imprisoned for not complying with the order.

The French Goree merchants entered into a new contract with the Havaña company, for the annual supply of slaves from the coast of Africa.

The bay-men at Honduras transmitted to Jamaica complaints against the irregular proceedings of the French, who were said to have upwards of forty sail from Martinico employed in the log-wood trade.

The Druid sloop of war (it was said) took formal possession of Turk's Island in his Majesty's name: to this cause the impri-

Annual Register, 1766, pp. 54, 55, 56. 62. — 1767, p. 105.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. pp. 442. 471.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, Supplement to No. 15.

1 "About the latter end of March, an ancient sepulchral Indian monument was dug up in the island of Dominica, containing an iron javelin, headed with gold and divers ornaments of the same metal. The vault branched out into separate apertures, and was thought to be the burial place of their kings." — *Annual Register*, 1766, p. 104.

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sonment of the English at Cape François was attributed. The French considered the island as neutral.

Rear-Admiral Parry was appointed commander-in-chief at Jamaica, and had his flag on board the Preston, fifty guns. He remained there three years, then returned to England, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands, and settled a dispute with the governor of Puerto Rico about the possession of Crab Island.

January the 27th, 1766, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance respecting the sale of fish.

"Art. 2. Negroes working out, prohibited going on the bays to buy fish on any pretext whatever, under penalty of confiscation of the fish, and eight days' imprisonment for the first offence; and in case of repetition, to be flogged and pilloried during three days successively, even subject to greater penalties if necessary."

The same officers, on the 1st of March, 1766, issued another ordinance respecting slaves working out for hire.

"Art. 1. Owners of slaves working out on hire, to give in to the commis à la police of their quarters, the number and names of such slaves, within fifteen days after publication of the ordinance. The commis of police to keep a register, in which to be inserted their names, under penalty of three hundred livres against their masters.

"2. Slaves intended for hire to be presented by their masters to the commis à la police of their quarters, who will deliver to each slave, gratis, a brass bracelet, to be soldered on the left arm, and to contain the number of each Negro, as inserted in the register of the commis à la police.

"3. After the 1st of May, no slave to be permitted to go on hire without the bracelet numbered agreeably to foregoing article, under penalty of eight days' imprisonment against the Negro, and three hundred livres against the person who shall have hired the Negro.

"4. Slaves not permitted to work out of the place in which their names may have been inscribed, unless it may be to go on errands, which, however, cannot be done without a ticket from their masters.

"5. Slaves forbid changing their numbers, or lending them to others, under pain of flogging and eight days' imprisonment.

"6. Masters desirous of recalling their slaves from hire, or of selling them, shall be compelled, under the penalties mentioned in the first article, to return the numbered bracelet which they had received into the hands of the commis à la police, who will take note thereof.

Naval Chronicle, vol. v. p. 114. Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, pp. 51, 52.

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"8. Slaves in whose dwellings runaways are taken, to receive thirty lashes by the hands of the hangman, and to suffer eight days' imprisonment.

"9. Forbidding proprietors of slaves from leaving their slaves at liberty to work at their pleasure, by means of hire, under penalty of three hundred livres for the first offence; and in case of repetition, the confiscation of the Negro.

"10. Proprietors forbid, likewise, to let out their slaves to others but Whites, or resident free persons."

Upon the 13th of May, at half-past eleven at night, a fire broke out at Bridge Town, Barbadoes: it burnt till nine the next morning. Four hundred and forty houses, including the custom-house and other public buildings, were destroyed, the annual rents of which amounted to £16,421, besides a great number of warehouses. The damage was estimated at £300,000 sterling.

Captain Duane, of his Majesty's ship Beaver, proceeded from Antigua [1] to the Caraccas, and procured the liberation of three vessels belonging to Bermudas, which had been taken by the Spaniards at the Salt Tortugas. The damages were left by Captain Duane to be settled by the courts of Great Britain and Spain.

The city of St. Jago, in Cuba, suffered severely from an earthquake: forty persons were killed.

The provision-grounds and cane-plantations at St. Eustatia were destroyed, on the 21st of September, by a violent hurricane. Several vessels were lost. The salt works at Tortuga were also destroyed by a hurricane, and three French and five Newfoundland vessels driven on shore there.

Upon the 6th of October, five vessels were driven on shore at Dominica in a gale of wind, and upwards of fifty sail at Guadaloupe.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th of September, all the vessels at Montserrat, and thirteen at St. Kitt's, were driven on shore and lost. At Montserrat, half the town was destroyed, and upwards of two hundred persons reduced to distress, by the torrents from the mountains.

December the 2d, William Hill, Esq. was appointed governor of Tobago, in the room of Alexander Browne, Esq. deceased.

On the 22d and 23d of October, a violent hurricane did considerable damage in the harbour of Pensacola. The Spanish

Annual Register, 1766, pp. 114. 127. 142. 155, 156. 167. — 1767, p. 52.

1 "At Antigua, a free Negro discovered a very rich crimson die, from a preparation of the fruit of the manchineal tree; which, for brilliancy of colour, exceeds any thing hitherto attempted, and is extremely durable."—*Annual Register*, 1766, p. 109.

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fleet from Vera Cruz for the Havaña and old Spain, consisting of five large register-ships richly laden, were driven ashore in the bay of St. Barnard.

At Grenada, an earthquake destroyed several sugar-works, and threw down the hills in several places, so that it was impossible to ride round the island on horseback.

Upon the 27th of December, another fire nearly completed the ruin of Bridge Town, Barbadoes: it broke out between eight and nine at night, in the store of Messrs. Bedford and Co., and continued burning until the following morning. Several houses and yards full of lumber, coals, &c. were destroyed. Since the former fire, most of the trade was carried on in this part of the town.

At Martinico, upon the 13th of August, a dreadful hurricane began at ten P.M. with a gale from the north-west. At midnight, the shock of an earthquake added to the horrors of the increased hurricane. At three A.M. the gale abated, and at daylight the streets of St. Pierre's appeared covered with ruins. The roads were blocked up with trees blown up by the roots. The rivers had brought down stones of an enormous size; and the shore was covered with wrecks and dead bodies. At five A.M. a water-spout burst upon Mount Peleus, and overwhelmed the neighbouring plains. At six it was quite calm, and the sea smooth. Twenty-eight French and seven English vessels were wrecked, besides twelve passage canoes. Ninety persons were said to have perished, many under the ruins of their own houses, and twice that number were wounded. The writer says, "The above is a genuine recital of what has happened at St. Peter. In going over the island, we shall find nearly the same calamities, and in some places still worse."

Upon the 9th of June, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt at Kingston, and several other towns in Jamaica.

The British parliament passed an act for opening the chief ports of Jamaica and Dominica to all foreign vessels of a certain description. The collectors at the several free ports were instructed to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign vessels, and of the bullion which they imported: these accounts were transmitted to England. The Spanish government contrived to get copies of these accounts, and the destruction of many of the persons who had been concerned in transporting the bullion into the English islands was the consequence. Many shocking acts of severity were committed upon them by the Spanish government. Information of this was transmitted to the British ministry, who revoked their instructions.

Annual Register, 1767, pp. 53. 77. 118. 194. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 295, 296.

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An anonymous contributor to the Annual Register of this year says, "At Cignateo (otherwise called Eleutheria), in the gulf of Bahama, it rains not sometimes for two or three years: so that that island hath been twice deserted, for want of rain to plant it."

1767.

11th February, 1767, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance concerning legacies and freedoms left by will.

"Art. 1. Extracts of testaments, containing gifts of liberty to slaves, to be presented to the governor, accompanied by a requête for obtention of liberty of the slave, to be presented, within three months after opening the will, by the heirs or executors; the will or requête to be deposited in the greffe of the intendance, whether the same be accorded or not, by way of reference.

"2. All wills since 1757, containing legacies of freedom, ordered to be presented to the governor, by the heirs, executors, or others. If the same be not presented within three months, the slaves destined to be freed, authorized to present requêtes for that purpose.

"3. Executors, legatees, or curateurs des beins vacans, who do not conform to the articles before cited, at the expiration of the period, to be fined 500 livres for the benefit of the King, and to pay the expences of the affranchisement.

"4. For the security of pious legacies, and to provide for the slaves who come within the meaning of the foregoing articles. Notaries receiving wills are ordered to send extracts to the procureur du Roi, in cases of affranchisement, for the purpose of his acting thereon, as well as of his recovering the fine of 500 livres against those who may have acted in opposition to the ordinance."

An act passed in St. Vincent's, on the 11th of July, declares slaves to be real estate, and widows dowable thereof.

"Trustees, to prevent the Negroes being sold, may pay the debts, &c. and the estate remain a security for the money, with six per cent. interest.

"Any minister marrying a free person to a slave, to forfeit £50, and the free person to pay the owner of the slave £200.

"If one slave murders another, the price paid on executing the murderer to be divided between the two owners of the slaves.

Annual Register, 1766, p. 192. Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 52. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Part III. St. Vincent's.

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" Condemned slaves to be appraised by two freeholders before execution.

" Slaves convicted of robbery, who were not provided with sufficient allowance by their owners, damage sustained by party robbed to be paid by the public, but nothing to the owners."

Thus, although the slave is known to be starved, he is to be hanged if he robs, because " the safety of the island requires such slaves should suffer !"

" No slave allowed to sell sugar, cotton, or rum, without a written permission from his owner.

" No person allowed to employ any slave to sell or dispose of any wares or merchandize in shops or otherwise, under the penalty of £5, nor to allow his slave to hire himself out, or to seek for employment of any kind, under the penalty of from £5 to £10.

" Slaves doing so without their owners' knowledge, to be whipped.

" No slave allowed to plant any sugar, cocoa, coffee, cotton, or ginger; and if such be exposed to sale, to be deemed stolen goods.

" No white person to take off any pot-hook, ring, or collar from off any slave's neck or legs, without leave of the owner, under the penalty of ten pounds. If a slave does so, he is to be flogged forty lashes.

" All persons not Whites, fit to go out to trades, to be bound for seven years, by a justice, to any person, if they do not choose for themselves."

Thus, whether a person of colour has or has not occasion to work, still he must do it !

" Any slave-owner allowing his slaves to beat a drum, or empty cask, or gourd, or to blow horns, shells, or loud instruments, for amusement, to forfeit £20.

" Slaves found out of their owners' plantations without a ticket, to be whipped.

" Every slave-owner to search the Negro houses for runaways, every fourteen days, under the penalty of 20s.

" Any slave remaining in gaol above three months, to be sold.

" No retailer of strong liquors to sell any to slaves, under the penalty of 60s.

" Any slave, after being one year on the island, run away six months, to suffer death as a felon.

" If ten slaves run away for ten days, the greatest offender to suffer death.

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Part III. St. Vincent's.

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"Slaves harbouring runaways, to have for the first offence fifty lashes, for the second 100, and for the third 150 lashes.

"With a warrant from a justice to search for runaways, any Negro's house may be entered by night or by day, and broken open, if admittance is refused.

"Any slave striking a white person, to be publicly whipped, 'at his discretion;' and if the white person be hurt or wounded, the slave to have his nose slit, or any member cut off, or punished with death, at the discretion of any two justices.

"Any slave stealing to the value of £6 currency, guilty of felony.

"All slaves taken fighting, to be publicly whipped.

"Any slave guilty of any crime whereby the life of any white person shall be endangered, to suffer death.

"Owners of slaves to find each male, once a year, one pair of drawers, and a shirt or close-bodied frock, and every female a petticoat and a shift, or clothing adequate thereto, under the penalty of 15s.

"Slaves to have Christmas day, and the two days next following, as holydays, and no more, in the Christmas holydays. Any person allowing their slaves more, to forfeit £50 currency.

"Any free person gelding or dismembering a slave, to forfeit not more than £60, or less than £30 currency.

"Any person manumitting a slave, to pay £100 into the treasury. The treasurer to pay £4 every half-year to such slave out of such money.

"*No free Negro or Mulatto shall be owner or possessor of more than eight acres of land, and in no case shall be deemed a freeholder.*

"All free Negroes and Mulattoes to choose some master or mistress to live with, that their lives and conversations may be known and observed."

What an abuse of the word to call this freedom!

"Any free person of colour striking a White, to be whipped, and imprisoned six months.

"Any white person beating a free Negro or Mulatto, *on proof thereof* made to any justice, to be bound over to the sessions.

"Every possessor of slaves to keep a white man for every thirty, and a white woman for every fifteen they possess, or forfeit, for default of the former, £40, of the latter, £20."

The population of Guadaloupe consisted of 85,376 persons.

At Grenada, between six and seven hundred Negroes, who had chiefly deserted from the French inhabitants, and taken possession of the almost inaccessible mountains in that island, by their frequent sallies and desperate cruelties, kept the inhabitants

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 390. Annual Register, 1767, p. 88.

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in great alarm. General Melville sent a party of soldiers, with one cohorn, to endeavour to suppress them.

The sloop George, Captain Jeremiah Rogers, from Halifax to New York, was driven, by stress of weather, into Puerto Rico. Instead of getting refreshments and relief, the crew were for some days imprisoned, and the vessel plundered.

The Spanish government augmented the fortifications at the Havaña, at a very considerable expence.

The French forbade the entrance of any English ships into the ports of Guadaloupe and Martinico, on any pretence whatsoever. The Spaniards also forbade the English vessels from lying more than twenty-four hours at Monto Christi.

November the 28th, Thomas Shirley, Esquire, was appointed governor of the Bahama Islands.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed ten ships, and consisted of 4745 hhds. of sugar, 72 tierces and 2748 bags of coffee, and 84 bales of cotton.

1768.

In consequence of applications from the French Roman Catholic inhabitants of Grenada, the British government allowed two of them to be members of the council, and declared all of them eligible, as representatives of the people, in the Assembly, in the same manner as the Protestants; and also authorised them to appoint, from among themselves, one justice of the peace in each district of the island.

This increased the religious dissensions. The progress of cultivation was impeded—the commerce with foreign countries injured, and the regular appointment of parochial clergy protracted.

One hundred and four thousand one hundred slaves were bought this year on the coast of Africa. Of these, 53,100 were bought by British merchants.

The consumption of Negroes in America and the West Indies was averaged at 60,000 annually.

The Abbé Raynal states the total importation from Africa, since the beginning of the slave trade, at *nine millions!*

At Tobago, a human skeleton was dug up on Somerville's

Annual Register, 1767, pp. 89. 113. 165. 174. — 1768, p. 100.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 57. Porteus's Sermons, vol. i. serm. 17, note.
Hist. Phil. vol. iv. p. 154.

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plantation, with gold bracelets on the arms, supposed to have been deposited there before the island was known to Europeans.

The snow Rodney, with convicts for Maryland, was driven into Antigua by stress of weather. The convicts were in a deplorable condition: eleven had perished for want, and the survivors had eaten their shoes, &c. to sustain life.

A dangerous conspiracy among the Negroes at Montserrat was discovered by a woman, who overheard two of the leaders disputing about the disposition of their arms. The plot was to have been carried into execution upon St. Patrick's day, which the inhabitants usually assembled together to commemorate. The Negroes within were to have secured the swords of the gentlemen, and those without were to fire into the room, and put every man to death. They were then to cast lots for the ladies, whom they intended to carry to Puerto Rico, in the vessels that lay in the harbour. Several of the conspirators were executed; three suffered the rack, and several destroyed themselves.

On the 30th of January, 1768, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance concerning sporting.

"Art. 1. Persons of all descriptions forbidden to sport with guns or otherwise from the 1st of March to the end of July, or to catch turtle ashore, or to take their eggs, or to take birds' nests, under penalty, for slaves, if without their masters' permission, of flogging and pillory during three days for the first offence, and a more heavy punishment in case of repetition.

"2. Slaves found with fire arms during the period prohibited by the foregoing article, to be imprisoned, their arms confiscated, and to suffer besides the penalties laid down in article 1, and to be placed on the chain of Fort Royal during three months.

"3. Slaves surprised with, or who sell birds during the period prohibited, to suffer the penalties imposed by article 2.

On the 5th of February, 1768, the same officers issued another ordinance concerning freedom given to slaves without the permission of the governor.

"2. Forbidding notaries from receiving acts of freedom for slaves without a permission in writing from the general and intendant, under penalty of 1000 livres against the notary.

"3. Forbidding persons of all conditions from sending their slaves to foreign colonies to be manumitted, under pain of the penalty laid down by the ordinances of the King of 24th October, 1713, and 15th June, 1736.

"4. Navigators and masters of vessels forbid receiving on board slaves, even with their owners' permission, without an

Annual Register, 1768, pp. 105. 131. 141.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 53.

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authority in writing from the intendant, under a penalty against the said navigators or masters of vessels of 500 livres for each slave, and six months' imprisonment.

Priests and other religious persons forbid baptizing as free any children, unless the act of liberty, in due form, of the mother, shall be produced, under the penalty laid down in the said ordinance of June 1736."

On the 1st of March, 1768, the French King issued a declaration on judgments given against slaves.

"Art. 1. Governors, lieutenant-governors, and intendants of Martinique are authorized, in case of slaves, to commute the punishment of the galleys and that of death against runaway slaves, for the punishment hereafter mentioned.

"2. Slaves who shall have been guilty of a crime liable to the punishment of the galleys to be marked with a fleur-de-lis on the cheek, one ear cut off, and to be attached to the chain in perpetuity, for the first evasion to lose the remaining ear, and to be hanged in the event of a second, the penalty of death to be inflicted on the first evasion by force.

"3. Slaves who have merited death as runaways to be marked with a fleur-de-lis on the cheek, to have both ears cut, and to be attached to the chain for life; to be hanged for the first evasion."

On the 4th of May, 1768, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance respecting fishing.

"Art. 1. Forbidding all persons, whether Whites, free, or slaves, from poisoning the rivers, or marigots, under penalties, against slaves, of being sentenced to the galleys for life.

"2. Forbidding also the turning the course of rivers for the purpose of taking fish in larger quantities, under penalty of flogging for slaves and of pillory during three days, and of greater punishment in case of repetition.

"3. All Whites, free persons of colour, or slaves, who shall place cloth in the rivers for the purpose of taking small fish called tritri, to be subject to the same penalties as pronounced by art. 2. of this ordinance."

The governor of St. Jago, in Cuba, in answer to an application made from Jamaica for the delivery of some slaves, declared, "That although he knew many Negroes were at that place who had made their elopement from Jamaica, yet he would not deliver them up, having received orders from the court of Spain, enjoining that all Negroes coming thither from the British islands, in what manner soever, should be employed in His Catholic Majesty's service, until further instructions should be given concerning them."

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 87.

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Upon the 25th of October, a hurricane at the Havaña destroyed ninety-six public edifices and 4048 houses; above 1000 persons perished almost instantaneously. The storm began from the southward, and died away from the north: it did not continue more than two hours. The harbour was also very much injured.

March 8th, William Young, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governor of St. Dominica, in the room of George Scott, Esq. deceased.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed seven ships, and consisted of 2896½ hhds. of sugar, 166 tierces and 2510 bags of coffee, and sixty-six bales of cotton.

The Assembly at Jamaica enacted,

"1. That slaves attempting to desert from the island were to suffer death, or other punishment, at the discretion of the court.

"2. If two were tried, the ringleader to suffer death.

"3. Free Negroes assisting, to lose their freedom.

"4. Provost-martial to pay £200 for not transporting them within six months.

"5. Found at large afterwards — death.

"6. Penalty of £100 on white persons assisting them."

Jamaica exported 4203 lbs. of coffee this year.[1]

The population of Jamaica was estimated at 17,000 Whites, and 166,914 Negroes; and the cattle 137,773. The value of the exports, at £1,400,000 sterling.

The English settlers at St. Vincent's represented to the lords of the treasury, that the plain and fertile part of that island was in the hands of the Caribs, who derived little advantage from it —their cottages being scattered at a great distance in the woods, and only small spots of ground near them cleared or cultivated; and that the neighbourhood of a lawless banditti, who held constant correspondence with the French, rendered the English settlers unsafe. Government, in consequence of these representations, ordered the Caribs' lands to be surveyed and sold. For the parts which they had cleared, they were to be paid in money, and to have other lands allotted in return, sufficient for their support, in a different part of the island; which lands were

Annual Register, 1768, pp. 202. 210. — 1773, p. 85.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 489.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1798, Supplement to No. 15.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 75. Edwards, vol. i. p. 302.

1 "A gentleman in Coleraine has now living a parrot, which was sent over to his father, among other curiosities, from Jamaica, in the year 1694: It is of the Mackaw kind, but, through its great age, has lost its former beautiful diversity of feathers, and is become entirely grey."—*Annual Register*, 1768, p. 178.

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to be granted and secured in perpetuity to them and their posterity, free from all conditions, except their peaceable behaviour, and obedience to government: and that the lands were to be for ever unalienable to any white person. Five years were given for effecting this transplantation. The Caribs thought this was only a prelude to a design formed either for their utter extermination, or for reducing them to a state of slavery. They applied to the governor of Martinico for assistance, and refused to part with their lands, or to admit of any exchange. The commissioners, however, proceeded in making the survey, and advanced a road into their country. The Caribs expressed their dissatisfaction, but seemed unwilling to proceed to actual violence.

Sir William Trelawney was appointed governor of Jamaica.

The Assembly at Antigua voted a settlement of £1000 currency per annum to the governor, Lieutenant-General Woodley, in addition to the former salary of £1200 per annum, and also a house to be provided for him at the public expence.

Upon the 12th of July, the royal hospital of Greenwich, in Jamaica, suddenly took fire, supposed by lightning, and in a few hours was reduced to a heap of ruins.

Upon the 15th of July, at Santa Cruz, a fire begun on Mr. Manning's estate, and in a short time nine others were destroyed. Above 1000 acres of canes were burnt, and the damage was estimated at £250,000. It lasted from ten A.M. to four P.M., the wind blowing hard all the time.

1769.

August the 4th, James Purcell, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governor of Tortola and the Virgin Islands.

The population of St. Lucia amounted to 12,794 persons.

France imported from Martinico, this year, in 102 vessels, 177,116 quintals of refined sugar, and 12,579 quintals of raw sugar; 68,518 quintals of coffee; 11,731 quintals of cocoa; 6048 quintals of cotton; 2518 quintals of cassia; 783 casks of rum; 307 casks of syrup; 150 lbs. of indigo; 2147 lbs. of preserved fruits; 47 lbs. of chocolate; 282 lbs. of rasped tobacco; 494 lbs. of rope yarn; 234 chests of liqueurs; 234 barrels of molasses; 451 quintals of wood for dyeing; and 12,108 hides in the hair.

The Assembly at Jamaica reduced the premium for taking

Annual Register, 1768, pp. 152. 160. 181. — 1769, p. 171. — 1773, pp. 86. 221.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 297. 316.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 346.

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up runaway Negroes to £2 a head, or so much only as the magistrate may deem meet, and the mile money at the rate of seven-pence halfpenny per mile.

"Slaves found selling fresh fish in any part of Kingston except the fish market, within the hours of eight A.M. and two P.M., to be punished at the discretion of any of the magistrates, and the fish forfeited."

Attempts were made to import into Barbadoes some of the rich soil from Dutch Guiana, which is, for twelve inches in depth, a stratum of perfect manure; but the wood ants committed such ravages in the vessel, that the attempt was never repeated.

A black girl who was kept by a Jew at Kingston in Jamaica, gave information of a conspiracy among the Negroes in that town, to burn it, and massacre the inhabitants. The colonel of the militia proceeded, with his men, to the place of rendezvous, where he surprised 300 armed Negroes, and made several of them prisoners, many of whom were afterwards executed.

Upon the 17th of March, a French smuggling schooner, of ten swivels and eighteen men, was captured by the Grenada custom house schooner of eight swivels and twelve men, after a severe action, in which the French had three killed and several wounded.

Upon the 17th of August, the town of St. John's, in Antigua, was almost destroyed by fire: the custom house and store houses were burnt. Government ordered £1000 to be distributed among the poor sufferers, by the governor and ten principal merchants.

Upon the 21st of December, Captain Kennedy sailed from Jamaica, bound to Whitehaven. On the 23d day they were obliged to lie to under their foresail. In a gale from the north, the vessel sprung a leak, and in less than an hour, the water was over the lower deck, and the crew, thirteen in number, had only time to get into the yawl, when the vessel sunk. A keg of biscuit, some cheese, and two bottles of wine, was all their store of provisions. For three days they stood to the eastward, with a hard gale from the north, and then bore up for the Bay of Honduras, as the only chance for saving their lives. On the seventh day they made Swan's Island. They were without a quadrant, and did not know what land it was. Some wilks, and a few quarts of brackish water, in the hollow of a rock, was all they found. It was with great difficulty Captain Kennedy could get the men to embark and make sail again for the Bay of Honduras.

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 489.

Annual Register, 1769, pp. 110. 112. 141. 190. — p. 274, from Mr. Bancroft's Natural History of Guiana.

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They had only six quarts of water on board. That same evening some sea fowls hovered over the boat, and lighted on their hands, which were held up to receive them. This remarkable occurrence is recorded with becoming piety and gratitude by Captain Kennedy, and the knowledge of it should keep hope alive in the breast of every person placed in a similar situation.

The men ate their flesh, and said their blood was as good as new milk. For eight days Captain Kennedy neither tasted food or drink. On the 14th, in the evening, he gargled his mouth with salt water; and on the 15th they made Ambergris Key. They slept four nights upon this island. Every evening they collected wilks and conchs for the next day's provision, embarked every morning, and towed along shore to the southward. On the first evening they found a lake of fresh water, by which they slept that night, and near it buried one of their companions. With cocoa-nuts and raw wilks they made a delicious repast. On the third day, they buried another of their men. Four died on the passage, making six that perished from hunger and fatigue. On the fifth day, the 10th of January, they were seen by a vessel, taken on board, and in a few hours landed on St. George's Quay. Captain Kennedy attributed the preservation of his own life, and that of six others, to soaking their cloathes twice a day in salt water, and putting them on without wringing. He says they daily made the same quantity of urine as though they had drank moderately, which he attributes to the water being absorbed through the skin. The four persons who died delirious in the boat, drank large quantities of salt water.

On the 5th of September, 1769, the Conseil Souverain of Martinico issued an arrêt, forbidding surgeons, apothecaries, and others, from employing slaves or free persons of colour in the sale, distribution, or composition of drugs. Slaves or other coloured persons employed to carry medicines, to have a label attached to the phials or packages, under pain, against the surgeon or apothecary, of being deprived of his licence.

In May, the discontent of the Caribs, in St. Vincent's, at having their lands surveyed, became so alarming, that an officer was sent with forty men to protect the surveyors and their people. This small detachment took post in the heart of the Carib country, where some temporary huts had been erected, and they found themselves immediately so effectually surrounded by a strong body of well-armed Caribs, that their means of subsistence were entirely cut off. In the mean time, the surveyors and their people, terrified at the Caribs, abandoned their work, and retired. Their huts were destroyed, and the new roads broken up. The English

Woodard's Narrative, Appendix, No. 12.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 54. Annual Register, 1773, p. 86.

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settlers, alarmed for the fate of the detachment, joined the few regular troops in the island, and marched to its relief: they found the detachment safe; and as they had no authority from home to proceed to violence against the Caribs, it was agreed that nothing further should be done, until the resolutions of the King and council were known. The Caribs agreed to the proposition, and a stop was put for the time to the survey.

Seven members of the General Assembly at St. Christopher's were, upon the 24th of October, ordered into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. They refused to make submission to the house, and were in consequence committed to goal. Five days afterwards they were expelled the house, and discharged from confinement. Great rejoicings were made upon their release, and four of them were re-elected, without opposition, as members for the parish of St. George's, Basse Terre.

The town of St. John's, in Antigua, was nearly destroyed by fire, upon the 17th of August. Upwards of 260 houses were consumed, besides wharfs, &c. &c.

There were great disturbances in the French colony at St. Domingo, between the government and the inhabitants. Some engagements took place, and several of the principal persons in the island were sent in irons to France.

The population of Surinam and Berbice was estimated at 4000 Whites, and 50,000 slaves.

The whole coast from Surinam to Demerary was progressively on fire. The flames were supposed to have been unintentionally kindled by the Maroons, but they spread with awful and irresistible continuity.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed nine ships, and consisted of 3530½hhds. of sugar, 491 tierces and 2715 bags of coffee, and 312 bales of cotton.

The number of inhabitants upon the Bahamas, "Whites and Blacks, were said to have been 3130."

1770.

Mr. Long says, "I will assert, that there are no men, nor orders of men, in Great Britain, possessed of more disinterested charity, philanthropy, and clemency than the Creole gentlemen of Jamaica. If cruelties are practised upon the Negroes, they

Annual Register, 1770, pp. 49. 69. Edwards, vol. i. p. 486.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book ii. sect. 3. p. 179.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 345. — Appendix.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. p. 269.

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happen without their consent. Some few British overseers have given proofs of a savage disposition. These barbarians were imported from among the liberty-loving inhabitants of Britain and Ireland: let the reproach then fall on the guilty, and not on the planter." "The wanton torture inflicted on the slaves brings an unmerited censure on the proprietors, who are no further culpable than in employing these outcasts of society, because, it may happen, they can get no better."

The existence of the evil is not denied.

"Whilst I render (the same author says) all due praise to the Creole ladies for their many amiable qualities, impartiality forbids me to suppress what is highly to their discredit — I mean their disdaining to suckle their own offspring. They give them up to a Negro or Mulatto wet nurse, scarcely one of whom is not a common prostitute, or at least who has not commerce with more than one man, or who has not some latent taint of the venereal distemper." — "The place of nurse is coveted by all of them, and they are sure to keep secret any ailment they labour under, however detrimental to the child, rather than be turned off." — "Numberless have been the poor little victims to this pernicious custom."

"Another misfortune is the constant intercourse from their birth with Negro domestics, whose drawling dissonant gibberish, awkward carriage, and vulgar manners, they insensibly adopt.

"We may see a very fine young woman awkwardly dangling her arms with the air of a Negro servant, lolling almost the whole day upon beds or settees, her head muffled up with two or three handkerchiefs, her dress loose, and without stays. At noon we find her gobbling pepper pot, seated on the floor with her sable handmaids around her. In the afternoon she takes her siesto as usual, while two of these damsels refresh her face with the gentle breathings of the fan, and a third provokes the drowsy powers of Morpheus by delicious scratchings on the sole of either foot. When she rouses from slumber, her speech is whining, languid, and childish. When arrived at maturer age, the consciousness of her ignorance makes her abscond from the sight or conversation of every rational creature. Her ideas are narrowed to the ordinary subjects that pass before her, the business of the plantation, the tittle-tattle of the parish — the tricks, superstitions, diversions, and profligate discourses of black servants, equally illiterate and unpolished."

"Modesty has but little footing here (in respect of men cohabiting with their slaves.) He who should presume to shew any displeasure against such a thing as simple fornication, would for his pains be accounted a simple blockhead, since not one in

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. pp. 276. 278, 279. 328.

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twenty can be persuaded there is either sin or shame in cohabiting with his slave." — "On first arriving here, a civilized European may be apt to think it impudent and shameful, that even bachelors should publicly avow their keeping Negro or Mulatto mistresses; but they are still more shocked at seeing a group of white legitimate and Mulatto illegitimate children, all claimed by the same married father, and all bred up together under the same roof." — "Habit, however, and the prevailing fashion, reconcile such scenes, and lessen the abhorrence excited by their first impression."

It is well this picture is drawn by Mr. Long.

Mr. Long recommends the law of the Lombards to be adopted — "If a man debauches his slave's wife, the slave and his wife shall be free" — as an admirable expedient, which, without severity, lays a powerful restraint upon the incontinency of masters; and says, "I can foresee no mischief that can arise from the enfranchisement of every Mulatto child."

"Some examples may possibly have occurred, where, upon the intermarriage of two Mulattoes, the woman has borne children, which children have grown to maturity; but I never heard of such an instance: and may we not suspect the lady, in those cases, to have intrigued with another man, a White perhaps?"

Mr. Long says, "The subject is really curious, and deserves a very attentive inquiry." The Creole Negroes he describes as "irascible, conceited, proud, indolent, lascivious, credulous, and very artful," — "excellent dissemblers, skilful flatterers, good natured, but rarely grateful: yet he allows, that with a very moderate instruction in the Christian rules, they may "be kept in good order without the whip." Rash correction renders them stubborn, negligent, and perverse; but they will "chearfully perform every thing required of them, by judiciously working on their vanity."

Mr. Long praises the dress of the Spaniards at this time in the West Indies, which he thus describes: "All their cloaths are light, their waistcoat and breeches of Bretagne linen, and their coat of some other thin stuff. Neckcloths are very uncommon. The neck of their shirt is adorned with large gold buttons or clasps, and these are suffered to hang loose. They wear a very fine thin white linen cap; others go bare, having their hair cut from the nape of the neck upwards. Palmeto fans are commonly worn by the men. Their women wear a pollera, or thin silk petticoat, and a very thin white jacket. They always lace their dress to conceal their breasts, and wear a short cloak when they go abroad. The richness of their dress consists in the finest linen, laces, and jewels, so disposed as to add very little

Long's Jamaica, vol. ii. pp. 330. 333. 336. 407. 411. 521.

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to inconvenience, and produce the most ornamental effect. Their cap is of fine linen covered with lace, in the shape of a mitre, plentifully starched, and not easily discomposed. This they call panito, and wear as an undress."

"In Jamaica," he says, "I have known a whole company of men pledge one another in laudanum. The women, although they sip it drop by drop, it is repeated so frequently, that they take pretty near as much as those who take larger doses at a time, and its effects are equally fatal. Some ladies are never without a bottle of it in their pocket, with some lumps of sugar, and take it privately, eighty or a hundred drops at a time." He speaks of it as a "horrid fashion," which had taken "firm hold" in the island.

It was enacted by 10 Geo. III. cl. 2. cap. 37., that disputes having arisen in some ports of America, whether naval officers were entitled to receive such fees as their predecessors had before September 1764 — after the 1st day of August, 1770, every officer in his Majesty's customs, and every naval officer, was entitled to receive such fees as they and their predecessors had received before the 29th of September, 1764 — any act of Assembly made in the plantations to the contrary notwithstanding; and denouncing a penalty of fifty pounds on officers exceeding their usual fees.

Mr. Long says, "The admission of twelve principal merchants into the French council of commerce has always been regarded as a master-stroke of policy; and the surprising increase of French trade, shipping, and colonies, has very justly been dated from the first erection of that council." And if the legislature of Jamaica would, in imitation of the French, promulge a code of laws respecting the Negroes, punishing all secret practices of barbarity, men whose callous hearts are impenetrable to the feelings of human nature might be affected by legal pains and penalties; and if proper encouragement was given to informers, it would be impossible to act such oppressions often." He adds, "If the number of hogsheads (of sugar) annually made from any estate exceeds or even equals the whole aggregate of Negroes employed upon it, but few children will be brought up on such estate, whatever number may be born; but where the proportion is half a hogshead for every Negro, there they will, in all likelihood, increase very rapidly."

William Stewart, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governor of Tobago.

Upon the 7th of September, the Dolly, Peter Maddock, arrived at Cowes, laden with sugar, from Tobago. This is the

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 111.; vol. ii. pp. 405. 437. 546.
Annual Register, 1770, pp. 145. 182.

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first vessel that ever cleared out for Europe, with produce from that island.[1]

The crew of the Berwick, Captain Moore, from St. Vincent's to London, were taken up by the Mars, Captain Holland, bound to Liverpool. The Berwick had foundered four days before, and the whole crew, thirteen men, and one woman passenger, were crowded in an open boat, without any provisions.

George Mackenzie, Esq. was appointed, in August, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, in the room of Commodore Foster.

October the 18th, William Stewart, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governor of Dominica, and William Young, Esq. lieutenant-governor of Tobago.

The house of Somelsdyk sold its portion of the colony of Surinam to the city of Amsterdam for £60,000 sterling.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed eight ships, and consisted of 5795 hogsheads of sugar, 499 tierces and 1603 bags of coffee, and 337 bales of cotton.

The population of Martinico consisted of 12,450 Whites, 1814 free people of colour, 70,553 Negro slaves, and 443 runaway slaves.

The sugar ant, so called from its ruinous effects upon the sugar-cane, appeared for the first time at Grenada, on a sugar plantation at Petit Havre. They were supposed to have been brought from Martinico by some smuggling vessel.

"At St. Domingo, at the town of Cape François, it is asserted by Currejolles, in the *Journel de Phys.* p. 106, that a water barometer was observed to sink two inches and a half, immediately before the earthquake of 1770."

A family of Whites settled on Boracha (the largest of the Caraccas islands), and cultivated maize and cassava. The father alone survived his children. As his wealth had increased, he purchased two black slaves. By these slaves he was murdered. His goats became wild. The two slaves escaped punishment, until one of them informed against his accomplice, and obtained pardon on condition of hanging all the prisoners, on whom sentence of death was pronounced. In 1799, he was still hangman at Cumana.

£346 2s. 6d. was collected at Liverpool for the sufferers by the late fire at Antigua, and sent to that island by the Favourite, Captain Kevish.

Annual Register, 1770, pp. 73. 149. 184, 185.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 346. — Appendix.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 317. Edwards, vol. i. p. 397.
Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. ii. p. 224.; vol. iii. p. 359.

[1] From the great value of the exports, as given by Campbell, I suspect this must be a mistake.

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The King, by an order in council, directed that Dominica should be erected into a government separate from and independent of the general government of the southern Caribbee islands, of which it before made a part. Sir William Young, Bart. was appointed governor thereof.

Upon the 3d of June, about a quarter past seven in the evening, four violent shocks of an earthquake were felt at Cape Nicola Mole, in St. Domingo: the most severe lasted two minutes and a half, accompanied with a noise much like the echo from the hills after the firing of cannon. The town did not receive any damage, but the city of Port-au-Prince was entirely destroyed: not one house was left standing, and above 500 persons were buried in the ruins. Petit Gouave and Leogane were also destroyed. The plains of Leogane, Port-au-Prince, Petit Gouave, suffered considerably — all the sugar works were destroyed; and La Croix de Bouquet, a small town, with the greatest part of its inhabitants, was swallowed up. The earthquake extended thirty-five leagues, and the sea rose a league and a half up into the island.

Jamaica, v. 3. act. 5., enacts, that coroners, upon information of any body being found, should take an inquest thereon agreeable to the laws of England. Fees to be paid on the view of a free person, out of the goods and chattels of the person found dead; and if such person shall be a slave, by the churchwardens of the parish where the inquisition shall be taken.

The exports from Jamaica, this year, amounted to £1,538,730.

From Nevis to Great Britain, £43,827 10s.; and to America, £14,155.

From St. Christopher's to Great Britain, £367,074.

From Barbadoes to Great Britain, £311,012; to America, £119,828; and to the other islands, £1173.

From Antigua to Great Britain, £430,210; to North America, £35,551 7s. 6d.; to the other islands, £229 10s.

From Montserrat to Great Britain, £89,907; to North America, £12,633.

From the Virgin Islands to Great Britain, £61,696; to North America, £10,132 10s.

From Anguilla to Great Britain, £3800; to North America, £2057 10s.

From Dominica to Great Britain, £46,365 5s. 8½d.; to North America, £16,496 10s.

From Tobago to Great Britain, £451,650 8s. 3d.; to North America, £51,061 7s. 6d.; to the other islands, £671 10s.

Annual Register, 1770, pp. 129, 130. 136.
Parliamentary Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789.
Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii. pp. 666. 669. 671, 672. 674. 677. 684. 689.

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Imported from the other islands and exported to England, £3326 10s. — Total, £ 506,709.

1771.

Upon the 27th of December, a fire broke out in St. George's, Grenada. In a few hours the whole town was reduced to ashes, except some buildings in the careenage, and next the court-house and custom-house, which were saved by the exertions of some seamen, landing from his Majesty's ships in the bay. The damage was estimated at £200,000 sterling. The buildings were chiefly constructed with timber.

Sir R. Payne arrived in the West Indies as governor-general of the Leeward Islands.

The population-return for this year, for the Grenadas, was 1661 Whites, 415 free Negroes, and 26,211 slaves.

In the beginning of this year, the commissioners at St. Vincent's proposed to the Carib chiefs an exchange of lands upon terms more favourable to them than the arrangement formerly agitated; but every proposal for parting with their lands was rejected by the Caribs with the greatest firmness; and on the question being asked, whether they acknowledged themselves subjects to the King of Great Britain, and would they take the oath of allegiance to him? they boldly replied, No — they were independent, and not subject either to the King of Great Britain or of France. There was no doubt that the Caribs were stimulated to this conduct by the governors of the neighbouring French islands, for their correspondence was detected.

Hitherto cultivation had not extended beyond the Yambore; but the British government made grants of land beyond that boundary, of which the colonists attempted to take possession. The Caribs resolutely opposed them, and hostilities commenced.

A great famine was occasioned, in the Bay of Honduras, by locusts. They ate up every green thing, and are said, in some parts, to have laid upon the ground a foot thick. It was computed that upwards of 80,000 Indians died from the famine occasioned by this awful visitation.

March the 2d, William Leybourne Leybourne, Esq. was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

Annual Register, 1771, pp. 163. 171. — 1772, p. 85. — 1773, p. 87.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 58. 186. Parliamentary Papers, Slave Trade, 1790. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Adolphus's History of England, vol. ii. p. 35. 4th edit.

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The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed thirteen ships, and consisted of 3127 hhds. of sugar, 641 tierces, and 3538 bags of coffee, and 162 bales of cotton.

From the custom-house returns made to the House of Commons, it appears that Great Britain, in 1771, imported from her West India colonies, 1,425,874 cwt. of sugar, from which she derived a revenue of £416,111, exclusive of £50,999 paid for drawback upon the sugar exported again.

1772.

The Negroes in the Dutch colony of Surinam rose upon their masters, and involved the inhabitants in the greatest terror and distress. The insurgents had provided themselves with arms and ammunition, and one thousand of them defeated the militia and soldiers in several engagements, and took their cannon, which the Negroes managed with great dexterity.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed nine ships, and consisted of 3338 hhds. of sugar, 550 tierces, and 4740 bags of coffee, and 128 bales of cotton.

The aggregate amount of all complexions and conditions of inhabitants in St. Lucia, amounted to 15,476.

From the custom-house returns made to the House of Commons, it appears that Great Britain imported from her West India colonies in 1772, 1,760,345 cwt. of sugar, from which she derived a revenue of £513,486, exclusive of the monies paid for drawback.

Dr. George Young, who had the care of the botanical garden at St. Vincent's, which was established by Governor Melville, received a gold medal from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, for having in that garden 140 healthy plants of true cinnamon, plants of logwood, turmeric, East India mango, Tobago nutmeg, sesamum or oily grain, cassia fistula, vanelloes, anatto, China tallow tree, and many other curious plants.

On the 31st of August, his Majesty's ship Chatham, Rear-Admiral Parry, and Active and Seahorse frigates, and Falcon sloop, were driven on shore by a storm in English Harbour, Antigua. After the gale they were all got off.

"The parish of Trou, in the northern part of St. Domingo, experienced five years of extraordinary drought, which com-

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 55. Annual Register, p. 9.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 297. Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii. p. 681.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 28.

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menced in 1772. The plains covered with sugar canes, and the hills cultivated with coffee, were afflicted with a desolating sterility. M. Chevalier, an inhabitant of that quarter, in 1776, sowed his grounds with cotton, and gathered prodigious crops. All the sufferers by that calamity imitated his example — when, in 1777, the rains, having resumed their ordinary course, destroyed all the cotton plants, and restored to the soil its former productions." [1]

Sir William Trelawney, Bart., the governor of Jamaica, died upon the 11th of December, after a long and tedious illness. He had been four years governor of the island; and, at the request of the House of Assembly to Lady Trelawney, he was buried at the public expence. All ranks of people vied with each other in showing their respect for the governor's memory.

St. Vincent's. — The Caribs were instigated to resist the claims of the English by French emissaries, who taught the black Caribs to believe, that, as they mostly descended from a race of slaves, bound in an English ship to Barbadoes, the heir of the owner had obtained an order to sell them as his property; and when animosity was thus sufficiently excited, the French supplied them with fire-arms, and encouraged hostilities.

In consequence of the Caribs declaring themselves independent, and refusing to take the oath of allegiance, two regiments were ordered from North America, to join about an equal number already at St. Vincent's. These, with the assistance of his Majesty's ships upon that station, were ordered to reduce the Caribs to submission; or, if that was impracticable, to remove them from the island, taking care that they were plentifully provided with provisions and necessaries, and treated with all possible humanity upon their passage. It was further directed, that when they arrived at the place of their destination, they should be liberally supplied with every thing necessary for their present subsistence, and for their establishment as a new colony.

Depon's South America, vol. i. p. 419. Annual Register, 1773, pp. 87. 221. Adolphus's History of England, vol. ii. p. 31. 4th edit.

[1] "*Paris, August* 10. — Captain Trebuchet arrived at Nantes from St. Domingo. The sixteenth day after he set sail, about eleven at night, the whole crew imagined the ship had struck upon a rock, and she suddenly made a great deal of water. A fish between thirty and forty feet long had pierced her in two places, about four feet above her keel, with a kind of horn, which made a hole three inches in diameter. An English ship, commanded by Captain Smith, assisted them in cutting away this monster, and kept company with Captain Trebuchet, in order to give any assistance that might be wanted. The French were obliged to pump night and day."—*Ann. Register*, 1772, p. 125.

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The rainy season occasioned great mortality among the troops. The woods were so thick, that the Caribs killed the soldiers with the greatest security to themselves, and without their being able even to see the enemy which destroyed them. By the middle of November, the troops had not been able to penetrate above four miles into the country.

At daylight upon the 31st of August, a heavy gale of wind from the N.E., at St. Christopher's, blew down several sugar-works, and destroyed most of the plantations. At noon the gale abated, and the inhabitants thought the storm was over; but the wind shifted suddenly to the S.W. by S., and came on with increased violence. Almost every house, sugar-mill, tree, and plant at Basse Terre, Sandy Point, and Old Road was blown down or very much damaged — several persons were killed, and a great number dangerously wounded. The damage was estimated at £500,000 sterling.

At St. Eustatia, 400 houses, on the higher grounds, were destroyed or rendered untenantable; all the plantation houses, except two, were blown down; and the Dutch church was blown into the sea.

At Saba, 180 houses were blown down.

At St. Martin's, very few houses were left standing, and all the plantations were destroyed.

At Antigua, all the men of war, except one, were driven on shore, and several ships foundered at their anchors in St. John's roads.

At Dominica, eighteen vessels were driven on shore and lost.

Montserrat and Nevis had scarcely a house left standing.

At Santa Cruz, the sea rose seventy feet above its usual height, and carried away every thing before it. Large stones were washed down from the mountains; meteors, like balls of fire, made visible the horrors of the night; 460 houses were thrown down at Christianstadt. All the houses in Frederickstadt, but three, were destroyed; and all the magazines and stores quite ruined. Every ship at the island was driven on shore, some of them 100 yards on the land. The damage was estimated at 5,000,000 of dollars.

At St. Thomas, the damage was estimated at 200,000 dollars.

The Dispatch sloop of war was sent home express with an account of the hurricane, and foundered upon the passage. The crew were saved by his Majesty's ship Panther.

Lieutenant-General James Adolphus Oughton was appointed, the 18th of December, lieutenant-governor of Antigua, in the room of Francis Lord Hawley, deceased.

Annual Register, 1772, pp. 140. 144. 164. — 1773, p. 88.

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1773.

After a long investigation in the House of Commons, by the opponents of Lord North's administration, it was finally resolved, that the conduct pursued towards the Caribs in St. Vincent's "was founded in injustice, and reflected dishonour on the national character; as being apparently a violation of the natural rights of mankind, and totally subversive of that liberty it gloried to defend." This conclusion was productive of immediate orders to the commanders of the expedition, to suspend hostilities against the Caribs, and to negociate a treaty with them upon reasonable terms. The orders arrived opportunely for the Caribs, who must have surrendered at discretion in a very few days. Surrounded by sea and land, their circle of action became every day more contracted, their bodies, worn down by continual watching and fatigue, demonstrated that they were reduced to the last extremity. In obedience to his instructions, General Dalrymple made overtures of peace, and concluded the following treaty with them: —

"Upon the 17th of February, a treaty of peace was signed by General Dalrymple, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, and the chiefs of Grand Sable, Masiraca, Rabacca, Macaricaw, Byera, Coubamaron, Jambon, Colourie, Camacarabou, Ourawarou, and Point Espaniol, for themselves and the rest of the Caribs of St. Vincent's.

"Art. 1. All hostile proceedings are to cease.

"2. The Caribs shall acknowledge his Majesty to be the rightful sovereign of St. Vincent, take an oath of fidelity to him as their King, and lay down their arms.

"3. They shall submit themselves to the laws, and the governor shall have power to enact further regulations."

This article only respects their transactions with his Majesty's subjects, not being Indians — their intercourse and customs with each other in the quarters allotted them, not being affected by it.

"All new regulations to receive the governor's approbation.

"4. A portion of lands, from the River Byera to Point Espaniol on the one side, and from the River Anilibou to Point Espaniol on the other, according to lines to be drawn from the sources of the rivers to the tops of the mountains, shall be allotted for the residence of the Caribs. The rest of

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 187. Edwards, vol. i. pp. 424. 448, 449.

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the lands formerly inhabited by them, for the future to belong entirely to his Majesty.

" 5. Those lands shall not be alienated, but to persons properly authorized by his Majesty to receive them.

" 6. Roads, batteries, &c. shall be made as his Majesty pleases.

" 7. No undue intercourse to be allowed with the French islands.

" 8. Runaway slaves to be given up, under a penalty of forfeiture of lands. Carrying them off the island, to be a capital crime.

" 9. Persons guilty of capital crimes against the English to be given up.

" 10. The Caribs to assist his Majesty's subjects against their enemies.

" 11. The three chains to remain to his Majesty.

" 12. All plots to be made known to the government.

" 13. Leave is given to the Caribs to depart the island with their families.

" 14. Free access to the Carib quarters to be given to persons properly empowered to take runaway slaves.

" 15. Deserters and runaway slaves to be given up.

" 16. The chiefs of the different quarters to render an account of the names and number of the inhabitants.

" 17. The Caribs to attend the governor whenever required.

" 18. All possible facility to be afforded the Caribs in their trade.

" 19. Entire liberty of fishing, as well on the coast of St. Vincent's as at the neighbouring quays, to be allowed them.

" 20. Whenever the Caribs consider themselves injured, and are desirous of having reference to the laws, they may employ an agent themselves, or, if more agreeable, at his Majesty's cost.

" 21. No strangers or white persons to be allowed to settle among the Caribs, without leave.

" 22. These articles subscribed to and observed, the Caribs are to be pardoned, secured, and fixed in their property.

" 23. After the signing of this treaty, should any of the Caribs refuse to observe the condition of it, they are to be treated as enemies by both parties.

" 24. The Caribs shall take the following oath: — We, A. B. do swear, in the name of the immortal God and Christ Jesus, that we will bear true allegiance to his Majesty George the Third, &c. &c. &c. and that we will pay due obedience to the laws of Great Britain and the island of St. Vincent, and will well and truly observe every article of the treaty concluded between

Edwards, vol. i. p. 451.

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his said Majesty and the Caribs: and we do acknowledge that his said Majesty is rightful lord and sovereign of all the island of St. Vincent, and that the lands held by us the Caribs are granted through his Majesty's clemency."

Signed by twenty-eight Caribs and General Dalrymple.

The English lost upon this expedition 150 in killed and wounded, 110 by the climate, and there were 428 upon the sick list when the treaty was signed.

A botanic garden was established at Jamaica, under the sanction of the Assembly.

The Dutch finished their defences against the Maroons, by surrounding the colonies of Surinam and Berbice with a cordon and forts at small intervals. The peace establishment of troops was 150 regulars in Surinam and 250 in Berbice, all in the Company's service, with one battalion provided by the states general. All the Whites able to bear arms were members of the militia, and amounted to 2000 men.

The exports from Demerary and Essequibo employed twelve ships, and consisted of 3775hhds. of sugar, 1001 tierces and 8613 bags of coffee, and 181 bales of cotton.

The population of the Bahama Islands was estimated at 2052 Whites, and 2241 Blacks.

America supplied the British West India islands with 132,440 barrels of flour.

Mr. Long says, "The inhabitants of the Grand Cayman, which is the only one of the group constantly inhabited, were estimated at 160 white men, women and children. They are descendants of the buccaneers, and their principal occupation is the turtle fishery. They have a chief of their own choosing, and regulations of their own framing; and some justices of the peace appointed by commission from the governor of Jamaica. Their governor and magistrates decide all controversies without appeal. Their single men and women who wish to marry go to Jamaica for that purpose. The island contains about 1000 acres, has several sorts of timber, and some springs of tolerable water."

The population of Barbadoes was returned at 18,532 Whites, and 68,548 slaves.

"These accounts, which were furnished by Mr. Agent Brathwaite, are from lists given in upon oath, and are therefore

Annual Register, 1773, p. 92. Edwards, vol. i. p. 259.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 364.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 198. Sir W. Young's Common place Book, p. 93.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. p. 310.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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nearer the truth than the lists, which, being sent into the secretary's office by the churchwardens, are from thence transmitted by the governor."

The population of Dominica was returned at 3350 Whites, 750 free Negroes, and 18,753 slaves. Lieutenant-Governor Stuart stated, that 6000 Negroes were annually necessary, which would cost £30 per head.

The governor of the Bahamas reported the population of those islands at 2052 Whites, and 2241 slaves.

Mr. Long says, "In the French islands, the rapidity of their settlement, their astonishing increase, and the good order by which they are sustained and conducted — the whole is the work of a wise policy, and a right turn their government has taken.

"In the English colonies, where no systematic order prevails — where almost every thing, in respect to their policy, their taxation, the administration of government and justice, their population, and their trade, is wrong, or left to chance — for whom the mother state contrives no plans, executes no regulations, except to draw a present tribute from them, we do not observe the like flourishing progression, and they would very soon decline into their original wilderness, if it were not for that persevering spirit of industry so peculiar to the English, and which is the result of their liberty."

The reader will perhaps see, that from Mr. Long's premises quite a contrary conclusion must be drawn — and that their boasted Assemblies are answerable for the difference, and not the British government.

The following description of the militia in Jamaica, being drawn by a favourable hand, cannot be suspected of any injurious bias: — "In general the horse make the best appearance; but so little regard is paid to the training of their horses, that very few are broke to stand fire: so that, when a public review is exhibited, it is not unusual to see a whole squadron, at the very first volley, thrown into disorder, the ranks broken, some galloping off the field, others laid prostrate, and hats, perriwigs, and arms scattered through the air. But even this spectacle is not so laughable as the appearance of the foot in some parts of the island. They are seen accoutred with fire-arms of unequal size, some being of four and others two feet length in the barrel, muskets, musketoons, and fowling-pieces, many of which are half-eaten with rust; the men unequally matched and ranged, men of four feet height and of six being jumbled together, clad in different-coloured cloathes, some in jackets and trowsers, some

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 96. 126.

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in night-caps, others with tye-wigs, and altogether forming so truly ridiculous a group, as to excite the mirth of even Negro spectators."—"Their firing resembles much more the bouncing and popping of squibs and crackers than the regular and full discharge of trained bands. Of fifty pieces, not more perhaps than twenty are found to go off. They are liable to panics, and little, if any, dependence can be placed on them in the day of battle."

"We all know that most of our inferior class of people are citizens of the world, men of desperate fortunes, and not of very moral principles."

"I have known some few planters so atrociously base, that on the commencement of law-martial, they have discharged most of their white servants, to avoid the burthen of paying wages during their absence on the public service; by which means these poor men have been compelled to serve in arms, but without any other subsistence than what they could procure, either by exhausting their own little stock of money, or by the charitable disposition of their officer."

"The French are to be admired for the good government of their colonies. They oblige every captain of a merchant ship to carry a certain number of indented servants: all vessels of sixty tons or under are to carry three; from sixty to one hundred tons, four; and from an hundred upwards, six such servants, who are to be between the ages of eighteen and forty."

Mr. Long says, "The French excel us in two of our oldest West India staples, sugar and indigo; their islands are, beyond comparison, better peopled, and peopled with a more sober and industrious sort of men:" and he expresses an ardent wish, "That we may not too long disdain to mix a little of the French policy in our system of colonial government."

Mr. Leybourne was governor of Grenada.

From the report of the House of Commons in 1785, the exports from Jamaica in 1773 were,

	To Great Britain.	America.
Sugars, hhds. 13 cwt. each,	93,400	2400
Rum, puncheons,	17,280	8700
Molasses	4140	5700
Coffee, cwt.	3684	2863
Indigo, lbs.	131,100	300
Cotton, lbs.	404,400	8800
Pimento, lbs.	137,970	55,200

Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 128, 129. 433, 434.
Parliamentary Papers, 1790, Lieutenant H. H. Dalrymple's Evidence.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 15.

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February the 20th, Sir Basil Keith, Knt., was appointed captain-general and governor of Jamaica, in the room of Sir William Trelawney deceased.

From the custom-house returns made to the House of Commons, it appears, that in 1773 Great Britain imported from her West India colonies 1,730,571 cwt. of sugar, from which she derived a revenue of £500,522, exclusive of the monies paid for drawback upon the sugars re-exported. Would not the same revenue have been raised if the sugars had been brought from any where else?

General export of the four staple articles of produce of the British West Indies, from return to order of the House of Commons, May 5th, 1806, for 1773: — 140,754 hhds. of sugar, 54,700 puncheons of rum. No returns of cotton and coffee, for 1773.

Mr. Long says that the duty of £8 per ton on foreign mahogany, which was imposed by 11 Geo. I. chap. 7, was entirely evaded; for it was brought into Jamaica free, and went from thence as Jamaica wood.

The tonnage of the shipping employed at Jamaica was calculated to be 70,000 tons. It was proved that the current silver in Jamaica was debased above £21 per cent. by "clipping villains."

Upon the 16th of March, James Hutchinson, of Pedro Valley, St. Ann's, was hung at Spanish Town, Jamaica, for murder. From the number of human carcasses found in a cockpit near his house, and other circumstances, it was supposed that he had committed various other murders, besides that for which he was executed.

According to the returns made by the governor of the Bahamas, the population consisted of 2052 Whites and 2241 slaves. Thirty-nine years before, there were 77 free Negroes. No reason is assigned for there being none now.

Upon the 14th of September, six persons, convicted of promoting dissensions at Cape François in St. Domingo, were privately executed in the Bastile, at Paris.

James Forthton, Esq. died at Grenada, aged 127: he was a native of Bourdeaux, and had been settled in the West Indies since the year 1694.

The annual register ship from the Havaña to Old Spain, with 500,000 piasters and 10,000 ounces of gold, and about twice that sum for the merchants, was lost upon her passage to Europe.

The officers of the troops employed in St. Vincent's petitioned

Sir W. Young's Common place Book, pp. 29, 30. 32, 33. *55.*
Long's Jamaica, vol. i. pp. 498. 504. *561.*
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Annual Register, 1773, pp. 84. 87. 96. 104. 112. 133.

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his Majesty, that when the newly acquired lands were sold or given away, they might have the offer of part of them — pleading their services as a reason for making the request.

Edward Hay, Esq. was appointed governor of Barbadoes, in the room of the late Admiral Spry.

In the beginning of this year, the inhabitants of Tortola presented a petition to Sir Ralph Payne, his Majesty's captain-general of the Leeward Islands, in which they requested him to join with them in petitioning his Majesty in their behalf. In this petition, which included not only Tortola but Spanish Town, Josh Van Dykes, and all their British dependencies, after recounting the troubles through which they had passed, the expences they had incurred, the improvements which they had made, and the dangers to which they were exposed, they proceeded to point out the necessity of an authority to enable them to raise taxes for the purpose "of building churches, of paying stipends to clergymen, and erecting jails: and also of forts and fortifications, for their defence in time of war." — "For these purposes the petitioners prayed that a proper Assembly might be summoned and called together out of the freeholders and planters of the respective islands, in order that the said Assembly, with the other branches of the legislature of the Virgin Islands, might make and ordain proper laws for the public peace, welfare, and good government thereof, in the usual manner that laws are passed in the Leeward Caribean Islands. And the petitioners promised, that upon his Majesty's investing his governor with the powers and authorities for that purpose, they would most readily grant to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, an aid or impost of four and a half per centum in specie, upon all goods, commodities of the said islands, that shall be shipped therefrom, to be raised and paid in the same manner as the four and a half per centum is made payable in the other Leeward Caribee Islands."

In reply to their petition, it was stated, that his Majesty, "trusting that his faithful subjects in his said Virgin Islands, who should compose the new Assembly, would, as the first act of legislation, cheerfully make good the engagement of granting to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the said impost of four and a half per cent. on all the produce of the said Virgin Islands, to be raised and paid in the same manner as the four and a half is paid or made payable in the Leeward Caribee Islands, did cause his royal pleasure to be signified to his said governor-in-chief, that he would issue writs in his Majesty's name for convening an Assembly or House of Representatives of the said islands, who, together with a council to be composed of twelve persons, to be

Annual Register, 1773, p. 163. Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. pp. 100, 101.

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appointed by the governor for that purpose, might frame and pass such laws as should be necessary for the welfare and good government of the said islands."

Pursuant to these directions, in November the governor-general issued a proclamation for convening an Assembly agreeably to his Majesty's orders. They met in the February following.

1774.

Mr. Jefferys saw seven slaves executed at one time at Tobago: their right arms were chopped off; they were then dragged to seven stakes, and burnt to death. One of them, named Chubb, stretched his arm out on the block, and coolly pulled up his sleeve: he would not be drawn, but walked to the stake. One, named Sampson, was hung alive in chains, and was seven days dying. Their crimes were murder and destroying property.

According to the report of the Secretary at War, of the troops sent to the West Indies, from 1764 to 1774 inclusive, only 935 had died, out of above 4000.

Sir Ralph Payne's report of the population stands thus: —

	Whites.	Negroes.
"Antigua	2590	37,808
Montserrat	1300	10,000
Nevis	1000	10,000
St. Christopher's	1900	23,462
Virgin Islands	1200	9000

"Sir Ralph represented, that the inhabitants of the Leeward Islands were exceedingly decreased during the last ten years. The emigration to the ceded islands, and the decay of trade, is the chief and only cause of this."

On the 1st of February, the House of Representatives of the Virgin Islands met for the first time, and by their first act they agreed to subject themselves to an impost of four and a half per cent. on all produce exported, and to pay £400 currency per annum, as their proportion towards the salary of the governor-general.

The Lord Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench pronounced judgment against the crown, as to its right to the four and a half per cent. duties demanded, in lieu of the duties formerly

Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 102. Colquhoun's British Empire, pp. 355, 356.
Parliamentary Papers, Mr. N. Jefferys's Examination, 1790.
Official Paper, Secretary at War's Report, 1788.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

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paid the French King by the island of Grenada. These duties were therefore abolished in Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

Demerary had hitherto been considered a dependency of Essequibo, but it was now determined to make it the residence of the governor, and the capital of the two colonies. For this purpose the town of Stabrock was commenced, about a mile from the fort, and a deputy governor sent to Essequibo.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed seventeen ships, and consisted of 5225½ hhds. of sugar, 1327 tierces and 14,649 bags of coffee, and 307 bales of cotton.

December the 29th, 1774, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance concerning the verification of the titles of liberty of persons affranchised.

"Art. 5. Owners who have given their slaves permission to work for the means of procuring their liberties, to make their declaration within three months to the committee of the department under penalty of 500 livres.

"6. Persons having bought slaves with the peculium of the slaves themselves, and who consequently leave the slaves at liberty to work for their own profit to obtain their liberty, are likewise ordered to make their declaration within three months to the committee of the department under a penalty of 500 livres.

"9. Such as within three months shall not have given in their titles, to be reputed as having none, and to be in consequence considered as usurpers of liberty, and sold for the profit of the King, unless they are able to prove their inability to present them within the prescribed period.

"11. Parish priests to furnish annually to the director-general du domaine a list by them certified of the number of children they may have baptized as free, in order that the fact of their being free may be verified.

"12. Notaries receiving testaments, in which are contained grants of liberty to slaves, are to furnish to the procureur du Roi, a month after the decease of the testator, an extract of the nature of the legacy, under a penalty against the notaries, greffiers, and other public officers of 500 livres, in order that the procureur du Roi may demand this freedom in behalf of the slave."

Jamaica exported 6547 cwt. of coffee.

A debating society in Kingston, Jamaica, debated the following question, proposed by Mr. Thomas Hibbart, who had been forty or fifty years the most eminent Guinea factor there:—

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, p. 145. — Appendix.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 75.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 54.
Parliamentary Papers, 1791, Examination of Hercules Rose, Esq.

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"Whether the trade to Africa for slaves was consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature and morality?" The discussion occupied several meetings; and at last it was determined by a majority, that *the trade to Africa for slaves was neither consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, nor morality.*"

The legislature of Jamaica passed a law, directing, that in all cases of manumitting a slave, security shall be given, in a bond of £100, to the churchwardens of the parish, that the person so enfranchised shall not become a charge upon the public. They also passed two bills to restrict the trade in slaves. "Bristol and Liverpool petitioned against the restriction. The matter was referred to the board of trade, and that board reported against it." The Earl of Dartmouth, the president of the board, answered by the following declaration:—"We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

Governor Keith "stated with precision," this year, that the population of Jamaica consisted of 12,737 Whites, 4093 free Negroes, and 192,787 slaves. The governor remarked, that the above account had been taken from the rolls of the respective parishes; but that there were at least 10,000 more slaves, as many "jobbers" and others, who did not give in their Negroes. The number of Negroes imported this year into Jamaica was 18,648.

The population of the Bermudas was returned at 5632 Whites, and 5023 slaves.

Admiral Parry, with the squadron under his command, proceeded to "Toracola," or Crab Island, to claim some duties on sugars. The Spanish governor of Puerto Rico, knowing the purpose of his visit, insisted that the island belonged to the crown of Spain. Both parties agreed to refer the question to their respective governments in Europe.

Thomas Shirley, Esq. was appointed governor of Dominica, February the 5th, in room of Sir William Young, who resigned. The same day Montford Brown, Esq. was appointed governor of the Bahama Islands.

1775.

The inhabitants of Martinico resolved to assure £50,000 of their currency to any person who should discover a method of effectually destroying the ants which infested the country.

Mathieson's Short Review of the Reports of the African Institution, 1816, p. 86.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Annual Register, 1774, pp. 111. 184. — 1775, p. 168.
Barham's Observations, Quarterly Review, No. LXIV. p. 521.

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The fortifications upon the island of Martinico were destroyed by an earthquake in March.

The town of St. George, the capital of Grenada, was almost destroyed by fire on the 1st of November: it began in the shop of a Negro carpenter, about three o'clock in the morning. The loss was estimated at about £500,000. The principal sufferers were the same persons who suffered most in the fire of 1771.

The Moravian missionaries began their labours in St. Christopher's.

The crops of sugar, this year, at Barbadoes, were remarkably bad: thirty-one estates made only 6400 pots of sugar, of 70 pounds each. In a plentiful year one estate produces a larger quantity.

August the 4th, an address from the General Assembly at Antigua was presented to his Majesty, thanking him for having appointed Sir Ralph Payne to be their governor, and supplicating that he might be returned again to his government of the Leeward Islands.

Three shocks of an earthquake were felt at Española: several store-houses were thrown down, and great damage done by the sea.

The ship Port Morant, Raffles, from Jamaica to London, was lost on the Hog-styes in the Windward Passage. The crew were saved by the boats, and landed on a rock, where they lived for ten days upon raw beef and pork saved from the wreck. They were taken up by a small vessel, and carried to New Providence.

Nine sloops and schooners belonging to Jamaica, which had for some time been employed cutting wood on the island of Cuba, were surprized and taken by a Spanish vessel fitted out for that purpose.

The Assembly of the island of Jamaica petitioned his Majesty in favour of the Americans. After professing the greatest loyalty to the mother country, they declared that the most dreadful calamities to their island, and the inevitable destruction of the small sugar colonies, must follow the present unnatural contest with the Americans. They denied that their ancestors, the settlers or conquerors of the colonies, could receive any rights or privileges from their fellow-subjects in England, at the time of their emigration — the peers could not communicate their privileges, and the people had no rights but those of which the former were equally possessed; but the crown, whose prerogatives were totally independant of both for the great purposes of colonization, communicated to all the colonies, though in different degrees, a liberal share of its own royal powers of government. These

Annual Register, 1775, pp. 169. 190. 102. 104. 124. 126. 143.
Dr. Coke's History of the West Indies, vol. i. p. 209. Barlow, vol. ii. p. 136.

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powers, as well as their original rights and privileges, had been confirmed to them by every means which could be devised for affording security to mankind — charters, proclamations, prescription, compact, protection, and obedience. From these and other premises the petitioners declared that the colonists are not subjects to the people of England, and insist that they have their own rights of legislation: they deplore, and behold with amazement, a plan almost carried into execution, for reducing the colonies into the most abject state of slavery; and they demand and claim from the sovereign, as the guarantee of their just rights, that no laws shall be forced upon them injurious to their rights, as colonists or Englishmen; and that, as the common parent of his people, his Majesty would become a mediator between his European and American subjects.

The West India planters and merchants of London petitioned the House of Commons.

They stated, that the British property in the West India Islands amounted to upwards of £30,000,000 sterling; that a further property of many millions was employed in the commerce created by the said islands; and that the whole produce ultimately centred in Great Britain. They shewed that the sugar plantations were necessarily dependant upon external support, and that the profits arising from the islands in a great measure depended on a free intercourse with North America, from whence they were furnished with the necessaries for the maintenance of their plantations.

What sort of "free intercourse" these gentlemen meant, may be known by the bill brought into the House of Commons, on their petition, in 1731; which see.

The average produce of Surinam was estimated at from twenty to twenty-two millions (florins), the growth of 430 large plantations, transported to the mother country in seventy great vessels.

Berbice, which had not recovered the effects of the fatal insurrection in 1760, had only 104 plantations, and sent home, in four or five vessels, from ten to twelve hundred thousand florins' worth of produce.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed twenty-one ships, and consisted of 4937¼hhds. of sugar, 2317 tierces and 19,090 bags of coffee, and 189 bales of cotton.

The quantity of British colonial sugar imported, exported, and consumed, upon an average of five years ending 1775, was as follows: — import, 152,944 — export, 6910 — consumption, 146,034hhds. of 12 cwt. each.

Annual Register, 1775, p. 62. Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 360. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix. Quarterly Review, vol. ii. p. 10, quoting Parliamentary Reports.

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From the testimony of M. Malouet it appears that all outward respect for religion had ceased among the white inhabitants of St. Domingo, and that the churches were suffered to fall to ruin, before this year. Whether it was the fault of the clergy, or of the profane manners of the planters, the fact is certain, and of no small importance, that prior to the revolution in that island, the religious instruction of the Blacks had been grossly neglected. The court of Versailles proposed to remedy the evil by establishing bishops in the islands; but the plan was frustrated by the colonists, who urged the danger of insurrection among the slaves, as they would look with superstitious reverence towards the bishop, and their attachment to him would become so exceedingly great, that if he should make a bad or imprudent use of his influence, insurrection and rebellion might be the consequence.

Thus an orthodox bishop was considered as dangerous among slaves, as a Methodist missionary was afterwards in the English islands.

1776.

On the 30th of May, 1776, the French general and intendant issued an ordinance concerning the police of slaves at processions: —

"Slaves of either sex not allowed to assist at processions, or to follow, unless clothed agreeably to their situation, under penalty of flogging and pillory, and fifty livres against the masters, should they have authorized them."

In Española, a new boundary-line was drawn between the French and Spanish territories. The French were confined to the western district. The line begins on the north, with the river Du Massacre: "it then turns due south; from thence S.W., intersecting the great roads from Fort Dauphin and Cape François, when it passes the great chain of hills which runs through the whole island, at about thirty miles distant from the coast. From hence it proceeds in a direction nearly S.W. till it approaches near the town of Gouaves, which is deeply embayed on the western shore. From its vicinity to this town, it winds closely round the hills of Atalaye, enters into a rich savannah, following a course nearly S.E., then verges somewhat more towards the south, crossing the great river Artibonite, by which the savannah is watered; recrosses the great road leading from Port au Prince to Fort Dauphin, nearly on the spot where it is intersected by the river Du Fer, which the line also crosses; and

Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 260.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 54. Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 366.

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after winding round a single hill, enters into a little lake of Cul du Sac, from which it moves in a straight line about S.S.E. till it intercepts the river à Pitres, into which it enters, and with which it loses itself in the ocean in the south, and nearly opposite the mouth of the river Massacre, with which it commenced. In this irregular course it forms an ellipsis of nearly 170 miles. Its authority was acknowledged by both parties," and was admitted as a standard to decide all disputes.

Of 400 houses of proprietors in the colony of Surinam, only twenty were free from debt. The debts of the others were estimated at eighty millions of florins.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed fifteen ships, and consisted of 3965½hhds. of sugar, 1081 tierces and 10,134 bags of coffee, and 1012 bales of cotton.

The exports from Tobago were estimated at about £20,000 sterling; and M. Neckar reckoned those from St. Lucia equal to those from Tobago.

Grenada produced 16,000hhds. of sugar this year.

Lord Macartney was appointed governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago — and a white man was hanged there for the murder of a slave. The circumstance of slavery was urged in arrest of judgment, but overruled. The particulars of this most extraordinary fact are not given.

The population of Martinico consisted of 11,619 Whites, 2892 free Negroes, and 71,268 slaves.

Of St. Lucia, 2397 Whites, 1050 free Negroes, and 10,752 slaves.

Tobago, about the same as St. Lucia.

In consequence of the American war, several of the articles used for the support of the Negroes in the West Indies, rose to four times their customary price. Great distress was felt in the islands; and an insurrection of the Negroes in Jamaica, though discovered in time, and easily crushed by Sir Basil Keith, the governor, increased the general calamity. The homeward-bound fleet, of about 120 sail, was detained a month in consequence of the discovery of the plot, and the rate of insurance upon homeward-bound vessels rose to £23 per cent. Thirty of the ringleaders were executed, and the embargo was taken off on the 7th of August.

Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 356. quoting M. Malouet, Mémoir sur les Colonies, tom. iii. pp. 87. 528.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p. 20. Parliamentary Papers, 1789, 1790. Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, from M. Neckar's Book on the Administration of the Finances.
Annual Register, 1776, p. 167. — 1777, pp. 26. 28.

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The inhabitants of Barbadoes addressed his Majesty, stating, "we have, sir, near 80,000 black and 12,000 white people daily to support. Our ground provisions (the internal resource) have failed for want of seasonable rains; the stock of provisions on hand will not last many weeks; and we are without the hope of future foreign resources."

The exports from Grenada and its dependencies were estimated at £600,000 sterling; the number of Negroes at 18,293.

The island of New Providence was captured by an American squadron from Philadelphia, commanded by Commodore Hopkins, who carried off the governor prisoner, but did not leave any garrison upon the island. He also carried off a considerable quantity of artillery and stores; but the powder, which was what the Americans most wanted, had, through the prudence of the governor, been sent away the night before, in a small vessel.

October the 31st, William Mathew Burt, Esquire, was appointed governor-in-chief of the Leeward and Caribee Islands, in the room of Sir Ralph Payne, K.B.

1777.

Sir Joseph Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, delivered a memorial to the States-General, in which he declared, "That the King his master had hitherto borne, with unexampled patience, the irregular conduct of the subjects of their High Mightinesses, in their interested commerce at St. Eustatia, as also in America. If," said the ambassador, "the measures which your High Mightinesses have thought proper to take had been as efficacious as your assurances have been amicable, the undersigned would not now have been under the necessity of bringing to the cognizance of your High Mightinesses facts of the most serious nature." He then stated, that M. Van Graaf, governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted the seizure of an English vessel by an American privateer, within cannon-shot of the island; and that he had returned, from the fortress of his government, the salute of a rebel flag. Therefore, in his Majesty's name, and by his express order, he demanded from their High Mightinesses a formal disavowal of the salute by Fort Orange, at St. Eustatia, to the rebel ship, and the immediate recal of the governor, M. Van Graaf; declaring, that until such satisfaction was given, they were not to expect that his

Edwards, vol. i. p. 382. Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 373.
Annual Register, 1776, pp. 158. 167. 220. Barlow, vol. ii. p. 336.

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Majesty would suffer himself to be amused by mere assurances, or that he would delay one instant taking such measures as he should think due to the interest and dignity of his crown.

The States answered by a counter-memorial, complaining of the menacing tone of the English court, and stating, "That, from the sole motive of demonstrating their regard to his Majesty, they have actually dispatched orders to M. Van Graaf to render himself within the republic without delay, in order to give the necessary information respecting his conduct; nor do they scruple to disavow, in the most express manner, any act or mark of honour which may have been given by their officers to any vessels belonging to the colonies of America, so far as it may imply a recognition of American independence." The English ministry said they were satisfied with this.

The white population in Grenada amounted this year to 1300.

In June, a bill passed the English parliament, for allowing the exportation of tobacco-pipe clay to the West India islands.

A survey was made of the French West India settlements by M. Petit, by order of the King. He reported their number of slaves at 386,500—reckoning 240,000 at St. Domingo, 75,000 at Martinico, 64,000 at Guadaloupe, 4000 at St. Lucia, and 3500 at Cayenne. An annual supply of 20,000 Blacks he considered necessary to supply the annual deficiency.

September the 1st, John Dalling, Esq. was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of Jamaica, in room of Sir Basil Keith, deceased.

The Danish government obliged all vessels from their colonies to land their goods at Copenhagen. This restriction led to a complete restoration of the former system, and a West India Company was again established.

The population of Surinam and Berbice was estimated at 70,000 slaves, and about 4000 Whites.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed seventeen ships, and consisted of 3142½ hhds. of sugar, 1866 tierces and 20,309 bags of coffee, and 1166 bales of cotton.

By the 18th Geo. III. cap. 12. it is declared and enacted, "That the King and parliament of Great Britain will not lay any tax, duty, or assessment whatever, payable in any colony, except duties necessary for the regulation of commerce, the net proceeds of which shall be paid to the use of the colony in which

Barlow, vol. ii. p. 337. Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 357.
Annual Register, 1777, pp. 185. 201. 225.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 493.; book ii. sect. 3. p. 179.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Jordan's Examination of the Slave Registry Bill, p. 55.

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they shall be levied, to be at the disposal of the General Assembly thereof."

The return of the population of the Grenadas, for this year, was 1324 Whites, 210 free Negroes, and 35,118 slaves.

1778.

In January, George Suckling, Esq. arrived at Tortola, as chief justice of the Virgin Islands. "He found the inhabitants in a state of lawless ferment" — "Life, liberty, and property," says Mr. Suckling, "were hourly exposed to the insults and depredations of the riotous and lawless. The authority of his Majesty's council, as conservators of the peace, was defied and ridiculed, for want of a proper prison in which to confine offenders. A little walled cellar had been appropriated to this office; but it was attended with nearly as much difficulty to deliver delinquents from confinement as to commit them for offences. In this cellar two unhappy men had been confined for some years prior to this period, without bail, without trial, without condemnation, and without any hope of deliverance. In addition to this, the morals of the community had been shamefully neglected. Religion was a stranger to the island. No ministers resided on the spot: and not one church had been erected for the public exercise of religious worship. Confusion prevailed over every part of the civil department. There was no court-house for the transaction of public business. Fraud was practised with impunity. The indolent and base preyed upon the vitals of the industrious and virtuous. Private credit sunk with the invasion of private property. There was no law to compel the payment of debts. In the midst of these evils, a general scarcity of every necessary article of life aggravated the various ills." Mr. Suckling says, "The island presented a shocking scene of anarchy; miserable indeed, and disgraceful to government, not to be equalled in any other of his Majesty's dominions, or perhaps in any civilized country in the world." What tended to aggravate these misfortunes was, that they were brought upon the inhabitants (about two-thirds of whom were perfectly loyal, and disposed to peace) by a party association, who for their own private ends, aided at establishing a distinct government in the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Baxter, a methodist preacher, arrived at Antigua on the 2d of April, to work in the dock-yard as a shipwright. On the

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 428.; vol. iii. p. 104.

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following Sunday he preached to about 500 persons, several of whom had been followers of Mr. Gilbert, and desired Mr. Baxter to inform Mr. Wesley, that he had many children in Antigua, whom he had never seen. Mr. Baxter, after working in the dock-yard all day, used to visit the different plantations in the evenings, where the slaves were associated, on purpose to meet him at the time appointed, after their labours for the day were over.

The Guipuscoa Company had for a long time found it more lucrative to engage with the Dutch of Curaçao in the contraband trade, than wage perpetual war against it. The Spanish minister could not obtain details sufficiently precise and authentic to justify striking directly on the Company; for it was not less supported in Spain than in America: but a new regulation, called Free Commerce, dated the 12th of October, 1778, developed a system entirely new. It stipulated, that the vessels employed in the American trade should be Spanish-built, belong to Spaniards, and be navigated by a crew two-thirds of whom were to be Spaniards. The builder of one for this trade, of 300 tons and upwards, obtained as a premium, the reduction of a third of the duties on the Spanish merchandize embarked in it.

Upon the 13th of March, the French ambassador, M. de Noailles, sent to the English minister a declaration, that his sovereign had acknowledged the independence of the United States; and upon the 18th of April, Count d'Estaing sailed from Toulon with a fleet to their assistance. In June, Admiral Keppel captured two French frigates in the bay of Biscay; and then the French court issued an order for making reprisals, and Great Britain did the same.

His Majesty's ships Minerva and Active, being on separate cruizes, and not having any information of the French war, were taken by surprise by frigates of that nation, and carried into Cape François. This misfortune had such an effect upon the captains of these ships, that they died soon afterwards.

Thomas Shirley, Esq. the governor of Dominica, apprehending a war between France and England, expected that Dominica would be attacked: he therefore employed a number of men for the defence of Fort Cashacrow, the chief place of defence on the island. It is on a rock, surrounded on three sides by the sea, about 300 feet high, and joined to the main by a narrow neck of land.

On the 7th of September, between three and four in the morning, the French stormed this fort. About 4500 men sailed

Depon's South America, vol. ii. p. 19. Barlow, vol. iii. p. 42.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 405.
Atwood's History of Dominica, pp. 107. 113. 140.

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from Martinico the preceding evening, in three frigates, one forty-gun ship, and thirty small craft, but were detained in the channel by a calm until that hour.

Some of the French inhabitants, the preceding evening, had insinuated themselves into the fort, made the few soldiers on duty drunk, and filled the touch-holes of the guns with sand: so that the fort was taken without loss. Two of the English soldiers were driven over the ramparts, and dashed to pieces on the rocks. The first intimation the inhabitants of the island had of the attack, was the French letting off rockets from the fort as signals to their friends.

At this time, there were only ninety-four soldiers, including officers, upon the island. The gun carriages were all rotten, and in Melville's battery they were obliged to load the guns with loose powder.

About noon, the French landed near Roseau took possession of the fort at Loubiere, and made several attempts to enter the town. They were driven out three times from the fort at Loubiere, by the fire from Melville's battery. Upwards of forty were killed: their commissary-general was killed; and the Marquis de Bouille had his dirk (couteau) torn from his side by a splinter. They evacuated the fort with precipitation, and retreated out of the line of fire. Two thousand of them, however, gained the heights above Roseau. Upon this the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of the privy council, sent a flag of truce, with offers to capitulate. The marquis returned with the flag of truce to the government-house to sign the articles. This being done, he returned to his troops, marched them into Roseau, and took possession of the island for his sovereign, the soldiers wearing boughs and flowers in their hats by way of laurels.

The English troops and inhabitants, with two field-pieces in their front, and lighted matches, their muskets grounded, were drawn up in two lines, while the French passed. The regulars were sent off the island next day. The militia were allowed to retire to their homes, with their arms.

The capitulation contained twenty-seven articles, signed by the Marquis de Bouille and Governor Stuart, countersigned by General Double and the Lieutenant-Governor Hawkes, and dated September the 7th. The terms granted were exceedingly favourable, as far as the capitulation went. The change of sovereignty was the only change to be made in the condition of the inhabitants; but widely different was their state when governed by a Frenchman. It is probable that the Marquis de Bouille had two reasons for granting such terms — policy, that

Atwood's History of Dominica, pp. 109. 117. 119. 122, 123. 137.

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the other islands might make less resistance, and apprehension of Admiral Barrington, who was with a superior force at Barbadoes.

The French found 164 pieces of cannon and twenty-four brass mortars, with a great quantity of military stores and ammunition.

Thus was Dominica lost to the English, before it was known in the English islands that hostilities were commenced between the two nations!

A contribution of £4400, current money, was levied upon the inhabitants, and distributed among the French troops, a few days after the surrender of the island.

Three Frenchmen who had resided upon the island, one of whom held an appointment under the English government, accompanied the marquis on this expedition, and served as guides to the troops.

The Marquis de Bouille returned to Martinico, as soon as he had settled the new form of government, leaving the Marquis Duchilleau commander-in-chief of the island, with a garrison of 1500 men. This nobleman issued a proclamation, forbidding more than two English inhabitants to assemble in a place. He ordered that no lights were to be seen in their houses after nine o'clock — that no English person should be out after that hour in the streets, without a candle, or a lighted pipe in his mouth — and that no servant of theirs was to go out at night, without a ticket from his master, under a penalty, to white people, of being shot or imprisoned, or sent off the island. The servants were to be whipped in the public market, and a fine imposed on their masters.

Robert Thou was shot by a centinel, for attempting to go on board his vessel after nine o'clock: he died a few days afterwards, and his murderer was promoted for the deed. All letters to the English were opened and examined by the governor.

Many circumstances concurred in rendering the loss of this island grievous. Large sums had been expended upon its fortifications. Rear-Admiral Barrington, with two sail of the line, and some frigates, was at Barbadoes waiting for instructions. A French document, published at Martinico in the middle of August, amounting in effect to a declaration of war, gave him the first information of hostilities; and the capture of two of Sir P. Parker's frigates, off Española, was also the first information of the war to that admiral and the government of Jamaica.

Upon the 10th of December, Commodore Hotham, with five

Annual Register, 1779, pp. 38. 48.
Atwood's History of Dominica, pp. 114. 140. 142. 147, 148.

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sail of the line, some frigates, and a bomb vessel, with 5000 troops, under the command of Major-General Grant, joined Admiral Barrington at Barbadoes. Without allowing the troops to land, the expedition sailed to attack St. Lucia; and on the evening of the 13th, after Captain Ferguson, in the Venus, had silenced a battery of four twelve-pounders, the reserve of the army, under Brigadier-General Meadows, were landed at the Grand Cul de Sac, in that island. That officer immediately pushed forward to the heights on the north side of the bay, which were occupied by the Chevalier de Micoud, with the regular forces and militia of the island. These posts, although very difficult of access, he soon forced, and took possession of a four-gun battery, and a field-piece which had greatly annoyed the shipping.

Brigadier-General Prescot landed with five regiments, guarded the bay, and at the same time pushed on his advanced posts, to preserve a communication during the night with the reserve. At daylight, the reserve, supported by General Prescot, took possession of Morne Fortune. The French made an able defence, but were compelled to retire from one post to another. As the reserve advanced, General Prescot took possession of the posts and batteries in their rear.

General Meadows pushed forward and took possession of the important post of the Viergie, which commanded the north of the Carenage; and Brigadier-General Sir Henry Calder kept up the communication with the fleet, and sent detachments to occupy several posts upon the mountains, which commanded the south side of the Grand Cul de Sac — a measure which soon contributed to the preservation of the fleet and army from a danger then unexpected. No enemy was apprehended, yet every measure of security was taken which the presence of a superior foe could have induced. The event proved the wisdom of the conduct.

The last French flag in sight among the neighbouring hills was not struck, when M. d'Estaing, with a large force, hove in sight. Besides his original squadron of twelve heavy line-of-battle ships, he was accompanied by a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers, and transports, with 9000 troops on board. As the day was far advanced, D'Estaing deferred his operations until the ensuing morning.

Admiral Barrington, with two seventy-fours, two sixty-fours, two fifty-gun ships, and three frigates, was in the Grand Cul de Sac: these, during the night, were formed in line across the entrance of the bay, and all the transports were warped as far into the bottom of the bay as possible.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. pp. 44. 389.

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Admiral Barrington, in the Prince of Wales, took the post of honour and danger, on the outward and leeward extremity of the line. The Isis, supported by the frigates, who flanked the passage between her and the shore, was stationed in the opposite and interior angle to windward.

It appears that Count d'Estaing did not expect that the British had extended their operations so far as to have taken possession of the Viergie, and the posts adjoining the Carenage; for in the morning he stood in with his fleet for that bay, until his own ship, the Languedoc, received such a salute from one of the batteries, as convinced him of his mistake. The whole fleet immediately bore up, and seemed for some time at a loss how to act. After much evident hesitation, the count, with ten sail of the line, bore down upon the British squadron. They were gallantly received by the ships and batteries, and obliged to haul off. At four o'clock, Count d'Estaing, with twelve sail of the line, renewed the attack: he now directed his efforts upon the centre and leeward part of the British line. This attack continued longer than the first; but the French were again obliged to retreat, in evident confusion and disorder.

On the following day, December the 16th, Count d'Estaing, after several motions indicating his intention to renew the attack, abandoned the design, stood off to windward, and anchored in the evening off Gross Islet, two leagues to the northward.

That night and the following morning were spent by the French commander in landing his troops in Choc Bay, which lies between Gross Islet and the Carenage. The country is a confused congeries of abrupt hills, scattered among greater mountains, every where intersected by deep defiles.

General Grant, with the bulk of the forces, consisting of Prescot's and Calder's brigades, occupied all the strong holds among the hills, on either side of the Grand Cul de Sac, and commanded the ground from thence to the Carenage, a distance of about two miles. A battery on their side, and at the south point of the Carenage, with another on the opposite point of the Viergie, defended the entrance into that bay. The brigades were also possessed of two more batteries near the bottom of the bay, where it narrows into, or is joined by a creek, which, passing Morne Fortune, cuts the country for some way farther up. These batteries were covered in front by the creek, and commanded, in a considerable degree, the land approaching the Viergie.

Thus General Meadows, who, with the reserve, was stationed in that peninsula, was, by his situation, and the superiority in numbers of the enemy, totally cut off from the support of the main body, except what might be derived from the batteries already

Annual Register, 1779, p. 46.

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mentioned: but he was in possession of very strong ground; and his men, though only 1300 in number, were veteran troops, who had distinguished themselves in America.

The French commanders determined to attack the peninsula by sea and land at the same time. On the 18th, about 5000 of their best troops advanced in three columns to attack the British lines, which were drawn across the isthmus.[1] The right was led

Annual Register, 1779, p. 46.

[1] ADMIRAL BARRINGTON'S LETTER.

"*Prince of Wales, in the Grand Cul de Sac, in the Island of St. Lucia, December 23.*

"SIR, — In my letter of the 24th of last month from Barbadoes, I informed you of the Venus's arrival there, with an account of Commodore Hotham's being on his way to join me; and you will now please to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the commodore arrived there on the 10th instant, with his Majesty's ships the Nonsuch, St. Alban's, Preston, Centurion, Isis, and Carcass, and fifty-nine transports, having on board 5000 troops, under the command of Major-General Grant.

"To save time, and prevent the confusion naturally arising from a change of signals among the transports, I adopted those of the commodore, and directing him to lead with the landing division, put to sea the 12th in the morning, in order to put in execution their lordships' secret instructions, and about three o'clock on the following day anchored here with the whole squadron, except the Ariadne, Ceres, Snake, Barbadoes, and Pelican, which I had stationed along the coast to intercept any vessels attempting to escape from the island.

"More than half the troops were landed the same morning under the direction of the commodore, assisted by the Captains Griffith, Braithwaite, and Onslow, and the remainder next morning (the 14th), when they immediately got possession of the Carenage; and it was my intention to have removed the transports thither as soon as possible, had not that measure been prevented by the appearance of the French fleet under Count d'Estaing, of whom I received notice in the evening, by signal from the Ariadne.

"It therefore became necessary to secure the transports as well as we could in the bay, and the whole night was accordingly employed in warping them within the ships of war, and disposing the latter in a line across the entrance; the Isis to windward, rather inclining into the bay, and the Prince of Wales, being the most powerful ship, the outermost to the leeward, with the Venus, Aurora, and Ariadne flanking the space between the Isis and the shore, to prevent the enemy's forcing a passage that way.

"Almost all the transports had fortunately got within the line before half past eleven in the morning of the 15th, when the count thought proper to bear down and attack us with ten sail of the line, happily without doing us any material injury; and at four in the afternoon he made a second attack upon us with twelve sail of the line, with no other success, however, than killing two men and wounding seven on board the Prince of Wales, and wounding one also on board the Ariadne, who is since dead; but I have reason to believe the enemy received considerable damage, as their manœuvres betrayed great confusion, and one of their ships in particular, which fell to leeward, seemed disabled from carrying the necessary sail to get to windward again.

"The next day (the 16th), the count shewed a disposition to attack us a third time; but on the appearance of a frigate standing for his fleet with several signals flying, he plied to windward, and in the evening anchored off Gross Islet, about two leagues from us, where he still continues, with ten frigates, besides his twelve sail of the line. Notwithstanding this superiority of force, he has been accompanied from his first appearance by several American privateers, one of them commanded by the outlaw Cunningham, who last winter infested the coast of Portugal.

"That night and the following day, the enemy landed a large body of troops from a number of sloops and schooners, which had anchored in Du Choc Bay, and on the 18th made a spirited attack both

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by the Count d'Estaing, the centre by M. de Lovendahl, and the left column by the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico. The remainder of the troops were kept to watch General Prescot's brigade, and to check any attempt they might make to succour General Meadows.

On the approach of the columns, they were enfiladed, with great effect, by the batteries on the south of the bay. Notwithstanding this, they charged with great impetuosity, and were suffered to advance close to the entrenchments without opposition. The British front line fired but once, and then received the enemy on the bayonet. The French, with great resolution, suffered extremely before they were entirely repulsed. As soon

Annual Register, 1779, p. 46.

by sea and land on our post at the Carenage, but met with a very severe check, having been repulsed with great courage by a small detachment of our troops under Brigadier-General Meadows.

"They have attempted nothing of consequence since, and what may be their future plan of operations I cannot conjecture; but their continuance at anchor has offered us an opportunity not only of getting in all the cruizers, except the Ceres, and all the transports except one (with only the baggage of the officers of three companies on board), which had fallen into the enemy's hands, but also of strengthening ourselves by warping the ships of war farther into the bay, and making the line more compact, removing the Venus astern of the Prince of Wales to flank that passage, and erecting batteries at each point of the bay, that to the northward under the direction of the Captains Cumming and Robertson, and that to the southward under Captain Ferguson.

"This being the situation of the squadron, and the army being in the possession of all the strong holds in the neighbourhood of the bay, such a spirit of cheerfulness, unanimity, and resolution actuates the whole of our little force, both by land and sea (notwithstanding the amazing fatigue they have undergone), that we are under no apprehensions from any attempts the enemy may meditate; and from the accounts which have been transmitted to me from Captain Linzee of the Pearl, who arrived at Barbadoes the 13th instant, that Vice Admiral Byron was to sail from Rhode Island for Barbadoes the 19th of last month, with sixteen sail of the line and several frigates, there is every reason to hope he will soon be here, in which case affairs in this country must take a very decisive turn in favour of his Majesty's arms.

"Should any unforeseen accident, however, prevent the vice-admiral's arrival, their lordships will, nevertheless, be pleased to assure his Majesty, that every thing that can possibly be done by so small a body of troops and so few ships, against a force so very superior, will be effected.

"I cannot conclude my letter without acquainting you, that in all probability our operations here have hitherto saved the island of St. Vincent and Grenada, which we understand from some officers, who are prisoners, were the objects of Count d'Estaing's expedition, when a sloop that had escaped from this island falling in with him, and giving him notice of our being here, directed his attention towards us.—I am, &c.

"SAMUEL BARRINGTON.

"P.S. I have the satisfaction to add, that this morning the squadron got possession of an American privateer of eighteen guns called the Bunker Hill, which at daybreak was discovered within reach of our guns; and having struck upon finding she could not escape, the boats towed her within the line before any of the French fleet could get to her assistance. She sailed from Salem the 2d instant, and was intended to cruise fifteen leagues to windward of Barbadoes, but had missed that island and fallen to leeward.

"SAMUEL BARRINGTON."

Naval Chronicle, vol. iv. p. 181.

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as they could be formed again, the attack was renewed; they were again repulsed; and again, the third time, they returned to the charge. But the affair was now soon decided: they were totally broken, and retired in the utmost disorder, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. Four hundred were killed upon the spot, and 1100 wounded — a number considerably superior to the enemy they had attacked!

The loss of the victors was unusually small — 10 killed and 130 wounded. General Meadows was wounded, but would not be persuaded by the surgeons to quit the field. Major Harris, who commanded the grenadiers, and Major Sir James Murray, at the head of the light infantry, particularly distinguished themselves.

M. d'Estaing having rendered himself accountable for the wounded as prisoners of war, he was allowed to have them, and to bury the dead. He remained for ten days afterwards upon the island, without making any further attempt by sea or land. On the 28th, at night, he embarked his troops, and on the following day abandoned the island. Before he was out of sight, the Chevalier de Micoud, and the principal inhabitants, offered to capitulate, and very favourable conditions were granted to them.[1]

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 399.

[1] *Translation of the Articles of Capitulation between Major-General Grant and the Honourable Rear-Admiral Barrington, Commander in Chief of His Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces upon a joint Expedition, and the Chevalier de Micoud, Colonel of Foot, and Lieutenant-Governor for His most Christian Majesty of the Island of St. Lucia.*

"Art. 1. The commandant and his garrison shall march out of their posts with the honours of war, their arms and baggage, and shall be conveyed to Martinico in a vessel fitted out for that purpose.

"Answ. The commandant and his garrison shall be permitted to march out with the honours of war, and to keep their baggage, but must deliver up their arms, and shall be sent as prisoners of war to Martinico, not to serve till they are exchanged.

"2. The inhabitants who have taken arms shall march out of their posts, and shall return home thence to their habitations without suffering any molestation or impediment.

"Answ. The inhabitants shall return to their habitations, in the possession of which they will be protected, after having delivered up their arms and having taken the oath of allegiance to His Britannic Majesty.

"3. The inhabitants and curates shall be protected in their possessions, effects moveable and immoveable, privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions. The free people shall preserve their liberties.

"Answ. The inhabitants and curates will be protected as British subjects. The free Negroes shall not be molested.

"4. The commandant, as an inhabitant, shall have liberty to remain some time upon the island to settle his affairs without being molested; and at the expiration of the time agreed upon he shall be provided with a good vessel, to convey himself and his domestics, and his effects, to Martinico; and he demands liberty to continue his service, as was granted to Mr. Stuart, commandant at St. Domingo.

"Answ. The commandant, as an inhabitant of St. Lucia, may remain upon the island to settle his affairs, and shall, upon his requisition, be permitted to go with his family and baggage to Martinico upon his parole, but is to remain a prisoner of war, and not to serve till exchanged.

"5. The inhabitants of the island shall be protected in their religion, government, laws, customs, and ordinances;

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The trade from Cuba was increased to require above two hundred vessels, and more than supplied the mother country with sugar.

Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 442.

justice shall be administered by the same persons now in office: what concerns the police shall be regulated, until a peace, between the government of His Britannic Majesty and the inhabitants.

"Answ. The inhabitants shall be protected in the exercise of their religion, and be governed by the established laws of the colony; the judges will be continued during their good behaviour. The police of the island to be regulated by the commander-in-chief for the time being.

"6. The emigrants from the English islands shall be included in the capitulation, without being molested for any matters they now are or may have been concerned in in the English islands, until a peace.

"Answ. The British emigrants shall be included in the capitulation, but must remain accountable to their creditors for debts contracted in Great Britain or in the British colonies.

"7. The sick and wounded who are not able to embark immediately shall be conveyed to the hospitals of the colony, and treated as English subjects until their recovery, after which they shall be sent back to Martinico at the expence of His Britannic Majesty.

"Answ. Granted.

"8. The inhabitants shall pay no taxes to His Britannic Majesty, as they pay none to His most Christian Majesty. The salaries of the officers of justice and the curates shall be paid by the inhabitants of the island.

"Answ. The inhabitants shall pay the same taxes to His Britannic Majesty which were paid to His most Christian Majesty. The salaries of the officers of justice and the curates shall be paid by the inhabitants of the island.

"9. The absent inhabitants, and those in the service of His most Christian Majesty, shall be protected in their possessions and the enjoyment of their effects and habitations, managed by virtue of letters of attorney.

"Answ. Granted.

"10. The ships and coasting vessels belonging to the inhabitants and merchants of the island shall remain to them in nature and property.

"Answ. Granted.

"11. The absent inhabitants, widows, sick or infirm, shall have entire liberty to sign the capitulation; and those who are not willing to sign it shall have equally permission to go out of the island, and they shall be allowed a vessel at that time, with provisions, to convey them to Martinico, at the charges of His Britannic Majesty, or to Europe.

"Answ. They shall be permitted to go to Martinico.

"12. The inhabitants and merchants of the island, comprised in the present capitulation, shall enjoy the same privileges as do the subjects of His Britannic Majesty who are best treated.

"Answ. To be considered as subjects of Great Britain.

"13. The inhabitants shall observe an exact neutrality, and shall not beforced to take arms against France, and may keep them for the interior police.

"Answ. Shall not be obliged to carry arms against the troops of His most Christian Majesty.

"14. No others but the present proprietors of lands and houses shall be permitted to possess them; and the possessors by provisionary or definitive concession, or by a commencement of power to possess them, shall be protected without molestation in their possessions; and if in the peace the island shall remain to His Britannic Majesty, the inhabitants and proprietors shall have a reasonable time allowed them to sell their effects, Every inhabitant or merchant shall be at liberty to send their children to France, and make them remittances.

"Answ. Shall remain in quiet possession of their habitations. Regulations at the peace must depend upon treaties.

"15. Appeals shall be brought, as formerly, to the sovereign council at Martinico.

"Answ. To the commander-in-chief of St. Lucia.

"16. Whereas the island is laid waste by the destruction of cattle, the ravages of war, and excessive services, by taking the cattle of the colony, the inhabitants and merchants request to have granted to them a suspension of payment of debts already contracted, until a peace; and those who have been entirely plundered

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The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed 27 ships, and consisted of 6920½ hhds. of sugar, 1839 tierces and 32,634 bags of coffee, and 1754 bales of cotton.

Jamaica, vol. iii. act 64. — "No slaves, nor any persons in trust for them, to purchase any horse, mare, mule, gelding, or ass, under penalty of £20.

"5. Any slave having more than ten pounds of beef, veal, mutton, or goat, to be whipped in such manner as a magistrate shall direct; and if the quantity exceeds ten pounds, convicted, before two justices and three freeholders, to suffer such punishment as they shall think proper."

Captain Vincent, in his Majesty's ship Yarmouth, of 64 guns, on Saturday, the 7th of March, fifty leagues to windward of Barbadoes, fell in with an American squadron, consisting of two ships, three brigs, and a schooner. At nine P.M. the Yarmouth got alongside the largest and headmost vessel, which Captain Vincent hailed, and desired to hoist her colours. He was answered by a broadside, and the American flag was hoisted. In less than half

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 383.
Naval Chronicle, vol. xvii. p. 367.

shall be permitted to claim from the government such particular indulgencies as are necessary to their situation.

"Answ. As the cattle have been killed by the French troops and not by the British, they cannot expect redress from their new sovereign. Suspension from the payment of debts due to the French subjects till the peace allowed; but with regard to the inhabitants of the island, the power of giving time to people in distressed circumstances is reserved to the commander-in-chief of the island.

"17. The curates of every parish shall be protected; and when the curacies become vacant, the inhabitants of the parishes shall be provided with curates, on requiring them from the superiors of the missions of Martinico.

"Answ. The curates shall remain in their parishes during their good behaviour: when vacancies happen, curates will be named by the commander-in-chief.

"18. There shall be an account drawn up by the keeper of the magazine of artillery, of every piece of artillery, as well battering as field-pieces, and other warlike stores; and with regard to provisions, magazines, and, in general, every thing belonging to His most Christian Majesty, the commissary shall cause an account to be made out of them by the keeper of the magazine; and as an inhabitant, Monsieur Raulin de la Mothe, commissary of the marine and of the classes, desires to have time allowed him in like manner as the Chevalier Micoud, to settle his affairs.

"Answ. All stores of ammunition and provisions, and every thing which is considered as the property of His most Christian Majesty, together with all deserters and prisoners belonging to the British army, are to be delivered up, upon honour, to the British commissaries. The request of M. Raulin de la Mothe is granted.

"Concluded and agreed upon by me, colonel of foot and lieutenant-governor for the King of the island of St. Lucia, this 30th day of December, 1778; who have put the seal of my arms to these presents, which are countersigned by my secretary, Le Chevalier de Micoud.

"By the lieutenant-governor,
"A. Regnault.

"Granted and agreed to at St. Lucia, this 30th day of December, 1778.
"James Grant.
"Samuel Barrington."

Fifty-nine guns were found in the different batteries.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 116.

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an hour afterwards, the American vessel blew up; large fragments of the wreck fell on board the Yarmouth, and an uninjured American ensign. The rest of the squadron stood different ways, and easily escaped. The Yarmouth had five killed and twelve wounded.

On the Thursday following, five men were seen standing, as it were, upon the water, making signals for assistance. The Yarmouth made sail for them, and with a boat took them off their raft: they were the only survivors of the crew of the Randolph, of 36 guns and 315 men, the ship which had engaged the Yarmouth on the preceding Saturday. They had been five nights on the raft — young and hardy men. When they came on the quarter-deck, they said they were thirsty and sleepy, but not hungry. Some tea and a hammock was given to each. When they awoke their feet were swoln, which seemed to be the only injury they had received. They had been quartered in the captain's cabin, and thrown into the sea unhurt, but could not tell by what accident the ship blew up. They were good swimmers, and had made the raft on which they were found, by fastening some spars together with their rigging. A blanket was of great service to them — sucking out the rain water which fell upon it was their only sustenance. The other ship was the General Moultrie, and three armed brigs. They sailed from Charleston about a month before.

Saving these men gave the Yarmouth £1575 head money — as from their depositions the force of the vessel she had destroyed was ascertained.

The object of the American squadron was the capture of Tobago, in which, if they had succeeded, they could not have hoped to keep it.

The French general and intendant, on the 31st August, 1778, issued an ordinance concerning the administration of the church establishment in the parishes.

"Art. 5. Each curé ordered to keep two registers, in which to be inserted the baptisms and marriages of slaves.

"The registers to contain at least six cahiers (say six quires) large paper, for the purpose of serving several years, and to be less exposed to the risk of being lost. Curés not allowed to baptize children of colour, without having previously examined the acts of liberty of their fathers and mothers, as is prescribed by the edict of 1736, which orders, that the children of slaves baptized as free, shall be confiscated to the crown and sold, and the masters condemned to the payment of a fine.

"14. Curés ordered in the month of January of each year, to

Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 55.

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deposit, in the greffe of the tribunal of their parishes, duplicates of the registers of baptisms and marriages of slaves.

1779.

Soon after Count d'Estaing had been repulsed from St. Lucia, Admiral Byron arrived in the West Indies, with such reinforcements as made the English fleet assume the superiority over the French[1], and blockade them in Port Royal, Martinico. Admi-

Annual Register, 1779, p. 199.

[1] "*Prince of Wales, in the Grand Cul de Sac, in the Island of St. Lucia, January the 6th.*

"You will herewith receive the duplicate of a letter I wrote to you the 23d and 24th of last month (No. 23), and dispatched to Governor Hay of Barbadoes, to be forwarded from thence to England by some fast-sailing vessel, that my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty might have it in their power to refute any misrepresentation which Count d'Estaing may have transmitted to his court of the situation of his Majesty's forces in those seas.

"From the state of inactivity in which the count continued for several days after, I began to conceive it was his intention to form a blockade, with a view of starving us into a surrender; but, to my utter astonishment, on the morning of the 29th (having re-embarked his troops during the preceding night), he retired with his whole force towards Martinico, and left us in quiet possession of the island, which capitulated whilst his fleet was yet in sight, upon the terms I have the honour to inclose.

"I should be much wanting, were I, on the present occasion, to omit acknowledging the assistance I received from Major-General Grant, and the forces under his command, as well as expressing my entire satisfaction with the conduct not only of Commodore Hotham, the several commanders, and the rest of the officers of the squadron, but also of the people in general, who never in the least repined at their precarious situation, and the difficulties they hourly encountered, but still performed their duty with alacrity and spirit.

"Sensible of the additional fatigue the troops underwent, in occupying more extensive posts for the squadron than there would otherwise have been occasion for, the seamen laboured with the utmost cheerfulness in conveying provisions, &c. for them through roads that were almost impassable.

"I likewise beg leave to mention to their lordships, the very great assistance I received from Captain Baker, the agent of transports, and the services of Lieutenant-Governor Stewart, of the island of Dominica, who has done me the favour of officiating as an honorary aid-de-camp between the general and myself. He accompanied me upon this expedition, in hopes that his Majesty's arms might afterwards be employed in recovering that island, where, from his perfect knowledge of it, he must be particularly useful, and therefore offered himself as a volunteer.

"What has become of the enemy's fleet since its departure from hence I have not had it in my power to learn, but I hope Vice-Admiral Byron, who, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, arrived here this morning with nine sail of the line, will very soon be able to give their lordships that information; and that Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, and the governor of Jamaica, may be upon their guard in case of its appearance in those seas, I have sent the Ariadne to Antigua with letters, to be forwarded from thence by some fast-sailing vessel, which I have requested Governor Burt to dispatch for that purpose.

"I have great satisfaction in hearing since the capitulation, that when Count d'Estaing was directed hither by the

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ral Rowley also arrived with reinforcements from Europe, about the same time that M. de Grasse succeeded in getting safe, with a large convoy, into Martinico. Both fleets were now nearly equal, but nothing could induce M. d'Estaing to hazard a general engagement.

A very large convoy from the West India islands to Europe, being assembled at St. Christopher's, Admiral Byron (very unfortunately, as it proved) determined to convoy them part of the way with his whole fleet. The first consequence of his departure from the islands was the loss of the island of St. Vincent's.

High dissensions subsisted between Governor Morris and the inhabitants of St. Vincent's. The Assembly was dissolved by his orders, and the time allotted for the continuance of the militia act had just expired. The governor, therefore, issued a commission of array; but "the principal proprietors became so far the devotees of resentment, as to give notice to those immediately in their employ, that, should they attend to any alarm during the present posture of affairs, they should assuredly be dismissed from their service." This may not be considered treason in the West Indies, but it would be very like it every where else.

Lieutenant-Colonel Etherington, of the Royal Americans, arrived from Europe, with a number of raw recruits from England: these he kept employed in felling timber, upon an estate he had obtained from Chatoyer, a Carib chief, about eighteen miles from Kingston.

The Count d'Estaing and the Marquis de Bouille, then at Martinico, obtaining a knowledge of these circumstances,

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 191, 192.

sloop I mentioned in my letter, he was bound first of all to Barbadoes, in expectation of finding there only the Prince of Wales, the Boyne, and some frigates, of which he had received intelligence from a French flag-of-truce I had ordered away immediately on the arrival of the Venus.

"I am sorry to add, that the Ceres, which was missing when I sent away that letter, appears by the Martinico Gazette to have been taken, after a chase of forty-eight hours, by the Iphigenie, a French frigate of thirty-six guns, but I have no account from Captain Dacres, or any of his officers.

"I cannot help regretting the loss of this sloop, not only as she sailed well, but as Captain Dacres is an officer of infinite merit; I have, however, in order to replace the Ceres, as the Bunker Hill privateer has the reputation of being a fast sailer (which her log-book confirms), commissioned her as a sloop in his Majesty's service by the name of the Surprise (being expressive of the manner in which she came into our possession), and appointed Lieutenant James Brine, first lieutenant of the Prince of Wales, to be master and commander of her, with a complement of 125 men. She mounts eighteen carriage and eight swivel guns.

"For further particulars I beg leave to refer their lordships to Captain Robertson, of the Weazel, who will have the honour of delivering these dispatches, and whose conduct as an officer merits their lordships' protection, as well as every favour they can possibly shew him.

"I am, &c.

"SAMUEL BARRINGTON.

Naval Chronicle, vol. iv. p. 184.

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adopted their measures accordingly. They sent M. du Percin la Roche to the Caribs: he found them anxious to give full vent to the indignation which still justly filled their hearts. A system of combined operations was determined upon between them.

A M. Gelfrier gave information to the governor, that the Caribs harboured improper persons among them, and a party were sent to Grand Sable to ascertain the fact. The Caribs received the visitors with great coldness — said that it was a particular season among the women — men were debarred the liberty of their apartments; and therefore they could not, without violating their customs, make their guests comfortable. In the interim, the emissaries from Martinico escaped from the sacred chambers unnoticed, until at too great a distance to be overtaken.

The French thought no time was to be lost. About nine o'clock in the morning of the 16th of June, three sloops of war appeared off Calliaqua, and anchored in Young's Bay, without shewing any colours. They had 450 men on board, under the command of M. de Canonge, but not one half of them were regulars. Many of the planters in that neighbourhood chose to think them merchant vessels from Antigua, come to take in sugar, and prevented the gunner of Hyde's Point battery from firing an alarm, though he repeatedly pronounced them enemies. One of the planters went on board, and was taken prisoner: he was told by the French, "that they were well informed of the weakness of our situation, and of the dissensions which subsisted among us; that they were in no wise apprehensive of a repulse, as they knew, previously to their departure from Martinico, that the key belonging to the magazine at Wilkie's battery was lost, consequently, that they incurred no danger in running down for the harbour; and furthermore, that we had no militia, and that the principal part of the soldiery were employed by the colonel in the cultivation of his estate."

During the disembarkation of these troops, La Roche, who had preconcerted the whole affair with the Caribs, landed in their country with a few men. They immediately joined his standard, and plunder, violence, and murder marked the beginning of the war. They overrun the windward part of the island, every Englishman flying before them; 300 troops, under M. Rumaine, marched from Young's Bay for Kingston.

Governor Morris proposed to defend Zion Hill with two pieces of ordnance, until the arrival of the troops; from to leeward, entrenchments were thrown up, and preparations made for so

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194, 195. Edwards, vol. i. p. 425.
Annual Register, 1779, p. 201. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 460.

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doing; but Colonel Etherington no sooner saw the French advancing to attack him, than he ordered the position to be evacuated, retreated to the fort, sued to the enemy for conditions, and surrendered the island without firing a shot!

The capitulation was favourable to the inhabitants, and was signed by Governor Morris and the French lieutenant.[1]

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 195.

[1] *Articles of Capitulation between Le Chevalier de Trolong du Rumain, Lieutenant of His most Christian Majesty, Commander-in-Chief of the French Troops, and his Excellency Valentine Morris, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Island of St. Vincent and its dependencies, Chancellor, Ordinary, and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c. &c.*

"ARTICLE 1. Governor Morris demands, in the first place, that the officer and drummer sent by him yesterday to the commander of the French troops be restored to him; the detaining these when sent as a flag of truce, and then continuing to march on, appearing to him to have been a great infringement of the laws of war.

"ANSWER. Granted.

"2. The governor and staff officers, soldiers and artillerymen, to be carried to the island of Antigua, in good vessels, sufficiently victualled at the expence of His most Christian Majesty, and there to be at liberty to do duty. The governor engaging an equal number of equal qualities of French prisoners to be exchanged in their room, the same for one officer of engineers and an assistant engineer.

"ANSW. The troops shall be exchanged at Antigua for an equal number of French prisoners.

"4. The officers and others shall have liberty to carry their wives and families and domestic slaves to the English islands by the shortest route, and that they shall be furnished with good vessels and provisions for the passage.

"ANSW. Granted.

"5. The inhabitants of the island shall march out of their posts with the honours of war, their baggage, arms, and colours, drums beating, and lighted matches.

"ANSW. The inhabitants shall go freely to their homes.

"6. The inhabitants of the island shall continue to enjoy their civil government, their laws, usages, and ordinances. Justice shall be administered by the same persons that are now in office, and the interior police of the island shall be settled between His most Christian Majesty's governor and the inhabitants; and in case the island be ceded to the King of France at the peace, the inhabitants shall be at liberty either to preserve their political government, or to accept that which is established in Martinico and the French islands.

"ANSW. Granted.

"7. The inhabitants, both secular and clergy, shall be maintained in the possession of their real and personal estates and property, of what nature soever, as well as in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges, honours and immunities, and the free Negroes and Mulattoes in their freedom.

"ANSW. Granted.

"8. That they shall pay no other duty to His most Christian Majesty than they paid to His Britannic Majesty, without any other tax or impost; the expence of the administration of justice, the salaries of ministers, and other ordinary charges, shall be paid out of the revenues of His most Christian Majesty, in like manner as under the government of His Britannic Majesty.

"ANSW. Granted if it was granted at Dominica.

"9. That the slaves, baggage, vessels, merchandise, and every thing else taken since the landing of the French troops, and during the attack of the island, shall be restored.

"ANSW. Granted as far as it possibly can be effected.

"10. The absent inhabitants, and those in the service of His Britannic Majesty, shall be maintained in the enjoyment and possession of their estates and effects, which shall be managed by their attornies.

"ANSW. Granted.

"11. The inhabitants shall not be

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M. de la Motte, with a supply of troops and military stores, joined d'Estaing, who immediately proceeded to attack the island

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 195.

compelled to furnish quarters or any thing else for the troops, or slaves to work on the fortifications.

"Answ. This article cannot be granted.

"12. The ships, vessels, and droghers belonging to the inhabitants of this island, shall remain their property.

"Answ. Granted.

"13. The widows and other inhabitants, who from sickness or other obstacles cannot sign the capitulation, shall have a limited time to agree to it.

"Answ. Granted.

"14. The inhabitants and merchants of the island comprehended in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade on the same terms as are granted to the subjects of His most Christian Majesty throughout the extent of his dominions.

"Answ. Granted.

"15. The inhabitants shall observe a strict neutrality, and not be forced to take up arms against His Britannic Majesty, or any other power.

"Answ. Granted.

"16. The inhabitants shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion and the ministers their curacies.

"Answ. Granted.

"17. All the prisoners taken or persons detained since the landing of the French troops shall be reciprocally restored.

"Answ. Granted.

"18. Merchants of the island may receive ships to their address without being confiscated, dispose of their merchandise, and carry on trade; and the port shall be entirely free on paying the same duties as in the French islands.

"Answ. Agreed, provided they wear French colours after they arrive.

"19. The inhabitants shall keep their arms.

"Answ. Rejected.

"20. No persons but those now resident on the island, or at present proprietors of lands and houses, shall hold any house or land by purchase, or otherwise, until the peace; but at the peace, if this island be ceded to the King of France, the inhabitants who decline living under the French government, may then be at liberty to sell their estates, both real and personal, to whom they please, and to retire whenever they shall think proper, for which purpose a reasonable time shall be allowed them.

"Answ. Granted.

"21. The inhabitants of the island may send their children to be educated in England, as well as to send them back, and to make remittances for their maintenance while in England.

"Answ. Granted.

"22. The inhabitants shall be at liberty to sell their estates and effects to whom they may think fit.

"Answ. Granted.

"23. That the court of chancery shall be held by the members of the council, and the proceedings be the same as are now used in the island of Antigua, except that all writs and other process shall be granted by the president of the council; and the great seal now used in the island shall be given into and remain in his custody for the purpose of sealing all writs, process, and decrees issuing out and made by the said court.

"Answ. Granted if it was granted to Dominica.

"24. That the wives of such officers and others as are not in the island may retire with their effects, and the number of domestics, according to their rank.

"Answ. Granted.

"25. There shall be delivered to the general of the French troops all the artillery and stores in the colony of St. Vincent's belonging to the King of England. All the batteries on the coast, and the respective posts, as well in the Carib country or elsewhere in the island, shall be surrendered in the same state they were in when the island was attacked, such injury as these may have received in any attack excepted. All the arms belonging to the King of England's troops shall be delivered in like condition, excepting those of the officers of the troops and militia. No powder shall be secreted or carried out of the magazines, which shall be delivered by the governor.

"Answ. Granted.

"26. None of the Indians or Caribs shall on any account be permitted to garrison or be quartered in any of the

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of Grenada. He arrived off that island, on the 2d of July, with 25 sail of the line, 10 frigates, and near 10,000 troops, off the

Edwards, vol. i. p. 376.

forts, posts, towns, or houses in the island, and the inhabitants demand and expect the protection of His most Christian Majesty's commander to preserve their persons and properties inviolate, so long as they faithfully observe the present articles of capitulation.

"Answ. Granted with the exception in the reference.

"27. All Negroes now absent or runaway, shall, when taken and brought in, be delivered to their proprietors; and if any such are harboured by the Indians, Caribs, or free Negroes, they shall, upon demand, be restored.

"Answ. Granted.

"28. Whatever depredations the Caribs have committed during or since the attack of the island, they to be compelled to instantly desist therefrom, and be made to release and give up all slaves and effects which they have taken, and to be fully restrained from hereafter committing the least disorders on the persons and effects of the inhabitants.

"Answ. As much justice as possible shall be rendered.

"29. All the Caribs now under arms, and who have joined the French troops, to be immediately disarmed, dismissed, and ordered to their respective homes; and all others now in arms to be disarmed, and also compelled to retire to their respective homes, and to remain in their own districts.

"Answ. Granted, with the exception in the reference.

"30. A safeguard to be granted for all the papers at the government-house, and these not to be liable to any inspection; and Governor Morris to be at liberty either to keep those there or to remove them.

"Answ. Granted.

"31. The like to be granted for all papers and records in the respective offices of the customs, the marshal, secretary, and register, receiver-general, treasurer, and commissary, and of all other public records and papers, to be left in the custody of their respective officers, and not to be inspected.

"Answ. Granted.

"32. Permission to send either to England, or to some of his Majesty's admirals or governors, advice, to be forwarded to His Britannic Majesty of the present event.

"Answ. Whenever the governor thinks proper.

"33. Governor Morris to remain in the island some time in order to settle his own private affairs, as also any of the King's officers, if required.

"Answ. Granted."

Articles demanded by the French General.

"Article 34. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to pay any debts due to English persons not residing in this island, and who are not capitulants thereof, until the end of the war.

"35. All vessels taken after the capitulation will be restored.

"Answ. Granted, with the exception in the reference.

"36. The colony shall be obliged to advance a sum of money to pay the French troops, which shall be discounted from the revenue.

"We, the commander-in-chief of the French troops, legally authorised in the King's name by the Count d'Estaing and Valentine Morris, Esquire, governor-in-chief of the island of St. Vincent, have agreed to and signed three copies of the above thirty-six articles.

"Le Chev. de Trolong du Rumain.
"Par ordre, Dallan, Secretaire.
"Valentine Morris.
"By command, R. Westfield, Sec.
"Government-House, St. Vincent's,
"June 18th, 1779."

References.

"1. As to the 29th article, although Mr. Canonge had allowed it, if it has been agreed that the Caribs shall be sent to their homes, and there be restrained from doing injury to the inhabitants and red Caribs, without disarming them.

"2. Relative to the 26th article, after the words 'in any of the forts,' there shall be understood, 'except in case of an attack.'

"3. The ships from Europe made an exception to the 35th article.

"Le Chev. de Trolong du Rumain.
"Par ordre, Dallan, Secretaire.
"Valentine Morris.
"R. Westfield, Secretary.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 155.

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town of St. George. The English force upon that island consisted of 90 men of the 48th regiment, 150 seamen from the merchant ships, and 300 militia of the island.

The next morning the Count d'Estaing invested, with 3000 men, the intrenchment upon Hospital Hill: they advanced in three columns, and carried the lines after losing 300 men. Lord Macartney, the governor, with the remains of his garrison, retired into the old fort at the mouth of the harbour, which was commanded by the guns on the Hospital Hill battery. All offers of capitulation were rejected, and such terms proposed that Lord Macartney preferred to surrender at discretion.

This resolution enraged the French commander; for it disappointed him of a legal reason for obtaining a large sum of money, which he had demanded as a ransom for the town of St. George. He therefore chose to consider the place as taken by storm, and let loose the ruffians under his command to pillage the town for two hours. These exercised great cruelties on the inhabitants, who had thrown themselves upon their mercy. An immense booty was taken from the town; and his Majesty's sloop York, and thirty merchant ships, valued at £400,000, were taken in the harbour and roadstead. Upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The French appointed the Count de Durat governor of the island; who issued an ordinance, forbidding, upon pain of military execution and confiscation of property, the payment of all debts due by the inhabitants to British subjects. He also ordered, that all the estates belonging to English absentees should be put into the hands of "conservators," to be named by himself, and the produce to be paid into the public treasury. These appointments were, however, abolished by orders from the court of France, and the estates ordered to be restored to the absent proprietors.

Soon after the surrender of Grenada, Admiral Byron had returned to St. Lucia—heard there of the loss of St. Vincent's—and was proceeding, with General Grant, to recover that island—when, upon their passage, they received information, that D'Estaing was attacking Grenada. The advices were very imperfect: they represented Lord Macartney to be in a condition to hold out for some days, under-rated the French force, and did not mention the junction of De la Motte with D'Estaing.

Upon the appearance of the British fleet, on the 6th of July, off the harbour of St. George, the French put to sea, many of them slipping their cables for that purpose. The greatest exer-

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 463.
Edwards, vol. i. pp. 378. 380. Annual Register, 1779, p. 203.

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tions of the British could only bring on a partial action. Admiral Barrington, in the Prince of Wales, and Captains Sawyer and Gardner, in the Boyne and Sultan, at half-past seven, brought the van of the enemy to action for a considerable time before they could be supported. The vice-admiral was wounded, and the ships damaged. The French ships had the superiority in point of sailing, which enabled them to avoid a decisive action: they were to leeward, and always bore up as the British ships got near. The Grafton, Captain Collingwood; the Cornwall, Captain Edwards; and the Lion, Captain Cornwallis, sustained at one time the fire of the whole French fleet, as they passed upon the opposite tack; and Captain Fanshawe, who tried to stop the enemy's van, and bring on a general action, in the Monmouth, got that ship very much disabled.

Some of the ships in the action stood to the entrance of the harbour of St. George, intending to administer hope at least to their supposed friends in the garrison; but when they saw the French colours on the fort, were fired at from the battery, and found the island was already lost, the British commander changed his object. His transports had been a constant clog upon him during the action — their protection, and that of his disabled ships, became the only subjects of consideration. The action continued at intervals during the evening. The Lion, unable to join the fleet, was obliged to bear up for Jamaica, and arrived there almost a wreck. D'Estaing would not venture to send a single ship after her. The Monmouth, with the transports, were ordered to make the best of their way to St. Christopher's or Antigua.

The British fleet was now reduced to nineteen sail of the line, of which several were disabled. At the close of the evening, they were three miles from the enemy. In the night, M. D'Estaing returned with his fleet to Grenada. The English went to St. Christopher's: their loss was 183 killed, and 346 wounded. The lowest estimate of the loss of the French is 2700 killed, and 1200 wounded; but the English were very much damaged in the masts and rigging.

It was now considered impossible to oppose M. D'Estaing, and a general panic spread through all the British islands. M. D'Estaing, however, contented himself with returning the visits he had formerly received at Martinico, by parading for a whole day in sight of St. Christopher's. He afterwards waited to see the French homeward-bound West India convoy clear of danger, and proceeded, with about twenty-two sail of the line, and ten frigates, to the coast of North America.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 466. Annual Register, 1779, p. 205.

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An act was passed, "To allow the trade between Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations in America and the East Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, to be carried on, in like manner as it is now carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements."

Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker succeeded Admiral Byron in the command on the Leeward Island station. On the 24th of October he captured the Alcmena, French frigate, and from her he learnt that the Count D'Estaing was gone to the coast of North America.

Admiral Parker afterwards destroyed the greater part of a convoy, within sight of Fort Royal, Martinico. M. de la Motte Piquet, with three ships, slipt their cables in that bay, engaged the headmost of the British fleet, and saved the rest of the convoy. Captain Griffith, of the Conqueror, was killed by a shot from the batteries, as he was chasing M. de la Motte.

Three French frigates were taken by Admiral Parker's squadron, after an extraordinary long chase off St. Lucia. On the 21st of December, his Majesty's ship Magnificent came up with the sternmost, La Blanche, thirty-six guns, and 212 men, commanded by M. Galissoniere; and the Suffolk captured the Fortunée, forty-two guns, and 247 men. The third was taken on the morning of the 23d, by the Magnificent and Stirling Castle, and proved to be the Ellis, of twenty-eight guns and sixty-eight men.

The Dutch colonies in the West Indies exported colonial produce, which employed above 170 large vessels to carry it to the mother country.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed twenty-four ships, and consisted of 5899½hhds. of sugar, 927 tierces and 25,234 bags of coffee, and 2868 bales of cotton.

The whole average produce of the French West India colonies was estimated at 100,000,000 livres tournois, and the number of Negroes at about 438,000.

In the island of Grenada, there were 35,000 slaves this year.

The population of St. Domingo consisted of 32,650 Whites, 7055 free Negroes, and 249,098 slaves.

That of Guadaloupe, of 13,261 Whites, 1382 free Negroes, and 85,327 slaves.

Upon the 16th of June, the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis d'Almadovar, delivered to the English government a paper, in which he stated, that "the sovereignty of his Majesty in the

Annual Register, 1780, pp. 81. 215. 359. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 473. Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. pp. 523. 368. Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix. Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 59. Report of the Lords of the Committee, from M. Neckar's book on the Administration of the Finances.

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province of Darien and on the coast of St. Blas has been usurped, the governor of Jamaica having granted to a rebel Indian the commission of captain-general of those provinces: in short, the territory of the Bay of Honduras has been recently violated, by exercising acts of hostility and other excesses against the Spaniards, who have been imprisoned, and whose houses have been invaded; besides which, the court of London has hitherto neglected to accomplish what the 16th article of the last treaty of Paris stipulated relative to that coast." After naming some other reasons not relating to the West Indies, the marquis states, that his Majesty the King of Spain "finds himself under the disagreeable necessity of making use of all the means which the Almighty has intrusted him with, to obtain that justice which he has solicited, by so many ways, without being able to acquire it."

In the Spanish manifesto published at Madrid, declaring the motives which induced His Catholic Majesty to act hostilely against England, among other reasons are enumerated the following relating to the West Indies, in addition to those stated by the Marquis d'Almadovar: —

"That Dr. Irwin, in 1775, had landed several families in the province of Nacha, for the purpose of making a lasting settlement there; and that the said doctor had educated in his own house a son of an Indian king, and two Indians of note in those countries.

"That in June and July 1778, the English prompted the Characas, Miraquies, and Micathas Indians to rebel — paying to each Indian the value of a skin of venison a day, and inducing them, with brutal cruelty, to destroy the Spanish settlements.

"That the English had ordered a fort to be built near lake Iberville, at the mouth of the Mississippi.

"That the insults offered by the English navy to the Spanish navigation and trade, from the year 1776 to the beginning of 1779, were eighty-six in number, including prizes taken by unjust practices, piracy, robberies of various effects out of vessels, attacks made with gun-firing, and other incredible violences.

"That in the two last years, and till the beginning of March of the present year, the English navy had insulted, at twelve different times, in the European and American seas, the ships of His Catholic Majesty."

The manifesto states, "It makes one blush to describe with what indecency and ignominy the King's flag was treated by the English officers, in those and other similar cases. We shall only relate the transaction of the 31st of October of the last year, when an officer having been dispatched by two English frigates to reconnoitre the Spanish sloop named Nostra Signora de la Esclavitud, between the isles of Mona and La Saona, he obliged

Annual Register, 1779, pp. 367 — 371.

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it to strike his Majesty's flag, and then taking it, he wiped the sweat off his face with its coat of arms, to shew a greater contempt for it! This singular officer, with his companions, afterwards plundered the ship, and stript the seamen of sundry things essentially necessary to their use.

"That the English judges of the Admiralty pronounced unjust sentences. That the Lively cutter, commanded by Joseph Smith, took the Spanish ship St. Nicholas and St. Celmo, the property of Don Manuel del Cervo Rubio, bound to the Spanish isles, and sent her to Anguilla, where she was declared not to be a legal prize, and was released, and a passport given her by the English governor to continue her voyage unmolested. Notwithstanding which, she was taken by another English sloop of war, and sent to Basse Terre, St. Christopher's, where she was sentenced to be a legal prize. The Spanish packet-boat the St. Pedro, Captain Francisco Xavier Garcia, commander, had the same lot. She was taken by Captain James Dunnovan, on the 8th of May, 1778, and carried into Anguilla: she was there declared an illegal prize; but at her departure, Captain Joseph Armet, another English cruizer, who happened to be in the same port, retook her, and carried her into St. Christopher's, where she was condemned as a legal prize."

Upon the 13th of July, Viscount Weymouth transmitted to the Marquis d'Almadovar an answer to the above and other charges. The answer to those relative to the West Indies is all that belongs to this work.

In answer to the charge of insulting the Spanish flag and plundering the vessels, it was stated, that "All sorts of American vessels have been received in the ports of Spain: they have been furnished with false documents, and suffered to carry Spanish colours; their privateers have plundered all nations without distinction; and such has been the industry of the Spanish ministry in order to enhance the number of grievances, that these depredations were by them represented as injuries committed by Great Britain. These complaints, which do not exceed the number of twenty-four, seldom specify the author of the supposed insult, and those which did were frequently ill-founded, and in general frivolous: however, it is granted that the answers were amicable.

"The King thought it worthy of himself, not only to use every precaution necessary to prevent disorders which might offend neutral powers, but also to exert every effort to punish the authors, and repair the loss of the sufferers. Such hath been his conduct at all times, when possible to discover and convict the guilty. Among the vast operations such as in the present

Annual Register, 1779, pp. 374. 386.

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war, it is not surprising that some irregularities have happened; but when such cases were proved, restitution was made, with ample damages, and all charges paid.

"It has been advanced, 'That His Catholic Majesty formally declared to the court of London, ever since France commenced hostilities, that the court of Madrid would regulate her conduct by that of the court of Great Britain.' Nevertheless, thirteen English vessels have been seized — on what pretence, or by whose order, we are still to learn.

"His Majesty did not attribute these seizures to a perfidious and inimical design, until the conduct of the court of Spain has been better explained by the present declaration.

"The charge of setting the Indians against the inhabitants of Louisiana is denied; and the governor of New Orleans is accused of receiving with open arms, those tribes which committed devastations in the English western settlements. With respect to the infringement of the rights of sovereignty in the province of Darien and on the coast of St. Blas, by the governor of Jamaica having appointed an Indian to the rank of general over those provinces, it is answered, that instructions were sent out on the 28th of April, and fresh orders afterwards, for a full explanation; but in point of time no answer could yet be expected.

"With regard to the English subjects frequenting the Bay of Honduras, that matter was regulated according to the 17th article of the treaty of Paris, and finally adjusted with the court of Spain in 1764 — since which period no complaint having been made on either side, this court is still ignorant whether the least cause ever existed."

Between 500 and 600 Spaniards arrived in small craft, and took possession of St. George's Quay, the principal settlement of the Baymen on the coast of Honduras, who were ignorant that hostilities had taken place between the two nations. Many of them were put in irons; and all, of both sexes, were marched to Merida, the capital of Yucatan: afterwards they were countermarched to the coast, and shipped for the Havaña.

Before the Spaniards had time to complete their design of laying waste the quay, Commodore Luttrell, in the Charon, with the Lowestoffe, Pomona, and a schooner, having chased some register-ships into the harbour, and under the protection of the strong fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa, arrived upon the coast, collected the scattered Baymen, and drove the invaders from St. George's Quay with great precipitation.

Immediately afterwards, Captain Dalrymple, with a detach-

Annual Register, 1779, pp. 211, 212. 389.
Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 366.

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ment of the Loyal Irish, under convoy of the Porcupine sloop, joined the commodore. The commanders immediately determined to unite their forces, and attack Omoa by sea and land. The details are given in the following extract of a letter from Captain Dalrymple, commander of the Loyal Irish volunteers, to the Right Hon. Lord George Germaine, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state: —

" St. Fernando de Omoa, Oct. 21st.

" Your lordship would be informed, that General Dalling had dispatched me to the Musquito shore to collect a force, and that he had also sent arms, artillery, and ammunition, for St. George's Quay, being the principal settlement of the Baymen.

" On the 27th of September, the day of our arrival at Black River, on the Musquito shore, an advice-boat came up from the bay, with certain intelligence, that the Spaniards had, on the 15th of September, taken possession of St. George's Quay, having a number of armed petitaguas, and about 600 men. On this notice, having collected sixty Indians, and enlisted some volunteers on shore, we sailed in the Porcupine sloop of war, with three transports, for the relief and re-establishment of the Baymen.

" On the evening of our departure from Black River, we fell in with Commodore Luttrell, in the Charon, accompanied by the Lowestoffe and Pomona frigates, when we were informed that St. George's Quay had been retaken by his Majesty's armed schooner Racehorse, and that the remaining inhabitants, with their slaves, had retired to Truxillo and Rattan. I intended to have consulted the Baymen on resettling Honduras, when I was informed that his Majesty's ships had been at the Gulf of Dulce, and not finding the register-ships there, had proceeded to St. Fernando de Omoa, where they discovered them; that they had entered the bay, where some shot were exchanged between them and the fort; but not having a sufficient land-force to attack on shore, they were obliged to leave it.

" Judging this a happy opportunity of adding lustre to his Majesty's arms, I waited upon Commodore Luttrell, and offered to attack on the land-side, with the Indians and the detachment of the Loyal Irish, if he would reinforce me with the marines and musketry men from the ships. The commodore agreeing in opinion, that the fort might be taken by attacking by sea and land at the same time, it was accordingly determined on, and Truxillo was appointed as the rendezvous to collect the Baymen, with their slaves, where we met some people from the Musquito shore, who had been on an expedition against the register-ships.

Captain Luttrell's Dispatches. Naval Chronicle, vol. x. p. 449.

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The commodore immediately had the Baymen collected, as I suggested it, who were dispersed about the islands of Rattan and Bonaccoa: they were formed by me into four companies, being invested with powers by General Dalling for that purpose. The slaves I officered by their proprietors.

"With this reinforcement of 250 men, added to the Loyal Irish, marine musketry-men from the ships, and Indians, our force amounted to upwards of 500 men. The commodore having got in readiness, at my request, scaling ladders, issued out 200 stand of arms, exclusive of seventy stand issued by me of the regimental arms, and 150 sent down by General Dalling, which were intended for the bay.

"We sailed from the Bay of Truxillo on the 10th instant, and landed on the 16th, about eight o'clock at night, at Porto Cavallo. We were informed by our guides, that Porto Omoa was only three leagues distant, and our intention was to have marched directly on, in the night, to surprise and escalade the fort; but the distance proving greater than was imagined, and the roads very bad which they passed, such as, I may venture to affirm, no European troops ever marched before in this climate —being obliged, at times, to walk (on account of impenetrable mangroves) out into the sea, which damaged their cartouches; and at other times through lagoons, morasses, and narrow foot-paths, over mountains rendered almost impassable from the late rains, having precipices on each side, and forced to grope our way by lights made from cabbage trees — we were not arrived within two leagues of the fort at day-break; and having lost our rear, some lying down through fatigue, and others losing the line of march, from the darkness of the night, and the difficulty of keeping up in paths only passable by Indians.

"In the morning, the rear line was brought up by Captain Cardan, of the 60th regiment of foot; and having refreshed the troops for two hours, we proceeded again through passes and defiles, the same as in the night before, the Indians skirmishing along the paths. We had taken two look-outs, from which some of the soldiers escaped, and carried intelligence that an enemy was advancing; and, as they had seen our squadron the night before, and the Musquito crafts, imagined that Indians (only), landed from them, were the enemy on shore, not thinking that Europeans would undertake such a march; and in order to favour the deception, the Indians were advanced in front, and dislodged them from their look-outs, which prevented them from occupying the defiles and passes, until we arrived near the town,

Naval Chronicle, vol. x. p. 449.

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where they had placed an ambuscade. The Indians, who are extremely sharp as scouts, perceived them: they represented that the Spaniards were drawn up in force.

"A disposition of attack was immediately framed for the Loyal Irish and marines to force the pass in front in column, and to advance rapidly with the grenadiers' march, supported by the second line drawn up; and the Pomona's musketry-men, of the first line, were detached to gain a hill on the left, covered with woods, which commanded the pass. These orders being instantly executed, the defile was forced. We received a scattering, ill-directed fire from fifty or sixty Spaniards, which killed one soldier only of the Loyal Irish, and wounded a marine; and so great was their panic, that they fled on all quarters to the fort, woods, and town, evacuating the governor's house, built with battlements, and terrassed on the top; a post which, if defended by twenty British regulars, would have stopped our whole force. The gaining this hill, and that which the Pomona's men had ascended, gave the entire view of the fort, commanding it and the town in the bottom, the fort distant half a mile, and the town close under the hill.

"The skirmishing continued from the town, and galled us a little. Being unwilling to set fire to it, I desisted upwards of an hour; and finding that I could not permit an enemy on my flank, the town forming a crescent under the hill, orders were given for its being consumed, which were carried into execution, the inhabitants flying to the fort and the woods. The property consumed in the town was estimated at 100,000 piastres.

"The squadron came into the bay while the town was in flames; and supposing it a proper time to batter the fort, went in abreast of it. A diversion was made by the land-forces in their favour from the hill. The scaling-ladders were carried by the Honduras fusileers; but their eagerness to engage in skirmishing, made them drop the ladders, and hasten to get up to the head of the column, which prevented the land-forces from co-operating with the squadron (by storming) so heartily, that day, as could have been wished. The Lowestoffe having got aground, and the other ships, as I imagined, observing the signal was displayed, that the land-forces could not co-operate, desisted firing. The Lowestoffe was much wounded, but got off.

"The day following, we passed in skirmishing, in securing the roads round the fort, and driving in cattle for the land-forces.

"On the 18th, the squadron landed some guns to the westward: two four-pounders were got up that night, and a battery

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was immediately opened on them. This battery incommoded them much, but never could have made any impression on the walls of the parapet, as they were eighteen feet thick.

"The Spaniards pointed, that evening, three guns more towards the land-side, and in the morning dismounted one of ours. Observing there were some houses near the fort which the Spaniards had neglected to burn, parties of marines, Baymen, and Indians, occupied them, and kept up so incessant a fire on the embrazures of the fort, that the Spaniards' fire from the guns was often silenced for hours, and we observed them throwing over the dead. This day six guns more were got up by the seamen and Baymen, one of which General Dalling had sent for the Baymen, three others being swamped coming on shore. Captain Cardan opened a battery of four six-pounders, from the hill which the Pomona's men had gained in the first skirmish at the defile, which also commanded the fort.

"Foreseeing that by a siege of this nature, before approaches could be made in a regular way, and a breach effected, a vast train of artillery would be required, and a length of time, after which we would be obliged to storm; having also the enemy in our rear all round; and having maturely weighed all these circumstances, and the disadvantage inevitably attending a siege — it was therefore determined to escalade the fort, as the ditch was found to be dry: and having consulted with the commodore on the mode of attack, it was resolved that the Pomona should be towed close in, the heavier ships co-operating.

"The attack being determined on, the Europeans were formed in four columns in line: four men advanced, with guides, at the head of each column; in each column followed eight men, carrying the ladders, who were followed by a few hand-grenade men. Two columes consisting of seamen, and two of marines, with a few Loyal Irish.

"At three in the morning, the disposition being made, and our force consisting of 150, we moved down the hill, and lay there waiting for the signal of the Charon, which was to denote she had got under weigh, and would attack in twenty minutes. The signal being made a little after four o'clock in the morning of the 20th, we advanced under fire of our own batteries, and were encouraged by observing that the Spaniards did not perceive our march, by the direction of their shot over us, pointed at our batteries on the hills.

"The Pomona, and fleet also, attracted their notice, by the fire from the sea-side. By this fortunate co-operation, in profound silence, arms trailed, and in order to animate the troops,

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the parole was changed to *bayonette!* and the counter-sign, *Britons, strike home!* we advanced undiscovered under the Spanish sentries, who were every two or three minutes passing the word *alerto!* At the entrance into the ditch were two guns, pointed from the flanks of the bastion to scour it. We were perceived by their sentries, and their drum beat to the alarm-posts. Our columns were staggered, and stept back; but instantly recovering themselves, they advanced to the wall, in height twenty-eight feet, on which was a battery of five guns. They reared one ladder, a second, and a third. The first ladder was broke by the flank guns of another bastion, killing a midshipman, and badly wounding five men; the other two ladders were also wounded, but not broke. Two seamen got up first by one ladder, and obeyed their orders in not firing; they presented at sixty Spaniards drawn up, but retained their fire until others ascended; and so great was the consternation of the enemy, that it seemed as if they had lost the power of their arms, although their officers were at their head encouraging them.

"The seamen scrambling up the ladders, down off the parapets they went, and being reinforced by marines and seamen, the Spaniards fled to the casements; but they could not recover their panic, notwithstanding every exertion of their officers. About 100 Spaniards escaped over the walls on the opposite side, and out of a sally-port. The governor and principal officers then came and delivered up to me their swords, the garrison, and register ships, with the keys of the fort, and saved their lives.[1]

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[1] *Copy of the Convention between the Hon. John Luttrell and William Dalrymple, Esq. on the part of His Britannic Majesty, and Don Simon Desnaux and Don Juan Dastieux, on the part of His Catholic Majesty, for the Officers and Garrison of Porto Omoa, October 24, 1779.*

"Don Simon Desnaux, lieutenant-colonel of infantry, engineer in second to His Catholic Majesty, and heretofore commandant of the fort of Omoa, and Don John Dastieux, engineer, commandant and captain of infantry, having earnestly solicited the commanders of His Britannic Majesty's forces by sea and land, the Hon. John Luttrell and William Dalrymple, Esq., to treat for the exchange of the Spanish garrison at Omoa on the part of His Britannic Majesty, have set forth that they are ready to treat on the part of His Catholic Majesty for the same; the said request is complied with, upon the following terms and conditions:—

"1. All the Spanish officers which bear His Catholic Majesty's commission shall be prisoners of war, and admitted upon their parole, that they shall not serve directly or indirectly against the King of Great Britain, his subjects or allies, during the present war, unless they are before exchanged.

"2. That all the said officers shall be permitted to choose their place of residence, provided that they are not found beyond the distance of sixty leagues from Omoa, nor nearer to Omoa than forty leagues, until they be exchanged in the manner hereafter set forth.

"3. That all the Mulattoes and people of mixed colour, whether men, women, or children, as well as the artificers, shall have liberty to return home, provided

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"Enclosed is a list of the Spanish officers, with the troops of the garrison, also a list of our killed and wounded, which is very

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none of them take up arms against the King of Great Britain, his subjects or allies, or be found within thirty leagues of Omoa until this agreement is fully accomplished.

"4. That the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don Juan Dastieux doth engage for the governor of Merida, in case the English prisoners captured in the Bay of Honduras are within his district, and if not, for the governor of whatever Spanish district they may be in, that he shall return an equal number of Mulattoes or people of mixed colour to those that have been liberated at Omoa, and of this number such as were taken in the Bay of Honduras by the Spaniards shall have the preference. And it is further understood and agreed between the parties to this agreement, that all the subjects of the King of Great Britain taken in the Bay of Honduras, and now in the custody of the said governor of Merida, shall be exchanged by giving Mulattoes for Mulattoes, men for men, women for women, children for children; and this exchange to be made the moment the said governor of Merida can be made acquainted with this convention, but at all events not to exceed the space of three months.

"5. The serjeants and soldiers of the regulars shall be exchanged for an equal number of serjeants and soldiers of the British army; and if the King of Spain shall not have such in his possession, then to be exchanged for the principal merchants and traders taken at St. George's Quay, in the Bay of Honduras, provided a sufficient number of white people cannot be sent from Omoa to exchange them, and a receipt to be given by the English commissary for such number of men as may have been captured in the Bay of Honduras as shall exceed the number delivered from the garrison of Omoa; such receipt for the surplus to be given by the Spanish commissary, if the balance is in favour of England. The Spanish seamen to be exchanged in like manner for English seamen as is specified by the parties respecting serjeants and soldiers.

"6. The Hon. John Luttrell and William Dalrymple doth covenant, that the Spanish garrison at Omoa shall be embarked within the space of three days on board of vessels properly provided, and shall be conveyed without loss of time to the Castle of St. Philip within the Gulph of Dulce, or to some adjacent Spanish post, and there delivered at the sole charge of His Britannic Majesty. And the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don Juan Dastieux doth covenant, that the officers, soldiers, merchants, artificers, Mulattoes, and people of white or mixed colour, subjects of His Britannic Majesty, which, since the commencement of the present war with Spain, have been taken in the Bay of Honduras, shall be embarked within the space of three months from the day the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don Juan Dastieux shall be landed in the Gulph of Dulce, and sent to Omoa, or the next nearest English settlement, at the sole expence of the King of Spain, provided the said English prisoners, or any of them, are within the jurisdiction of the governor of Merida; but should they have been sent to the Havana, then the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don Juan Dastieux doth covenant, that the governor of the Havana shall embark them from thence, and land them at the expence of the King of Spain as aforesaid at Jamaica, within the space of six months from the date hereof. Provided always, that if every article of this agreement is not strictly performed on the part of the court of Spain, we, Don Simon Desnaux and Don Juan Dastieux, are fully bound for ourselves and for all the Spanish officers of the garrison, to repair without loss of time, and by the shortest mode of conveyance, to Omoa, or to the nearest English settlement, there to deliver ourselves up as prisoners of war. And for the further security hereof, the said Don Simon Desnaux and Don Juan Dastieux will deliver up as hostages Colonel Antonio Fernandes, second commandant of the garrison; the Rev. Blass Mercenario, chaplain of the register ship St. Joseph; the Padre Antonio Mercurdetio, late chaplain of Omoa, to whom we promise to give the ornaments of the church (which we refuse to ransom), upon condition that every part of this agreement is fulfilled by the court of Spain within the time and in the manner before speci-

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inconsiderable. We found eleven Spaniards wounded, some of whom are since dead. They will not acknowledge the number they have lost, but it is thought it exceeds thirty.

"As to the behaviour of the officers and men under my command, the British displayed that bravery which is their known characteristic. The Baymen and the Indians were also of the utmost service in all duties of fatigue, in skirmishing and dragging up the cannon.

"Your lordship will pardon my mentioning an instance of an elevated mind in a British tar, which amazed the Spaniards, and gave them a very high idea of English valour. Not contented with one cutlass, he had scrambled up the walls with two, and meeting a Spanish officer without arms, who had been roused out of his sleep, had the generosity not to take any advantage, but presenting him one of his cutlasses, told him, 'You are now on a footing with me.' The orders were not to spare while they resisted, but to grant quarter to all who requested it. Only two Spaniards were wounded by the bayonet by resisting, nor was any person pillaged or plundered.

"I have the pleasure to inform your lordship, that the greatest harmony subsisted between the sea and land-forces during the whole of this expedition; and that Commodore Luttrell, and the captains of the navy, have on every occasion made the greatest exertions to forward the service on shore; and all underwent the most severe fatigue, in this hot climate, with uncommon alacrity.

"Of this fortification your lordship will judge of the importance, from the incredible expence the crown of Spain has been at in erecting it, as the stone of which it is built is raised out of the sea, and brought twenty leagues. The outworks are not finished, notwithstanding they have employed constantly 1000 men at work for twenty years. It is the key of the Bay of Honduras, and where the register-ships and treasure are sent to from Guatimala, in time of war. The morning of our arrival the treasure was conveyed into the country; so that what we

Naval Chronicle, vol. x. p. 449.

fied, but to remain till then in the hands of the English.

"Signed, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, at Omoa, the 24th of October, 1779.

"JOHN LUTTRELL.
"WILLIAM DALRYMPLE.

"Signed, on the part of His Catholic Majesty, at Omoa, the said 24th of October, 1779.

"DON SIMON DESNAUX.
"DON JUAN DASTIEUX.

"We, the underwritten, do ratify and confirm every part of this agreement, and hold ourselves bound for the due performance of it.

"Signed, at Omoa, the 24th of October, 1779.

"JOSEF DE CUCILAR.
"JOSEF EUSEBIO MENENDES.
"PEDRO TOLLE.
"MANUEL DE CLASIAC."

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 163.

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have found in the military chest, and what belonged to the public, does not exceed 8000 piastres; but the register-ships must be very valuable, if they arrive in safety in England.

"I send these dispatches, with the colours of Omoa, and also plans of the fortification, by Lieutenant Cardan, of the 60th regiment, whom I appointed to act as captain of artillery, and engineer to this expedition; and humbly beg he may be permitted to lay them at his Majesty's feet.

(Signed) "W. DALRYMPLE,
"Commander-in-chief of the land-forces."

Return of Killed and Wounded acting on Shore at the Siege and Attack of Fort St. Fernando de Omoa, October 20th, 1779.

One midshipman, five men, killed; one subaltern, thirteen men, wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Mr. Lloyd, midshipman of the Lowestoffe, killed.
Second Lieutenant Wightman, of the Chatham division of marines, wounded.

Commodore Luttrell settled most of the Baymen on the island of Rattan, which he fortified: he left the Porcupine sloop to assist Captain Dalrymple and the garrison at Omoa, which place was invested by the Spaniards on the 25th of November. Sickness had so diminished the garrison, that after spiking the guns and embarking the ammunition, they abandoned the fort.

Robert Maxwell, Esq. was appointed (by patent under the great seal) governor of the Bahama Islands.

In Antigua, every part of the surface of the ground became parched up, and all the ponds were dry. The importation of water was altogether insufficient to supply the demand. The stock and Negroes perished in the greatest agony; and a malignant fever, at the same time, threatened total destruction to all. The Negroes' allowance was but one pint of horse-beans a day. Mr. Baxter, the methodist preacher, appointed the 28th of May as a day of fasting and prayer among his followers: he says, "It is remarkable, that while we were assembled for prayer, the Lord granted our request by sending rain in abundance. And at the same time that he was pouring out floods upon the dry ground, the times of refreshing came from his presence in such a manner, that many were constrained to cry, 'My cup runs over!' Some strangers also joined us, who acknowledged the power of God." At this time he had joined 600 in society.

In 1779, Antigua exported 3382 hhds. of sugar.

His Majesty's ship Ruby, Captain Everitt, in company with his Majesty's sloops Eolus and Jamaica, on the 2d of June, off

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 488. Annual Register, 1779, p. 245.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 418. 429, 430.

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the island of Gonave, after a running fight of some hours, captured La Prudenté, of thirty-six guns, and 314 men. Captain Everitt was killed by her stern chacers.

December the 12th, Captain Inglis, in his Majesty's ship Salisbury, of fifty guns, off Porto de Sall, in the Bay of Honduras, captured the San Carlos, of fifty guns, and 397 men, a private Spanish ship of war, from Cadiz, bound to Omoa. The action began at half past six, and continued till half past eight, when the San Carlos lost her main-mast, and surrendered: she had a cargo of ordnance stores.

June the 19th, his Majesty's ship Glasgow, of twenty guns, was burnt in Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica. The fire was occasioned by the steward's going into the hold with a candle to draw rum. Captain Lloyd and the crew were saved, but the master was miserably scorched, and died the next morning. Her powder was thrown overboard, which prevented any explosion.

His Majesty's ship Penelope, of twenty-eight guns, foundered in the West Indies: not a man was saved.

1780.

Sir G. B. Rodney's letter to the Admiralty.

"Sandwich, Fort Royal Bay, Martinico, April 26, 1780.

"Since acquainting their lordships of my arrival at Barbadoes and St. Lucia, and taking upon me the command of his Majesty's ships in that station, the enemy, who had paraded for several days before St. Lucia, with twenty-five ships of the line, and eight frigates full of troops, and were in hopes of surprising the island, were disappointed in their views, by the good disposition of the troops by General Vaughan, and of the ships by Rear-Admiral Parker. They retired into Fort Royal Bay, a few hours before my arrival at Gros Islet Bay, on the 27th of March.

"As soon as the fleet could possibly be got ready, I determined to return their visit, and offer them battle; and accordingly, on the 2d of April, proceeded, with the whole fleet, off Fort Royal Bay, where for two days I offered the enemy battle; the fleet being near enough to count all their guns, and at times within random-shot of some of their forts. M. de Guichen, notwithstanding his superior number, chose to remain in port.

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 429. Sir W. Young's Common place Book, p. 19. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. pp. 488, 489, 490. 575. Annual Register, 1780, p. 42.

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"I thought it most proper, for his Majesty's service, to leave a squadron of copper-bottomed ships to watch the motions of the enemy, and to give me timely notice should they attempt to sail. With the others I anchored in Gros Islet Bay, ready, at a moment's warning, to cut or slip, in order to pursue or engage the enemy, should they leave Fort Royal Bay.

"In this situation both fleets remained till the 15th instant, when the enemy, with their whole force, put to sea in the middle of the night; immediate notice of which being given me, I followed them: and having looked into Fort Royal Bay, and the road of St. Pierre's, on the 16th we got sight of them, about eight leagues to leeward of the Pearl rock. A general chace to the N.W. followed, and at five in the evening we plainly discovered that they consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, one fifty-gun ship, three frigates, a lugger and cutter. When night came on, I formed the fleet in a line of battle ahead, and ordered the Venus and Greyhound frigates to keep between his Majesty's and the enemy's fleet, to watch their motions; which was admirably well attended to, by that good and veteran officer, Captain Ferguson.

"The manœuvres the enemy made during the night indicated a wish to avoid battle, which I was determined they should not, and therefore counteracted all their motions.

"At daylight on the morning of the 17th, we saw the enemy distinctly beginning to form the line ahead. I made the signal for the line ahead, at two cables' length distance. At forty-five minutes after six, I gave notice, by public signal, that my intention was to attack the enemy's rear with my whole force; which signal was answered by every ship in the fleet.

"At seven A.M. perceiving the fleet too much extended, I made the signal for the line of battle, at one cable's length asunder only. At thirty minutes after eight, I made the signal for a line of battle abreast, each ship bearing from the other N.b.W. and S.b.E., and bore down upon the enemy. This signal was penetrated by them, who discovered my intention, wore and formed the line of battle on the other tack. I immediately made the signal to haul the wind, and form the line of battle ahead. At nine A.M. made the signal for the line of battle ahead, at two cables' length, on the larboard tack.

"The different movements of the enemy obliged me to be very attentive, and watch every opportunity that offered of attacking them to advantage.

"At eleven A.M. I made the signal to prepare for battle, to convince the whole fleet I was determined to bring the enemy to an engagement. At fifty minutes after eleven, I made the signal

Annual Register, 1780, p. 42.

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for every ship to bear down, and steer for her opposite in the enemy's line, agreeably to the 21st article of the additional fighting instructions. At fifty-five minutes after eleven, I made the signal for battle: a few minutes after the signal, that it was my intention to engage close, and of course the admiral's ship to be the example.

"A few minutes before one P.M. one of the headmost ships began the action; at one, the Sandwich, in the centre, after having received several fires from the enemy, began to engage. Perceiving several of our ships engaging at a distance, I repeated the signal for close action. The action in the centre continued till fifteen minutes after four, when M. Guichen, in the Couronne, in which they had mounted ninety guns, the Triumphant and Fendant, after engaging the Sandwich for an hour and a half, bore away.

"The superiority of the fire from the Sandwich, and the gallant behaviour of her officers and men, enabled her to sustain so unequal a combat, though, before attacked by them, she had beat three ships out of their line of battle, had entirely broke it, and was to leeward of the wake of the French admiral.

"At the conclusion of the battle, the enemy may be said to be completely beaten; but such was the distance of the van and rear from the centre, and the crippled condition of several ships, particularly the Sandwich, who for twenty-four hours was with difficulty kept above water, that it was impossible to pursue them that night without the greatest disadvantage; however, every endeavour was used to put the fleet in order; and I have the pleasure to acquaint their Lordships, that on the 20th we again got sight of the enemy's fleet, and for three successive days pursued them, but without effect; they using every endeavour possible to avoid a second action, and endeavoured to push for Fort Royal, Martinico. We cut them off. To prevent the risk of another action, they took shelter under Guadaloupe.

"As I found it was in vain to follow them with his Majesty's fleet in the condition they were in, and every motion of the enemy indicating their intention of getting to Fort Royal Bay, Martinico, where alone they could repair their shattered fleet, I thought the only chance we had of bringing them again to action was to be off Fort Royal before them, where the fleet under my command now is, in daily expectation of their arrival.

"Admiral Parker acquaints me, that several ships of the enemy's van were greatly disabled, and forced to bear away: his own ship was damaged, and the main-mast in great danger.

"I cannot conclude without acquainting their Lordships, that

Annual Register, 1780, p. 42.

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the French admiral, who appeared to me a brave and gallant officer, had the honour to be nobly supported during the whole action. G. B. RODNEY."

In this action 120 men were killed, and 353 wounded, on board the English fleet.

Captain St. John, of the Intrepid, and two of his lieutenants, were killed by the same shot.

Admiral Rodney's action was indecisive, as much from the plan of attack ordered, as he says, by "the twenty-first article of the additional fighting instructions," as from any other reason. The improved plan of attack which Nelson adopted at Trafalgar was not then used. Admiral Rodney observes, "That the French admiral was nobly supported during the whole action," but does not praise the conduct of his own fleet.

In June, a Spanish squadron joined the French fleet: their united force was thirty-six sail of the line.

Early in this year, 500 men, under the command of Captain Polson of the 60th, were convoyed by Captain Nelson from Port Royal, Jamaica, to Cape Gracias à Dios, in Honduras. "Not a native was to be seen when they landed: they had been taught that the English came with no other intent than that of enslaving them, and sending them to Jamaica. After a while, however, one of them ventured down, confiding in his own knowledge of one of the party; and by his means the neighbouring tribes were conciliated with presents, and brought in. The troops were encamped on a swampy and unwholesome plain, where they were joined by a party of the 79th regiment from Black River, who were already in a deplorable state of sickness. Having remained here a month, they proceeded, anchoring frequently, along the Mosquito shore, to collect their Indian allies, who were to furnish proper boats for the river, and to accompany them. They reached the river San Juan on March the 24th: and here, according to his orders, Nelson's services were to terminate; but not a man in the expedition had ever been up the river, or knew the distances of the fortification from its mouth: and he, not being one who would turn back when so much was to be done, resolved to carry the soldiers up. About 200, therefore, were embarked in the Mosquito shore craft, and in two of the Hinchinbrook's boats, and they began their way.

"It was the latter end of the dry season, the worst time for such an expedition: the river was consequently low. Indians were sent forward, through narrow channels, between shoals and sand banks, and the men were frequently obliged to quit the boats, and exert their utmost strength to drag or thrust them along. This

Southey's Life of Nelson, vol. i. p. 92.

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labour continued for several days; then they came into deeper water; but then they had sometimes currents and rapids to contend with, which would have been insurmountable, had it not been for the skill of the Indians in such difficulties. The brunt of the labour was borne by them, and by the sailors, men never accustomed to stand aloof when any exertion of strength or hardihood is required. The soldiers, less accustomed to rely upon themselves, were of little use. But all equally endured the violent heat of the sun, rendered more intense by being reflected from the white shoals, and because the high woods on both sides of the river were frequently so close as to prevent all refreshing circulation of air; and during the night, all were equally exposed to the heavy and unwholesome dews.

"On the 9th of April they reached an island in the river, called St. Bartolomeo, which the Spaniards had fortified as an outpost, with a semicircular battery, mounting nine or ten swivels, and manned with sixteen or eighteen men. It commanded the river in a rapid and difficult part of the navigation. Nelson, at the head of a few of his seamen, leaped upon the beach. The ground upon which he sprung was so muddy, that he had some difficulty in extricating himself, and lost his shoes; bare-footed, however, he advanced, and, in his own phrase, boarded the battery! In this resolute attempt he was bravely supported by Despard, who was at that time a captain in the army, and whose after-fate was so disastrous.

"The castle of St. Juan is situated about sixteen miles higher up: the stores and ammunition, however, were landed a few miles below the castle, and the men had to march through woods almost impassable. One of the men was bitten under the eye by a snake, which darted upon him from the bough of a tree. He was unable to proceed from the violence of the pain; and when, after a short while, some of his comrades were sent back to assist him, he was dead, and the body already putrid. Nelson himself narrowly escaped a similar fate. He had ordered his hammock to be slung under some trees, being excessively fatigued, and was sleeping, when a monitory lizard passed across his face. The Indians happily observed the reptile, and knowing what it indicated, awoke him. He started up, and found one of the deadliest serpents of the country coiled up at his feet! He suffered from poison of another kind; for drinking at a spring in which some boughs of the manchineel had been thrown, the effects were so severe, as, in the opinion of some of his friends, to inflict a lasting injury upon his constitution.

"The castle of St. Juan is thirty-two miles below the lake of Nicaragua, from which it issues, and sixty-nine from the mouth

Southey's Life of Nelson, vol. ii. p. 34.

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of the river. Boats reach the sea from thence in a day and a half; but their navigation back, even when unladen, is the labour of nine days. The English appeared before it on the 11th, two days after they had taken St. Bartolomeo. Nelson's advice was, that it should instantly be carried by assault; but Nelson was not the commander, and it was thought proper to observe all the formalities of a siege. Ten days were wasted before this could be commenced: it was a work more of fatigue than of danger, but fatigue was more to be dreaded than the enemy. The rains set in; and could the garrison have held out a little longer, disease would have rid them of the invaders: even the Indians sunk under it—the victims of unusual exertion, and of their own excesses. The place surrendered on the 24th[1]; but victory

[1] Southey's Life of Nelson, vol. i. p. 36.

[1] *Articles of Capitulation of Fort St. Juan.*

"Art. 1. The garrison shall be allowed the use of their batteaux to transport themselves where they shall think proper, and the term of four days for the entire evacuation of the fort.

"Answ. The garrison of Fort St. Juan shall surrender prisoners of war, and be conducted to some port (in my option) of North America subject to the crown of Spain, and shall be furnished with vessels and provisions necessary to the voyage, provided they engage their parole of honour not to bear arms against His Britannic Majesty until an exchange of prisoners shall have taken place, conformably to such cartel as is or may be established between the two nations.

"2. The garrison shall march out with colours flying, each man with a ball in his mouth, lighted matches, drums beating; each soldier shall have twenty rounds, musket and side arms, together with two pieces of cannon (three pounders), with twenty rounds to each.

"Answ. The British forces must be put in possession of the principal gate of the fort between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, at which centinels shall be kept to prevent the Indians from committing any act contrary to the rules of war or laws of humanity. And in favour of the gallant defence which the commandant has made, the garrison shall be allowed to march out, colours flying, drums beating, lighted matches, musket and side arms, with two rounds each man, to the foot of the glacis, opposite to the south front of the castle, where they shall pile up their arms and accoutrements (the officers keeping their swords); afterwards they shall return to the castle.

"3. Every officer and soldier, on evacuating the castle, shall be allowed to keep their effects, baggage, money, and whatever else may belong to them.

"Answ. The officers and soldiers shall be allowed to keep their baggage, and whatever money may actually belong to them; but every slave must be detained for the use of His Britannic Majesty.

"4. The prisoners made at the advanced post on the island of Bentole shall be restored.

"Answ. In case the garrison shall accept terms of capitulation offered, the prisoners made at the advanced post on the island Bentole shall be included in it; provided, however, that all slaves shall appertain to the King my master.

"5. The garrison shall be allowed ten days for the evacuation of the fort, during which time they shall not be molested by any person whatsoever.

"Answ. The garrison shall not be molested by any person whatsoever until their arrival at the place appointed.

"6. The garrison shall be allowed the use of their own provisions.

"Answ. No other answer is necessary to this article than that already given to the first.

"7. The garrison shall be allowed to carry with them all such ornaments and effects belonging to the church as are necessary to their religion and mode of worship.

"Answ. Granted in the fullest sense.

"8. The British forces shall treat the garrison with humanity and politeness, duties incumbent on all nations.

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procured to the conquerors none of that relief which had been expected.

"The castle was worse than a prison: and it contained nothing which could contribute to the recovery of the sick, or the preservation of those who were yet unaffected. The huts which served for hospitals were surrounded with filth, and with the putrifying hides of slaughtered cattle, almost sufficient of themselves to have engendered pestilence; and when, at last, orders were given to erect a convenient hospital, the contagion had become so general, that there were none who could work at it; for, besides the few who were able to perform duty, there were not orderly men enough to assist the sick. Added to these evils, there was the want of all needful remedies: for though the expedition had been amply provided with hospital-stores, river-craft enough had not been procured for transporting the requisite baggage; and when much was to be left behind, provision for sickness was that which of all things men in health would be most likely to leave.

"Now, when these medicines were required, the river was swoln, and so turbulent, that its upward navigation was almost impracticable. At length, even the task of burying the dead was more than the living could perform, and the bodies were tossed into the stream, or left for beasts of prey, and for the gallinazos, those dreadful carrion-birds, which do not always wait for death before they begin their work.

"Five months the English persisted in what may be called this war against nature. They then left a few men who seemed proof against the climate, to retain the castle, till the Spaniards should choose, when the fit season arrived, to retake it, and make them prisoners. The rest abandoned their baleful conquest. One thousand eight hundred men were sent to different posts upon this wretched expedition—not more than 380 ever returned."

Upon the 18th of April, Don Joseph Solano sailed from Cadiz for the West Indies, with twelve sail of the line, several frigates,

Southey's Life of Nelson, vol. i. p. 36. Annual Register, 1781, p. 25.

"Answ. It is the characteristic of Britons to treat their prisoners with humanity and politeness; and I pledge my word to do my utmost to keep the Mosquitos within the bounds of moderation.

"9. Should any doubts arise in the preceding articles, they shall be explained in favour of the garrison.

"Answ. As I do not mean to cavil, an answer to this article would be useless; immediately on being put in possession of the interior of the fort and its dependencies, I will appoint an officer who shall take charge of the military chest, and likewise name commissaries to take account of all warlike stores and provisions, artillery, slaves, and, in general, of every thing which shall be found in the stores or elsewhere belonging to His Catholic Majesty.

(Signed) "John Polson, colonel and commander-in-chief.
"Juan de Ayssa, governor of the Castle of St. Juan."

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 230.

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and eighty-three transports — in all 11,460 effective men. Captain Mann, in his Majesty's ship Cerberus, fell in with this fleet at sea; and judging by their course where they were bound, he made the best of his way to Admiral Sir G. Rodney, at Barbadoes, with the intelligence. Admiral Rodney put to sea immediately, in hopes to prevent the Spaniards from forming a junction with the French at Martinico. Don Solano, apprehensive, though not informed of the danger, prudently stopped short of the islands, and sent a frigate to M. de Guichen, with the information of his situation. The French commander, with eighteen sail of the line, sailed immediately, and on the 10th of June joined the Spaniards under Dominica. The combined fleets amounted to thirty-six sail of the line.

The Spanish troops had been too much crowded on board the transports: they landed 1200 sick at Dominica, and a much greater number afterwards at Guadaloupe and Martinico.

Admiral Rodney, upon the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, retired to Gross Islet Bay, St. Lucia.

About the middle of July, pestilence had so decreased the number of the Spaniards, that they gave up all plans of offensive operations, and proceeded to the Havaña, M. de Guichen escorting them as far as Cape François.

Sir G. Rodney, informed of their departure, sailed with his fleet to observe their motions. Being soon satisfied as to their immediate destination, he dispatched Admiral Rowley, with Commodore Walsingham and ten sail of the line, to reinforce Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica. Sir George kept the remainder of his fleet to cover the Leeward Islands.

M. de Guichen's fleet was also so disabled by its service in the West Indies, that instead of proceeding to North America, as was expected, he made the best of his way with a convoy to Cadiz, to the great disappointment of General Washington. Admiral Rodney, being aware of the enemy's design against New York, as soon as he had received certain information of De Guichen's departure from Cape François, sailed immediately himself, with eleven sail of the line and four frigates, to New York, and thus, in all probability, saved his fleet from being disabled by the hurricane which did such tremendous damage to the islands.

Letter from Commodore Hotham, senior officer of his Majesty's ships in the West Indies, to the Admiralty.

"Vengeance, Carenage, St. Lucia, October 28, 1780.

"On the 10th, in the morning, the Blanche, which was charged with my letter to you of that date, sailed with the Alcmena for Antigua. A short time made a great change in

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 95. 97. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 70.

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our situation; for on the night following (viz. the 10th) there arose a hurricane at N.E., which increased by the morning to a degree of violence that is not to be described. The Ajax, Montagu, and Egmont, which had been anchored before the entrance of the harbour, were before day-light all forced to sea, as was the Amazon soon after; and the Deal Castle and Camelion, which had been stationed in Gros Islet Bay for the protection of the hospital, shared the same fate. The Vengeance, with the Etna and Vesuvius bombs, and the San Vincente snow, were moored within the Carenage, and prepared, with every caution that could be taken, to withstand the tempest, which had already put several transports on shore, and by this time blew with irresistible fury, attended with an incessant flood of rain.

"A little after 12 o'clock, the Vengeance parted her cable, and tailed upon the rocks. It now became absolutely requisite to cut away her masts, the loss of which, with the help of a number of guns that were got forward, eased considerably the force with which she struck; and by the wind shifting two or three points further to the eastward, her stern swung off the rocks, and she was, beyond every expectation, saved; for it now blew, if possible, with redoubled violence, and nothing was to be seen or expected but ruin, desolation, and destruction, in every part. The San Vincente snow, with many of the transports, victuallers, and traders, were dismasted, and mostly all on shore: in short, no representation can equal the scene of distress that appeared before us.

"The storm continued with incredible vehemence during the whole day; but the weather, about midnight, became more moderate, and by the next morning the wind was totally abated. The direction of it was from N.N.E. to E.S.E. of twenty-four hours' duration.

"On the 13th, the Montagu anchored before the harbour, without a mast or bowsprit standing, eight feet water in her hold, and all her powder damaged. "Every assistance was given her to get her into the Carenage, where she is now secured in safety. The Ajax returned to this anchorage on the 21st, with the loss of her main-yard, main-top mast, and mizen mast. The Beaver's prize, being on her passage to Barbadoes, was unfortunately wrecked on the back of this island, near Vieux Fort; and it gives me pain to add, that all her officers and crew, except seventeen men, perished.

"The preservation of the Amazon is so singular and extraordinary, that I herewith transmit a copy of the account given of it by Captain Finch.

"I am, &c.

"W. HOTHAM."

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 70.

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"SIR, "Amazon, English Harbour, Oct. 17, 1780.

"I am at loss whether to express, in the strongest terms, my regret for the misfortunes that have happened to his Majesty's ship under my command, or my satisfaction in having got her in safety to this port.

"I flatter myself you saw the necessity we were under of putting to sea, the morning after the commencement of the gale. We then stood under our storm stay-sails W. b. N. from the Carenage: it was but a short time the canvas held; after that, the ship behaved perfectly well, and appeared to every person on board as capable of standing the gale that ensued, as was possible for any ship.

"About seven o'clock at night the gale increased to a degree that can better be conceived, from the consequences, than any description I can give. There was an evident necessity of doing something to relieve the ship; but I was unwilling to cut away the lower masts till the last extremity, and accordingly ordered the people to cut away the main-top mast. My orders were attempted to be put in execution with the utmost alacrity; but before it could be accomplished, I found it necessary to call them down to cut away the main mast.

"Whilst I was waiting for the men to come down, a sudden gust overset the ship; most of the officers, with myself and a number of the ship's company, got upon the side of the ship: the wheel on the quarter deck was then under water. In that situation I could perceive the ship settle bodily some feet, until the water was up to the after-part of the sides of the carronades on the weather-side. Notwithstanding the ship was so far gone, upon the masts, bowsprit, &c. going away, she righted as far as to bring the lee-gunwale even with the water's edge. By the exertions of all the officers and men, we soon got the lee quarter deck guns and carronades overboard, and soon after one of the forecastle guns and sheet-anchor cut away, which had so good an effect, that we were enabled to get to the pumps and lee guns on the main deck: the throwing them overboard was in our situation a work of great difficulty, and I could perceive the ship was going down by the stern. This arduous task was accomplished under the directions of Lieutenant Pakenham, whose great experience and determined perseverance marked him out as, perhaps, the only individual to whom (amidst such great exertions) a pre-eminence could be given: and I do not think it possible for greater exertions to be made.

"The water was above the cables on the orlop deck, with a vast quantity between decks; and the stump of the main mast falling out of the step, occasioned one of the chain pumps to be

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v p. 70.

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rendered useless, as was the other soon after. By the great activity of the two carpenter's mates, they were alternately cleared: upon my representing this to Commissioner Laforey, he has appointed them both to act as carpenters (one in the Amazon, the other in the Antigua), till your pleasure is known.

"Besides the loss of our masts, &c. the ship has suffered damages, the particulars of which I cannot send, until a survey has been held upon the ship. The books and papers are totally destroyed: so that it is not in my power particularly to ascertain the loss we have suffered in men — I believe twenty drowned, besides a number wounded.

"For further particulars I refer you to the gentleman who will deliver this letter to you.

"The carpenter was the only officer lost upon this occasion.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WM. CLEMENT FINCH."

"To Commodore Hotham."

The dreadful hurricane, which proved so calamitous to many of the islands, "produced, in Grenada, the effect which the legislature had offered £20,000 to have accomplished. The sugar ants disappeared in an instant before the violence of this tornado."

John Castles, Esq. described these insects in a letter to General Melville, which was read before the Royal Society in London, in 1790: he says, they are of a slender make, of a middling size, of a dark-red colour, remarkable for the acidity of their taste when applied to the tongue, and peculiarly active in all their motions. Their numbers he represented as being so immense, as to have covered the roads for many miles together; so that the impressions made by the feet of such horses as travelled over them could be seen distinctly, in many places, for some moments, till they were filled up by the surrounding swarms. When rubbed together, they emitted a strong sulphureous smell. Their first appearance was on a sugar-plantation, about five miles from the St. George's: and from this place, extending themselves in every direction, in the space of a few years they covered a tract twelve miles in length, blasting vegetation, and reducing the country to a state of the most deplorable desolation.

They seemed unable to withstand heavy rain, and therefore made their nests under the roots of the sugar-cane, the lime, the lemon, and the orange trees. To destroy them, arsenic and corrosive sublimate were mixed with such animal substances as they had been observed most greedily to devour. Multitudes fell by the arsenic: those that had tasted the corrosive sublimate were rendered outrageous, and preyed upon such as came within their

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. p. 316.

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reach. It was found, that when wood had been reduced to charcoal, and was laid in their way, they crowded about it in such immense numbers as to extinguish the fire entirely. Thousands upon thousands would perish in the heap raised by their numerous bodies. "These applications, though sufficient to prevent the rapidity of their increase, could scarcely reduce their numbers, much less exterminate their race. But the same Divine Providence which brought this plague upon the inhabitants delivered them from it — the hurricane destroyed them in a moment."

Admiral Rowley, who sailed with the Jamaica convoy for England, returned to that island with five of his squadron, mostly dismasted, and all disabled. The Berwick parted company with the fleet, — was dismasted, and thought it less dangerous to proceed alone to England than to return. The Stirling Castle, of sixty-four guns, was totally lost on the coast of Española, and only a few of the crew saved. The part of the wreck from which these unfortunate people were taken, was driven to sea, with near twenty men upon it, without a drop of water or any provisions, excepting a few pieces of pork, which were washed overboard soon after they were adrift. In this situation they were driven about for several days, many of them dying raving mad, and those who survived were kept alive by sucking the blood of their dead companions. They were saved by a small vessel, and carried into Cape François.

The Thunderer, seventy-four, Commodore Boyle Walsingham, was supposed to have foundered in the gale: no particulars of her fate were ever known.

October the 4th, His Majesty's ship Phœnix, Captain Sir Hyde Parker, was wrecked on Cuba, three leagues to the eastward of Cape Cruz, in a hurricane: twenty of the crew were washed overboard with the masts. As soon as the survivors were landed, the utmost exertions were made to secure ammunition and provisions, and four carronades were got on shore. A redoubt of earth was thrown up in a favourable spot, and the crew were prepared to defend themselves; but they were suffered to remain unmolested, until his Majesty's sloop Porcupine and three shallops arrived to their assistance. Sir Hyde dispatched his first lieutenant, Mr. Archer, in one of the ship's boats, to Montego Bay, for assistance; and by the 11th, all that remained of the crew (240) were embarked.

The Barbadoes and Victor sloops of war, with the Cameleon, Scarborough, and La Blanche frigates, became likewise, upon different services, and with a partial or total loss of men, victims to the rage of the elements.

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 33, 34. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 86. Memoirs of Sir H. Parker, Naval Chronicle, vol. v. p. 293.

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The Laurel and Andromeda were wrecked. The Marquis de Bouille sent thirty-one sailors, all that were saved of their crews, with a flag of truce, to Commodore Hotham at St. Lucia; he declared that he could not consider in the light of enemies men who, in common with his own people, had been partakers of the same danger, and were in like manner entitled to every comfort and relief which could be given in a season of such universal calamity and distress. He only lamented, he said, that their numbers were so small, and particularly that none of the officers were saved.

The reader is requested to compare this with Du Tertre's account of the hurricane in 1666, in which Lord Willoughby perished, off Guadaloupe, and to recollect that Du Tertre was a minister of the gospel.

The hurricane in Jamaica was different in many respects from the others: it was a week earlier than that at Barbadoes, and was more complex, being accompanied by an earthquake, and a most extraordinary swell of the sea. Its effects were also more confined: it seems to have been only its eastern wing which swept the western point of that island; the parishes of Westmoreland and Hanover suffered most.

Upon the 3d of October, the inhabitants of Savannah-la-Mar were gazing with astonishment at the sea swelling as it never had before: on a sudden, bursting through all bounds, and surmounting all obstacles, it overwhelmed the town, and swept every thing away so completely upon its retreat, as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind. About 300 persons perished in this dreadful irruption. The sea flowed half a mile beyond its usual limits; and so sudden and unavoidable was the destruction, although it took place at noon-day, that of the inhabitants of one gentleman's house, consisting of ten Whites and forty Negroes, not a soul escaped. Where the sea did not reach, the destruction was nearly as effectual by the succeeding earthquake and hurricane: between both, scarcely a house or building of any sort was left standing in the parishes we have named. In the parish of Westmoreland only, the damage was estimated at near £700,000 sterling.

The gale began from the S.E. at one P.M., at four it veered to the south, and became a perfect tempest, which lasted in full force till near eight: it then abated, forty of the inhabitants, who had sought shelter in the court-house, were killed by the house falling upon them. At ten there was a smart shock of an earthquake, and the waters subsided. All the vessels in the bay were dashed to pieces, or driven on shore. The earthquake lifted the Princess Royal, Captain Ruthwin, from her beam-ends, and

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 35. 292.

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fixed her upright in a firm bed, where she afterwards served as a house for the inhabitants.

The merchants of Kingston subscribed £10,000 for the sufferers, and the British Parliament voted £40,000.

The hurricane began at Barbadoes on the morning of the 10th of October, and continued, with little intermission, about forty-eight hours. In the afternoon of the first day, all the ships were driven from their anchors to sea. In the course of the night, Bridgetown was nearly laid level with the earth. Daylight presented a scene of desolation seldom equalled: not one house or building in the island, however strong or sheltered, was exempt from damage. Most of the live stock and 4326 persons perished: the loss which the colony sustained was estimated at £1,320,564 sterling. Upon the authority of a public document sent to the secretary of state by the governor of the island, it is said that a twelve-pound gun was by the wind and waves carried from the south to the north battery, a distance of 140 yards. Some Spanish prisoners, under Don Pedro St. Jago, assisted the troops in relieving the inhabitants, and preventing the Negroes from plundering.

Parliament voted £80,000 for the relief of the sufferers.

Major-General Cunninghame, Governor of Barbadoes, sent the following account of the hurricane at that island to the secretary of state and Major-General Vaughan. The commander-in-chief refers the English government to that account for a description of it.

"*Copy of a Journal of what passed at Barbadoes, from the 9th of October until the 16th.*

"The evening preceding the hurricane, the 9th of October, was remarkably calm, but the sky surprisingly red and fiery; during the night much rain fell. On the morning of the 10th much rain and wind from N.W. By ten o'clock it increased very much; by one, the ships in the bay drove; by four o'clock, the Albemarle frigate (the only man-of-war here) parted her anchors and went to sea, as did all the other vessels, about twenty-five in number. Soon after, by six o'clock, the wind had torn up and blown many trees, and foreboded a most violent tempest. At the government-house, every precaution was taken to guard against what might happen: the doors and windows were barricaded up, but it availed little. By ten o'clock, the wind forced itself a passage through the house from the N.N.W., and the tempest increasing every minute, the family took to the centre of the building, imagining, from the prodigious strength of the walls, they being three feet thick, and from its circular

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 5. 30. 38.

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form, it would have withstood the wind's utmost rage: however, by half after eleven o'clock they were obliged to retreat to the cellar, the wind having forced its way into every part, and torn off most of the roof. From this asylum they were soon driven out, the water being stopped in its passage, and having found itself a course into the cellar, they knew not where to go; the water rose four feet, and the ruins were falling from all quarters. To continue in the cellar was impossible; to return to the house equally so: the only chance left was making for the fields, which at that time appeared equally dangerous; it was, however, attempted, and the family were so fortunate as to get to the ruins of the foundation of the flag-staff, which soon after giving way, every one endeavoured to find a retreat for himself. The governor and the few who remained were thrown down, and it was with great difficulty they gained a cannon, under the carriage of which they took shelter; their situation here was highly deplorable — many of the cannon were moved, and they had reason to fear that under which they sat might be dismounted, and crush them by its fall, or that some of the ruins that were flying about would put an end to their existence; and to render the scene still more dreadful, they had much to fear from the powder magazine, near which they were. The armoury was level with the ground, and the arms, &c. scattered about.

"Anxiously did they wait the break of day, flattering themselves that with the light they should see a cessation of the storm; yet when it appeared, little was the tempest abated, and the day served but to exhibit the most melancholy prospect imaginable. Nothing can compare with the terrible devastation that presented itself on all sides: not a building standing; the trees, if not torn up by the roots, deprived of their leaves and branches; and the most luxuriant spring changed, in this one night, to the dreariest winter. In vain was it to look round for shelter: houses that, from their situation, it was to have been imagined would have been in a degree protected, were all flat with the earth; and the miserable owners, if they were so fortunate as to escape with their lives, were left without a covering for themselves and family. General Vaughan was early obliged to evacuate his house; in escaping he was much bruised; his secretary was so unfortunate as to break his thigh.

"Nothing has ever happened that has caused such universal desolation. No one house in the island is exempt from danger. Very few buildings are left standing on the estates. The depopulation of the Negroes and cattle, particularly of the horned kind, is very great, which must, more especially in these times, be a cause of great distress to the planters. It is as yet impossible to

Annual Register, 1781, p. 81.

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make any accurate calculation of the number of souls who have perished in this dreadful calamity. Whites and Blacks together, it is imagined to exceed some thousands, but fortunately few people of consequence are among the number. Many are buried in the ruins of the houses and buildings — many fell victims to the violence of the storm and inclemency of the weather; and great numbers were driven into the sea, and there perished. The troops have suffered inconsiderably, though both the barracks and hospital were early blown down. Alarming consequences were dreaded from the number of dead bodies that lay unin-terred, and from the quantity the sea threw up, which, however, are happily subsided. What few public buildings there were, are fallen in the general wreck. The fortifications have suffered very considerably. The buildings were all demolished; for so violent was the storm here, when assisted by the sea, that a twelve-pounder gun was carried from the south to the north battery, a distance of 140 yards. The loss to this country is immense — many years will be required to retrieve it."

The hurricane nearly ruined the Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Bernardo de Galvez. Four capital ships, besides others of different denominations, were totally lost, and all on board, above 2000 persons, perished. The remainder of the shattered fleet got to the Havaña.

At St. Lucia, only two houses were left standing in the town. His Majesty's sloop Badger was dismasted and driven ashore in that harbour. All the barracks, huts, and other buildings, were blown down, and all the ships were driven to sea.

At St. Christopher's, several vessels were driven on shore.

Considerable damage was done at Dominica.

Every building in St. Vincent's was blown down. The Experiment, of fifty, and the Juno, a French forty-gun frigate, were entirely destroyed.

At Grenada, nineteen sail of loaded Dutch ships were stranded, and beat to pieces.

At Martinico, on the 12th, four ships foundered in Fort Royal Bay, and every soul perished. Every house in St. Pierre's was blown down, and more than 1000 persons perished. At Fort Royal town, the cathedral, seven churches, the governor's house, the senate-house, the prisons, the hospitals, the barracks, and upwards of 1400 houses, were blown down. In the hospital of Notre Dame, 1600 patients, with the nurses and attendants, were almost all of them buried in the ruins. In the shipwrights' sick-house, 100 perished. Upwards of 9000 persons were computed

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 99. 296, 297, 298.
Colquhoun's British Empire, p. 350.

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to have perished in the island, and the damage was estimated at 700,000 louis-d'ors.

At St. Eustatia, on the 10th, at eleven A.M., the sky suddenly blackened all round: it rained violently, and thundered and lightened. In the afternoon the gale increased: seven homeward-bound ships were dashed to pieces, and every soul on board perished; nineteen others were driven to sea. In the night, every house to the northward and southward was blown down, or washed away, with the inhabitants, into the sea. Some few who had hid themselves in large holes in the mountain were saved. In the afternoon of the 11th, the wind shifted suddenly to the eastward, and swept away every house to the east and west. Between four and five thousand persons perished; and the damage was estimated at £150,000 sterling. The cathedral and four churches, and the barrack and hospital, were left standing.

On the 11th of January, Don Bernardo de Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, with a frigate, some small armed vessels, and about 2000 troops, sailed from New Orleans to attack Mobile. On the 10th of February, the Volante frigate, in attacking a large merchant ship at the entrance of the Bay of Mobile, run aground. Bad weather, during the ensuing night, drove several vessels, with troops on board, on shore also: 800 soldiers were saved, but their clothes, ammunition, provisions, &c. were lost. On the 20th, Don Galvez was joined by reinforcements from the Havaña. On the 22d, more of the fleet were wrecked in the bay. On the 25th, the general landed, and invested the place. On the 1st of March, he summoned the fort to surrender, which was refused. Mutual civilities passed between the commanders. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and began to play with great effect. General Campbell marched from Pensacola to assist the fort, but he found the enemy too strong to be attacked, and returned without attempting it. On the 12th, a breach was made in the walls. Captain Durnford offered proposals for surrendering. The terms were settled on the 13th[1], and on the 14th the place was given up. The garrison amounted to 284 persons.

Annual Register, 1781, p. 34. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 48.

[1] *Articles of Capitulation of Mobile between Elias Durnford, Esq. and Signor Don Bernardo de Galvez.*

"Art. 1. That the regular troops of this garrison shall be permitted to go to Pensacola by the road of the river Des los Perdidos, with their arms, and their cartridges full, giving them an escort for their baggage; or they shall be sent to that place by sea, without being searched, as soon as convenient, allowing them six days' provisions for their journey.

"Answ. Refused.

"2. The first article having been refused, I ask that the troops shall march out through the breach, drums beating, and with sixteen rounds in their cartouches; that they shall march along the fosse to the principal gate of the fort, and when got at some distance from the

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As his Majesty's sloop Penelope was returning to Jamaica, with the crews of three Spanish vessels which she had captured,

Annual Register, 1780, p. 38.

covered road opposite the breach, they shall surrender their arms to those of His Catholic Majesty; the governor and officers shall keep their swords; and their baggage and effects, with those belonging to the soldiers, shall not be searched.

"Answ. Granted.

"3. The seamen, inhabitants, and workmen specified in my lists shall be free to retire to their dwellings, under the same conditions granted to the inhabitants of the Natches.

"Answ. The seamen shall be kept the same as the soldiers, and the inhabitants who went into the fort and took arms for its defence must surrender as prisoners of war; and in case Pensacola shall be attacked, these inhabitants shall share the same fate, that is to say, if they took arms and were made prisoners of war, they shall continue so, and shall not enjoy their liberty; but if Pensacola shall not be attacked, they shall be released within eight months, but they must swear not to bear arms during the war. The inhabitants who have not been in arms shall enjoy the same advantages granted at the capitulation of Baton Rouge and Natches.

"4. The infirm and the wounded shall be removed as soon as their sickness and hurts will permit; they shall be attended by our physicians and surgeons, shall have lodging and diet, and every assistance gratis, the same as the other troops and inhabitants.

"Answ. The sick and wounded shall have the same care with those of His Catholic Majesty's troops; they shall be attended by their own physicians and surgeons, but His Britannic Majesty shall pay all expences, according to the estimates given by the Spanish commissary. When they are well, they must remain prisoners of war with the rest, and shall be carried to join their respective companies.

"5. Those inhabitants who deposited their effects in the fort for better security shall be allowed to collect them, and to dispose of them as they shall think most convenient.

"Answ. All the effects found in the fort belong to His Catholic Majesty.

"6. Those inhabitants who have assisted in the defence of the fort shall be treated as virtuous patriots.

"Answ. This is answered in the third article.

"7. Whatever goods of the inhabitants have been collected during the siege by His Catholic Majesty's troops, shall be restored or paid for, by virtue of the justifying documents which shall be presented.

"Answ. All cattle killed for the service and maintenance of His Catholic Majesty's forces shall be paid for, on proof given that the owners had not taken arms, or were not in the condition of being treated as enemies.

"8. Whatsoever deserters, of any nation whatsoever, shall be found in the fort, shall be treated as the other troops, and not be treated as enemies of state.

"Answ. All deserters found shall be treated as the other prisoners.

"9. The prisoners shall have a daily allowance of provisions till they are exchanged.

"Answ. The prisoners shall have daily allowance at the expence of His Britannic Majesty, according as it shall be rated in the estimates of the Spanish commissary.

"10. The soldiers shall not be permitted to separate from the troop or company in which they are enrolled, or go into any other service.

"Answ. The soldiers shall be so treated that there shall be no suspicion of any design to oblige them to quit their old service for any other; but they shall be free to engage in that of Spain, if they desire it of their own free will.

"11. The fort shall be surrendered to the troops of His Catholic Majesty tomorrow, the 14th instant, at ten o'clock in the morning.

"Elias Durnford.
"Bernardo de Galvez.

"Additional Article. The besieged shall bona fide deliver to the commissaries appointed to receive them, all the ammunition, arms, artillery, powder, provisions, and other effects that exist in the fort at the time of capitulation, without spoiling or concealing any thing.

"B. de Galvez.
"E. Durnford."

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 214.

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when the men were aloft reefing, the Spaniards rose, cut Captain Jones's throat, and massacred every man upon and between decks, afterwards shot the remainder as they came from aloft, and then carried the ship into the Havaña.

An act of parliament was passed, to allow the trade between Ireland and the British colonies to be carried on, in like manner as it was carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies.

January the 19th, Major-General Cunninghame was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of Barbadoes.

The manifesto against Holland, dated December the 20th, 1780, contains the following assertion: — "In the West Indies, particularly at St. Eustatius, every protection and assistance has been given to our rebellious subjects. Their privateers are openly received into the Dutch harbours, allowed to refit there, supplied with arms and ammunition, their crews recruited, their prizes bought in and sold; and all this in direct violation of as clear and solemn stipulations as can be made. This conduct, so inconsistent with all good faith, so repugnant to the sense of the wisest part of the Dutch nation, is chiefly to be ascribed to the prevalence of the leading magistrates of Amsterdam, whose secret correspondence with our rebellious subjects was suspected long before it was made known by the fortunate discovery of a treaty with them, signed in September, 1778."

Captain Cornwallis, in his Majesty's ship Lion, sixty-four, with the Bristol, fifty, Captain Parker, and Janus, forty-four, Lieutenant Stevens (Captain Glover died the morning of the action), were cruizing off Monte Christi, on the 20th of April [1], 1780, and discovered a convoy to windward, under the protection of M. La Motte Piquet, who made a signal for the merchant vessels to separate, and push into Cape François, which they effected; and then, in the Hero, seventy-four, with the Hannibal, seventy-four; Vanquer, sixty-four; Diadem, seventy-four, and Amphitrite frigate, chased the English, and at five P.M. began a distant cannonade. The French ships outsailed the English, and had the option as to distance.

The next morning, the 21st, was almost calm. The Janus was near the French commodore, and shot away his mizen mast and main-top gallant mast. The Lion and Bristol, towed up, with their boats, and brought on a general firing, which lasted some hours. Both squadrons separated, and repaired damages, the French following our ships, but did not come to action the whole night.

Annual Register, 1780, p. 142.
Memoirs of the Hon. W. Cornwallis, Naval Chronicle, vol. vii. p. 13.

[1] The Annual Register says, p. 224, the 20th of March.

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Soon after daylight, on the 22d, three sail were seen to leeward; his Majesty's ship Ruby, sixty-four, with the Niger and Pomona frigates. M. La Motte Piquet had renewed the action in the morning; but, on the arrival of the additional force, pushed for Cape François, although his force was still superior. The English had only twelve men killed and wounded, from the French firing at the rigging.

The governor of the Spanish part of the island of Española ordered a general census to be taken of all the horned cattle. The number returned was 200,000; but 50,000 more were supposed to have been unnoticed.

The population of Dominica was returned at 1066 Whites, 543 free Negroes, and 12,713 slaves.

Upon the 9th of August, an English squadron seized some American vessels under the fort at St. Martin's, and threatened to destroy the town if the Dutch made any resistance. The States-General protested solemnly against this violation of their territory, and desired full satisfaction.

Upon the return of Sir George Rodney from New York to St. Lucia, towards the close of this year, the reports of the ruinous state of the island of St. Vincent induced that commander and General Vaughan to attempt the recovery of that island. Some troops, with the marines, were accordingly landed; but after a day's continuance on the island, the enemy were found in such force, that the troops were reimbarked without hazarding an attack.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary employed twenty-two ships, and consisted of 4000½ hhds. of sugar, 1437 tierces and 40,023 bags of coffee, and 2730 bales of cotton.

Dr. Samuel Athill stated in his examination, that nearly one-fifth of the Negroes in Antigua had died by dysentery, in 1778, 1779, and 1780.

The number of Negroes in Barbadoes, in the lists given in on oath by Mr. Agent Brathwaite, was 68,284.

It appears from a regulation of Monsieur J. B. Guillemon de Vaivre, intendant at Cape François, St. Domingo, that the planters, whose slaves, from sickness or infirmity, had become expensive incumbrances, often sent them to the King's chain to be punished as delinquents, merely to deliver themselves from the charge of their support, and of their medical relief. In consequence of this abuse, the keepers were ordered not to

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 101. 374. Coke's West Indies, vol. iii. p. 369.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Parliamentary Papers, Slave Trade, 1790.
Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 354.

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receive into the chain any slave until he had been examined by the royal surgeon.

These cruel frauds are only censured as prejudicial to the interests of the King: no punishment is appointed for the inhuman master.

Mr. Stephen says, that Jamaica was the first of the British colonies that adopted these terrible slave-prisons called workhouses, and the public or parochial slave chain.

1781.

Upon the 9th of March, Don Bernardo de Galvez, with five sail of the line, several smaller vessels, and 8000 troops, arrived before Pensacola. He was soon afterwards joined by Don Joseph Solano, with ten sail of the line.

The English had only two sloops of war and some smaller vessels in the harbour. The garrison of Fort George was composed of Germans, marines, sailors, Negroes, Indians, inhabitants, and a few regulars. One of the sloops of war was burnt: the officers and crews bore a distinguished part in the defence of the fort.

The principal defence was a strong advanced redoubt, which commanded the narrow approach on the land side. Upon the 8th of May, a bomb fell near the door of the magazine belonging to the redoubt, and which lay under its centre: it burst the door open, set fire to the powder, and in an instant the whole was a heap of rubbish. One hundred men were either killed or miserably wounded. The Spaniards immediately stormed the place: they were repulsed by the flank works, but these the English were forced to abandon. The possession of the ruined redoubt and the flank works enabled the Spaniards to command with their musketry some of the principal batteries—the place was no longer tenable. An honourable capitulation was obtained by Mr. Chester, the governor of the province, and Major-General Campbell [1], and the place was delivered up on

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 99, 100.

[1] *Articles of Capitulation between His Excellency Don Bernardo de Galvez, Major-General of the Spanish Army, and His Excellency Peter Chester, Esq. and Major-General John Campbell, in His Britannic Majesty's Service.*

"Art. 1. All the forts and posts now in possession of His Britannic Majesty shall (upon a time agreed upon) be delivered up to the troops of His Catholic Majesty; the British garrisons, including soldiers and seamen, to march out with all the honours of war (arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, two field-pieces and six rounds of ammunition, and the same number to each soldier), to the distance of five hundred yards from their respective posts, where they will pile up their arms, officers only reserving their

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the 9th of May, on the day two months that the enemy first made their appearance.

Annual Register, 1781, p. 100.

swords; after which they shall be embarked, as speedily as possible, on board of vessels provided and sufficiently victualled at the expence of His Catholic Majesty, to be sent, as speedily as possible, and without unnecessary delay, to one of the ports belonging to Great Britain, at the option of Major-General Campbell; the men to be under the immediate direction of their own respective officers, and not to serve against Spain or her allies until an equal number of prisoners belonging to Spain and her allies shall be given to (by) Great Britain in exchange, according to the established custom of equality of rank or equivalent therein.

"Answ. Granted, the ports of St. Augustine and the island of Jamaica only excepted; and as to the punctilio of the exchange of prisoners, Spaniards shall be preferred to their allies, the transportation of those who shall be sent to the Spanish ports in exchange at the expence of His Britannic Majesty.

"2. Staff officers, commissioners, storekeepers, and, in general, all and every person acting with, and dependent by their office or employment upon the army, to be included in the preceding article.

"Answ. Granted.

"3. There shall be an hospital ship provided, and sufficiently victualled, at the expence of His Catholic Majesty, for the sick and wounded that are in a condition to be removed to accompany the other troops to the port they shall retire to, and the rest shall be taken care of, and sent with a flag of truce, when recovered, to the same place.

"Answ. Granted; General Campbell leaving commissaries, surgeons, and medicines for the relief of the sick at the expence of His Britannic Majesty; to be afterwards sent away at the expence of His Catholic Majesty, the same as the rest of the garrison.

"4. Captains and officers of the navy, allowed servants by the establishment of the British navy, to have their servants reserved to them, and to be included in the first article.

"Answ. Granted.

"5. All the private property, baggage and effects of all and every officer, soldier, or seaman, composing the garrisons of the forts or posts included in this capitulation, to be reserved and preserved to them without damage or molestation, and they allowed either to carry it with them on board the transports that shall be provided for them by the first article, or dispose of it as they shall think proper at Pensacola.

"Answ. Granted, with regard to the baggage and equipage, agreeable to the custom of the army.

"6. All papers necessary for the settlement of public accounts in England or elsewhere shall be allowed.

"Answ. Granted, after having been examined.

"7. A flag of truce, sent some time ago to the Havana by Captain Deans, then senior captain of the navy on the Pensacola station, shall be sent to the same port that the troops and seamen of this garrison shall retire to by virtue of the first article.

"Answ. Granted.

"8. A commodious vessel shall be provided, and sufficiently victualled, at the expence of His Catholic Majesty, for carrying the governor, his family, property, and effects to Great Britain, or to any of His Britannic Majesty's governments in North America as he shall think fit; and that during his stay in the province he shall remain in the government house in the town of Pensacola, protected in his person, papers, property, and effects, which shall not be liable to inspection either before or at his departure.

"Answ. Granted, provided he take any other house than the government house which he solicits.

"9. A commodious vessel shall also be provided, and sufficiently victualled, at the expence of His Catholic Majesty, for the carrying of Major-General John Campbell, his suite, family, property, and effects, to Great Britain, or any of His Britannic Majesty's governments of North America, as he shall think fit; and that during his stay in the province he shall be furnished with proper lodgings and accommodation for himself, suite, and family, and that he also shall be protected in his person, papers, property, and effects, which shall not be liable to

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The enemy found in the different works 143 pieces of cannon, four mortars, six howitzers, and forty swivels. During the siege,

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 230.

inspection either before or at his departure.

"Answ. Granted.

"10. Commissaries of each nation shall be appointed to take an inventory of all the guns, stores, ammunition, provisions, and other effects belonging to His Britannic Majesty, in the several forts, posts, and places to be delivered up to the commander of the Spanish troops.

"Answ. Granted.

"11. The naval, military, and staff officers, whose affairs require their presence in the province, shall be permitted to remain a reasonable time to settle the same.

"Answ. Granted.

"12. The province shall remain in the possession of His Catholic Majesty until their Britannic and Catholic Majesties shall determine the fate thereof; and in the meantime the civil officers, those of the army and navy during their stay, merchants, and other inhabitants, shall not in any case be compelled to take up arms against His Britannic Majesty, his allies, or any other power whatsoever; they shall not be molested on any pretence in their persons, estates, or effects whatsoever, either by land or sea, by the subjects of His Catholic Majesty or his allies, but shall be protected therein the same as the natural-born subjects of Spain.

"Answ. The province shall remain to Spain, and the inhabitants shall be treated agreeable to the capitulation of Baton Rouge, with an addition of four months more before they retire.

"13. The chief justice, and the other civil officers of government who shall not have occasion to stay to settle their affairs, shall also be carried to Great Britain, or to any of His Britannic Majesty's governments in North America, as they shall think fit, with their families, papers, and effects, which shall not be liable to inspection, in good vessels, to be provided and sufficiently victualled at the expence of His Catholic Majesty.

"Answ. Flags of truce shall be given them to retire, but at their own expence.

"14. All officers, civil, naval, and military, as shall remain for the purpose of settling their affairs, any time after vessels shall be provided for carrying them to Great Britain or elsewhere, as mentioned in the preceding articles; merchants and others by themselves, during their stay, and in case of their leaving the province, then by attornies to be appointed by them; as also all absentees, whose affairs now are or shall be put under the management of attornies; shall be preserved in their rights and privileges, and the peaceable and quiet possession and enjoyment of their estates and effects, real and personal, moveable and immoveable, or of any other nature whatsoever; and shall, by themselves or their attornies, sell and dispose thereof at their pleasure, in the same manner as they have heretofore done, and the proceeds thereof to vest in such specie as shall be most convenient and agreeable to them, and therewith to transport themselves and their families to any part of the dominions of His Britannic Majesty, in cartel vessels, at their own expence. The necessary vessels shall be furnished them, and safe conducts to protect them, their families and effects, from the subjects and allies of His Catholic Majesty, the same as if they were natural-born subjects of Spain.

"Answ. Granted, for one year.

"15. Inhabitants whatsoever shall not be compelled to find the troops of His Catholic Majesty in quarters. All free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Mastees shall be preserved in their freedom.

"Answ. The inhabitants shall find lodgings when there is a necessity for it, and no longer. Granted with regard to free Negroes and Mulattoes, provided always that General Campbell releases a free Negro taken at the village.

"16. The free exercise of religion shall be allowed throughout the province as heretofore, without putting the least restraint thereon.

"Answ. Granted for one year, until the King my master's pleasure is known.

"17. The Negroes who have been hired from their masters, and employed in working on the fortifications during the siege, shall not be taken from their masters on that account, but shall be secured to their owners the same as the rest of their property.

"Answ. Granted.

"18. All public books, records, and

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the British lost ninety-five killed, and about fifty wounded. The garrison, exclusive of people of colour, amounted to 1200 men.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 230.

papers in the respective offices of government and revenue, shall remain in the custody and charge of the present officers, without being permitted, on any pretence, to be removed, lest they should be lost or mislaid.

"Answ. All public papers shall be given up to a person whom I shall appoint for their examination: and in case of their being of no use for the government of the province, to be returned to the civil officers.

"19. Inhabitants, or other persons whatsoever, shall not be troubled or molested, under any pretence, for having borne arms in the defence of the province.

"Answ. Granted.

"20. Two covered waggons shall be granted to march out with the troops, which are not, upon any account whatever, to be searched.

"Answ. Granted.

"21. All the cattle, and other provisions whatsoever, taken from the inhabitants of said province for the use of His Catholic Majesty's forces, shall be paid for in full, according to the customary prices for each respective article in the parts where the same have been taken.

"Answ. This article is useless, as neither cattle nor any thing else has been taken from the inhabitants.

"22. That the governor and commander of the troops in this province shall be permitted to send advice of this capitulation in flags of truce or otherwise, at their option, to the governor of East Florida, the commander-in-chief in North America, to Jamaica, and Great Britain, if they shall think proper so to do.

"Answ. Granted.

"23. All prisoners made by the arms of Spain since the 9th day of March last, shall join the garrisons of the forts and posts to be evacuated, and be on the same footing as stipulated for them in the first article; and all Spanish prisoners who had paroles given them at Pensacola, or who are now in possession of the British troops, to be set at liberty, unless such as shall be accused of and excepted against for breach of parole.

"Answ. Granted.

"24. Negroes who have absconded during the siege from fear or apprehensions of danger, to be restored to their owners when found.

"Answ. Granted; or, if found inconvenient, their value shall be given.

"25. Quarters to be provided for the British troops and seamen, until they can be embarked on board the transports to be furnished for them by the first article.

"Answ. Granted.

"26. The full and entire execution of the present capitulation shall be observed bonâ fide; and where doubt shall arise not provided for in the preceding articles, it shall be understood to be the intention of the contracting parties, that they be determined in the manner most conformable to humanity and liberality of sentiment.

Additional Articles.

"27. In case one or more British sailors or soldiers, who are now absent from their respective corps and wandering in the woods, shall hereafter be taken by the Spanish troops or their allies, they shall be considered the same as if they actually now were a part of the garrison, and as such (in case they shall be taken before the departure of the garrison) shall be suffered to join the British troops; and if after their departure, they shall be allowed to join the hospital, and be sent to the same port to which the garrison shall retire, along with the sick and wounded, who shall be left behind agreeable to the stipulation of the third article.

"Answ. Granted, provided they do not present themselves in quality of deserters.

"28. No encouragement whatever shall be given, nor, upon honour, any means used, to entice either soldiers or sailors of the British troops to enlist in the service of Spain, or that of their allies.

"Answ. Granted; but protection shall be afforded to them who present themselves voluntarily.

(Signed) "Peter Chester.
"John Campbell, Maj.-Gen.
"Bernardo de Galvez."

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 274.

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The Spaniards lost 90 killed, and 202 wounded: their force was near 9000 men, with fifteen sail of the line, besides smaller vessels.

Upon the 3d of February, Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan appeared before the island of St. Eustatia, and summoned the governor to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour. M. de Graaff, the governor, was ignorant of the rupture between England and Holland, and at first could not believe that the officer who delivered the summons was serious: he returned for answer, that "being incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it, only recommending the town and inhabitants to the known and usual clemency of British commanders." A large body of American merchants and seamen offered to assist him in defending the island. The value of the property found upon the island was estimated at above three millions sterling, exclusive of the shipping, of which above 250 sail, many of them richly laden, were taken in the bay — a Dutch thirty-eight-gun frigate, and five smaller ones, not included in that number.

From many of the letters found in the American prize ships, the admiral and general discovered that a traitorous correspondence had been carried on between British subjects and the revolted colonies in North America. Further investigation afforded fresh proofs of villainy: in consequence of the treasonable practices which were brought to light, all the merchandize and stores found at St. Eustatia were confiscated for his Majesty's use.

Sir G. B. Rodney's Account of the Capture of St. Eustatia.

"His Majesty's ship Sandwich, Feb. 4, 1781.

"His Majesty's sloop of war the Childers joined me on the 27th January with their lordships' most secret orders, and his Majesty's royal declaration against the states of Holland and their subjects. General Vaughan and myself lost not a moment's time in putting his Majesty's commands into execution. We immediately embarked the troops destined for the enterprize; and the whole being kept a profound secret, we sailed from St. Lucia on the 30th of January.

"To prevent the French penetrating our design, the whole fleet appeared before Fort Royal and St. Pierre's, Martinico, which island we greatly alarmed; and having left Rear-Admiral Drake, with six sail of the line and two frigates, to watch the motions of the four sail of the line and two frigates then in the Bay of Fort Royal, late in the evening of the said day we

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 32. 101.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 167.: vol. v. p. 169.

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proceeded for the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, and dispatched Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with his squadron, to environ the Bay of St. Eustatia, and prevent the escape of any Dutch ships of war or merchant ships that might be at anchor there: he most effectually performed that service.

"On the 3d instant, the general and myself, with the remainder of the fleet and transports, arrived in the bay. The men of war being stationed against the batteries, and the troops ready to disembark, the general and myself, in order to save the effusion of blood, thought it necessary to send to the Dutch governor the summons I have the honour to inclose, with which he instantly complied. The surprise and astonishment of the governor and inhabitants of St. Eustatia is scarcely to be conceived. The Mars, a Dutch ship of war, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred men, commanded by Count Byland, and belonging to the department of the admiralty of Amsterdam, having arrived at St. Eustatia, had allayed their fears of hostilities.

"I most sincerely congratulate their lordships on the severe blow the Dutch West India Company, and the perfidious magistrates of Amsterdam, have sustained by the capture of this island. Upwards of 150 sail of ships and vessels of all denominations (many of them richly loaded) are taken in the bay, exclusive of the Dutch frigate called the Mars, which I have commissioned, manned, and in a few days she will cruize against the enemy as a British ship of war.

"There are, besides, five ships and vessels of war, from fourteen to twenty-six guns, all complete and ready for service.

"A Dutch convoy, consisting of thirty sail of merchant ships richly loaded, having sailed from St. Eustatia under the protection of a sixty-gun ship, about thirty-six hours before my arrival, I detached Captain Reynolds, of his Majesty's ship Monarch, with the Panther and Sybil, to pursue them as far as the latitude of Bermudas, should he not intercept them before he got that length.

"All the magazines and storehouses are filled, and even the beach covered with tobacco and sugar.

"The islands of St. Martin's and Saba have surrendered, no terms whatever having been allowed them."

February the 27th, Sir George Rodney, in a letter to Commissioner Laforey, speaking of the inhabitants of St. Eustatia, says—

"I have daily experience of iniquitous practices, and the treasonable correspondence carried on by those calling them-

Memoirs of Lord Rodney, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 385.

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selves British merchants settled in this Dutch and the neighbouring islands; and am fully convinced, by intercepting hundreds of letters, that if it had not been for their treasonable correspondence and assistance, the American war must have been long since finished, nor could the French islands have been supported. It was from this island, after the battle of the 17th of April last (1780), that the French fleet were enabled to return to Martinico. They sent from this island two vessels loaded with cordage and naval stores, and filled with carpenters, who joined them under 'Bermuda' (Barbudo); and, by such assistance, enabled eight of them, who must otherwise have borne away for St. Domingo, to keep company with their fleet."

And in another to Philip Stephens, Esq. dated the 6th of March, 1781, he says—

"I think it my duty to lay before their lordships the resolution General Vaughan and myself have taken relative to the securing this important conquest to Great Britain; and that she might avail herself of all its riches, as an atonement for the injuries it has done her.

"We thought that this nest of smugglers, adventurers, betrayers of their country, and rebels to their King, had no right to expect a capitulation, or to be treated as a respectable people; their atrocious crimes deserve none, and they ought to have known that the just vengeance of an injured empire, though slow, is sure. An agent, and many French merchants, resided in this island; and, that no national reflection may be cast with justice upon Great Britain (though the French magazines of provisions and stores have been seized), their persons have been treated with respect, and they will be allowed to carry with them, in cartel-vessels, to Guadaloupe and Martinico, all their household furniture, plate, linen, &c. &c., and their numerous household slaves. The Dutch Amsterdam merchants will likewise be allowed proper cartel-ships to carry them and their families, with their household furniture. The guilty American merchants, and the equally guilty Bermudian and British, though obliged to retire, will be permitted to take with them their household goods and personal effects."

Letter from Lord Rodney to Lord George Germain.

"My Lord, "Barbadoes, June 26, 1781.

"We have been honoured with your lordship's letter of the 30th of March, communicating to us the King's royal approbation of our conduct in the capture of St. Eustatia, St. Martin's, and Saba, and acquainting us of his Majesty's most gracious gift

Memoirs of Lord Rodney, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 386.

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of the property of the enemy captured in these islands to his army and navy. So great and royal a bounty was far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

"We had no views whatever but doing our duty and executing his Majesty's commands, concluding the whole was property of the crown; and, without one selfish view, thought it a duty incumbent on us, to seize, for his Majesty's use, all the effects of an island inhabited by rebellious Americans and their agents; disaffected British factors, who, from base and lucrative motives, were the great support of the American rebellion; traitors to their King, and patricides to their country. These, mixed with Jews and Dutch, who, regardless of the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and Holland, had traitorously conspired, and for years supported the public enemies of the state, and the rebellion of our deluded colonies; when, but for such support and encouragement, the unhappy differences with that country had long since subsided.

"Such, my lord, were the inhabitants of St. Eustatia, loaded with the accumulation of every crime that was possible for subjects to commit towards the ruin of their country.

"Judge then, my lord, what we must feel in being threatened with innumerable prosecutions for doing our duty, and that men guilty of such atrocious crimes should meet support from any individual in a British Parliament.

"We should scorn to take the effects of any honest or just man; and if there be any such, who are inhabitants of St. Eustatia, although the laws of war might make it lawful prize, God forbid we should distress the innocent.

"We thought it a duty incumbent upon us to act as we have done; and that men who have been contending for the ruin of their country, should in return be exposed to its just resentment.

"This being our situation, and regardless of the threats of such British merchants, who, by their support and credit, have contributed to this infamous commerce, so detrimental to the state, and for which, we are told, numerous actions are already commenced against us; yet we have not a doubt but that his Majesty, from his known justice and magnanimity, will give his royal commands, that we meet with that support from administration, that officers serving their country, and executing his royal orders, flatter themselves they will receive.

"We have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

"My lord,

"Your lordship's most faithful and obedient servants,

"G. B. RODNEY,

"JOHN VAUGHAN."

Memoirs of Lord Rodney, Naval Chronicle, vol. i. p. 386.

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The States General, in their answer to the King's manifesto, assert, that from the beginning they had "caused most express inhibitions to be published against the exportation of all warlike stores to the colonies of His Britannic Majesty in America, and against all fraudulent trade with the said colonies; and in order that the said prohibitions should be more effectually carried into execution, their High Mightinesses made no difficulty to take such farther steps as greatly circumscribed their own navigation, and the trade of their subjects with the Dutch colonies in the West Indies.

"Their High Mightinesses, having received a memorial presented to them by the English ambassador, full of the heaviest complaints against the governor of St. Eustatia, condescended to deliberate on the said memorial, though couched in terms little consonant with the regard which sovereign powers owe to each other. The consequence of the said deliberation was, the immediate recal of the said governor, whom their High Mightinesses called to an account for his conduct, and who was not permitted to return to his residence till he had cleared himself of all the charges brought against him.

"At the island of St. Martin, His Britannic Majesty attacked and carried away, by force, several vessels that lay at anchor under the cannon of the fort; where, according to the inviolable rights of mankind, the vessels ought to have found a safe asylum."

The rest of the answer does not relate to West India affairs: it is dated at the Hague, the 10th of March, 1781.

The merchants of St. Christopher's sent John Glanville, Esq. to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, with a remonstrance, dated the 16th of March, relative to the capture of St. Eustatia, in which they state, "that their property, fairly bought under the sanction of acts of parliament, had been taken from them; that insurances for some of those goods had been ordered to be made in England; that they considered their excellencies answerable for all risks, until the delivery of their goods into the hands of their correspondents in England; and that they would seek redress by all the means in their power." And as the inhabitants (they say) of the captured islands, in whose behalf we also claim, have considerable property on board of Dutch vessels now in St. Eustatia road, we request that certificates relating to such property be sent to England in each vessel. The memorial then states, "it is impossible for many of us to be more ruined by future events than by the present:" that the French King severely reprobated Count d'Estaing's conduct when Grenada was taken by storm; and that they were asking for a right, and not soliciting a favour.

Annual Register, 1781, p. 121. — Public Papers.

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Admiral Rodney, in his answer, says, he was "surprised that gentlemen who call themselves subjects and merchants of Great Britain, should, when it was in their power to lodge their effects in the British islands to windward, where they were under the protection of the British laws and the British flag, send them to leeward to the island of St. Eustatia, where, in the eye of common reason and common sense, they could only be lodged as a deposit to supply the necessities of their King and their country's enemies. The island of Eustatia was Dutch — every thing in it was Dutch — every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag; and that as Dutch it shall be treated, is the firm resolution of a British admiral, who has no view whatever but to do the duty he owes his King and country." [1]

Messrs. Gouverneur and Curson, merchants of St. Eustatia, were sent to England, in his Majesty's ship Vengeance, in July: they were examined by the attorney and solicitor generals at Whitehall. Mr. Gouverneur was committed for high-treason, in corresponding with Adams, the American agent at Amsterdam, and furnishing the Americans with military stores and ammunition. Mr. Curson was unwell, and allowed to remain in the custody of Mr. Mann, the messenger.

Annual Register, 1781, Public Papers.

[1] The two following letters were published at Paris: —

Sir George Rodney to the Marquis de Bouille.

"I have received the letters which your excellency did me the honour to write to me: and I am hurt that a person of so distinguished a rank and character as the Marquis de Bouille should, in consequence of information which he confesses he received through indirect channels, demean himself so far as to descend to menaces. British admirals are unacquainted with fear, and know not what it is to threaten; they are responsible for their conduct to none but their King and country; they never look for glory in insulting their enemies; they have always treated them with respect and humanity. But a perfidious people, wearing the mask of friendship, traitors to their country and rebels to their King, are not entitled to indulgencies or respect, and shall never meet with either at my hands.

"I am," &c.

The Marquis de Bouille to Admiral Rodney.

"I am satisfied that a British admiral and a French general ought to be responsible only to their King and their country. To both I owe reprisals; and cruel as it may be to have recourse to them, you set the example at St. Eustatia, and I must pursue it. You laid down the law, and I shall strictly adhere to it. Your excellency no doubt forgot that you were writing to a French general, who, from the events of war, has been for some time in the habit of despising insolence. I had the honour to write to your excellency that I would not exchange any more prisoners; they shall all, without exception, be sent to France. I repeat once more, that you may act as you please towards our flags of truce: to quiet your apprehensions on that head, I shall send no more. In future, the interpreters of our sentiments shall be our cannon; by those means we shall avoid all political disputes, so fastidious and disgusting in themselves, and which are more in the department of ambassadors than of soldiers.—I am," &c.

Annual Register, 1781, p. 82.

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Captain Reynolds, on the 4th of February, captured all the Dutch convoy, and the Mars, Dutch ship of war, of sixty guns: a Dutch admiral was killed on board her.

Admiral Rodney, in a letter of the 6th of February, states, that three large Dutch ships from Amsterdam, laden with naval stores, were also taken. General Vaughan, in his report, dated the 7th of February, says, "We took possession to the amount of at least £3,000,000 of money; and what gives me particular pleasure to find is, that Amsterdam will bear the chief weight of the loss." We have continued the Dutch flag, which answers extremely well, as there have been no less than seventeen ships come into the port since it has been captured."

A squadron of privateers, mostly belonging to Bristol, entered the rivers Demerary and Essequibo, and brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch forts, almost all the valuable vessels in both rivers.

The Dutch governors and principal inhabitants of Surinam, sensible of their defenceless situation, and fearful of falling a prey to privateers, made a tender of their submission to the governor of Barbadoes, requiring no other terms but a participation of those which had been granted to St. Eustatia — both parties ignorant of what they were.

In a dispatch, dated March the 17th, Admiral Rodney says, that in addition to the islands of St. Eustatia, St. Martin's, Saba, and St. Bartholomew, the colonies of Demerary and Essequibo had surrendered, "upon the supposed terms given to St. Eustatia: yet General Vaughan and myself thought they ought to be put quite on a different footing, and not treated as an island whose inhabitants, though belonging to a state who, by public treaty, was bound to assist Great Britain against her avowed enemies, had, nevertheless, openly assisted her public enemy and the rebels to her state, with every necessary and implement of war and provisions, perfidiously breaking the treaties they had sworn to maintain.

"We, therefore, to ease the minds of the inhabitants of those colonies, and to enable them to experience the happiness and security of British government, dispatched their deputies back with the enclosed terms, which, we flatter ourselves, will meet with his Majesty's royal approbation. Great merit is due to General Cunningham, governor of Barbadoes, who sent a summons by Captain Pender, of his Majesty's sloop Barbuda, and the Surprise, Captain Day, whom I had ordered to be stationed off that coast, in order to blockade those rivers. These

Annual Register, 1781, Public Papers.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 206.

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colonies, in the hands of Great Britain, if properly encouraged, in a few years will employ more ships, and produce more revenue to the crown, than all the British West India islands united."

In another letter of the same date, Sir George says, "The capture of St. Eustatia has distressed the French islands beyond conception; they are greatly in want of every species of provisions and stores. I will use my best endeavours to blockade them, in such a manner as, I hope, will prevent their receiving any. The only danger is from the British islands, whose merchants, regardless of the duty they owe their country, have already contracted with the enemy to supply them with provisions and naval stores. My utmost attention shall be used to prevent their treason taking place."

P. Van Schuylenburgh, the governor of Demerary, and the council, sent Messrs. Joseph Bourda and J. Haslin, two of the principal inhabitants, with Captain Pender, who offered them a passage to Admiral Sir G. Rodney and General Vaughan, who granted them the following terms:—

"Whereas the inhabitants of Demerary and the River Essequibo, and dependencies, have surrendered at discretion to the arms of His Britannic Majesty: it is hereby granted to the inhabitants to remain in full possession of their property, and to be governed by their present laws, till his Majesty's pleasure is known.

"All the property, stores, &c. belonging to the Dutch West India Company, to be delivered up to His Britannic Majesty's officers.

"The inhabitants to take the oaths of allegiance to, and be admitted under protection of the crown of Great Britain; and will be allowed to export their produce to Great Britain, or the British islands of Tobago and Barbadoes, in British bottoms, and treated in all respects as British subjects, till his Majesty's pleasure be known.

"The commandant and the other officers have leave to go to Holland in a cartel, taking with them all their effects, of whatever nature; the troops to have the same indulgence.

"Given under our hands, in St. Eustatia, this 14th March, 1781.

"G. B. RODNEY.

"JOHN VAUGHAN."

"The present annual produce of the infant colonies of Demerary and Essequibo:—10,000 hhds. of sugar; rum in proportion; 5,000,000 lbs. of coffee; 800,000 lbs. of cotton; cocoa and indigo not ascertained as yet."

Barlow's History of England, p. 309.

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The Jews petitioned Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan: they stated, that some of them were natural-born subjects of Great Britain, and that all of them were ready to prove their fidelity, and repeat their oaths of allegiance. The orders which had been given, they said, "have not only been productive of the most horrid and melancholy scenes of distress and confusion that ever British eyes beheld under the fatal consequences of a rigid war, but numbers of families are now helpless and desolate, and in an absolute state of indigence and despair. If any among us have committed a crime for which they are punishable, we humbly beg those crimes may be pointed out, and that such persons may be purged from among us. But if nothing can be alleged against us, but the religion of our forefathers, we hope that will not be considered a crime." And afterwards they say, "May the God of all mercies incline your hearts to listen to the prayers and supplications of your petitioners!" The petition is dated February the 16th.

Except for warlike stores, St. Eustatia became one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. Invitation was given and protection afforded to purchasers of all nations, and of all sorts. Never was a better market for buyers. Great part of the treasure was sent to Europe under Commodore Hotham and a small squadron.

At this time, M. de Grasse, with twenty sail of the line, and a fifty gun ship, with a convoy, was expected at Martinico. Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, with seventeen sail of the line, were sent to cruize off Fort Royal, to prevent him from joining the squadron in that port. Upon the 28th of April, the English saw the French to windward of Point Salines, and hoped to cut them off from Fort Royal. In the morning of the 29th, the convoy kept close in under the land; and De Grasse formed the line of battle abreast for their protection, and was joined by four ships of the line and a fifty, from Fort Royal harbour; and the Royal William joined Sir Samuel Hood. The French had the weather-gage, and all Sir Samuel Hood's efforts to bring him to close action were ineffectual. "Never," said that officer, "was more powder and shot thrown away in one day." The action lasted about three hours: only thirty-six men were killed, and one hundred and sixty-one wounded, in the English fleet. Captain Nott, of the Centaur, was killed, and the Russel received so much damage, that she was obliged to bear away for St. Eustatia, and was with difficulty preserved from sinking on her passage.

The next day, the French seemed more disposed to bring on

Barlow's History of England, pp. 106. 108.

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a decisive action. Sir Samuel Hood manœuvred, with the hope of cutting off the van and centre of their fleet, who were separated from their rear: he was very near succeeding. At night, the situation of the disabled ships induced Admiral Hood to bear up for Antigua. At day-light, the French, elated at the appearance of a flight, pursued them, and the Torbay having fallen considerably astern, received some damage before she could be supported. The appearance of pursuit was kept up for the remainder of the day.

Upon the arrival of the Russel at St. Eustatia, she was refitted with all possible dispatch; and three days afterwards, Admiral Rodney, with the Sandwich, Triumph, and Russel, sailed for Antigua, where he joined the rest of the fleet, and as soon as they were refitted, he proceeded to Barbadoes.

In the mean time, upon the 10th of May, the Marquis de Bouille, with a body of troops under the Viscount Damas, landed in the night at St. Lucia. They took post at Gros Islet, hoping to cut off the 46th regiment, but only succeeded in taking some sick who were in the hospital, a centinel, and an officer, the whole of whom were sent to Martinico. They then summoned the commander of Pigeon Island to surrender, but a spirited refusal checked their hopes and their progress. The accidental arrival of a frigate and two sloops, whose crews were landed to man the batteries, contributed to the preservation of the island. In the night the marquis marched towards Morne Fortune, and the next morning the French fleet, of twenty-five sail of the line, bore down towards Gros Islet Bay, and the Marquis de Bouille continued his dispositions to attack Morne Fortune. The fire from Pigeon Island obliged the fleet to haul off in evident confusion, and in the night the marquis reimbarked all his troops. Next morning, the whole fleet were seen standing for Martinico.

Upon Easter Sunday, five hundred houses were burnt in Roseau, Dominica, and property to the amount of £200,000 destroyed.

The town was set on fire by the French soldiers — it was supposed, by orders from the Marquis Duchilleau, the governor, who was present at the event, and would not suffer his troops to assist in extinguishing the flames in the houses belonging to the English, but suffered them to plunder during the conflagration. Duchilleau was succeeded by the Count de Bourgoinne, who was recalled for mal-administration, and M. de Beaupe appointed governor, who continued in command of the island until it was restored.

Barlow's History of England, p. 110. Atwood's Dominica, pp. 149. 151.

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Captain George Brown, of the 60th, with a few regular troops and some Baymen, sailed from the island of Rattan, in the beginning of June, to attack St. Pedro Sualo, in the Gulf of Dolce: they landed, and had proceeded a considerable way into the country before they were discovered — when one of their prisoners made his escape, and their only guide was killed. They found the village deserted, and set it on fire — destroyed 400 barrels of gunpowder, 5000 stand of arms, and 500 complete sets of horse furniture — several stores of rich merchandize, and some of flour and indigo. The whole being consumed, they returned to their vessels, having lost only two men.

Upon the 5th of June, his Majesty's ship Ulysses, Captain Thomas, on the Jamaica station, engaged the Surveillante French frigate, but did not take her.

On the 19th of April, his Majesty's ship Resource, twenty-eight guns, Captain Rowley, off Cape Blaise, captured the Unicorn French frigate, of thirty-seven guns and 181 men, after an action of one hour and a half, in which the French had eight killed and thirty wounded, and the English fifteen killed and thirty wounded.

His Majesty's ship Pelican, Captain Collingwood, was wrecked upon the Morant Quays, in a violent gale of wind, on the 2d of August.

December the 15th, Major-General Christie, in his letter to the secretary of state from Barbadoes, says, "It is with real grief I am obliged to communicate to your lordship the disagreeable news of the capture of St. Eustatia and St. Martin's, on the 26th and 27th ultimo, by a handful of the enemy, not exceeding 300 men, landed from three frigates and some small craft in Jenkin's Bay, at the back of the island, under the command of the Marquis de Bouille, without the smallest opposition from the garrisons; the former consisting of 723, and the latter of sixty-three effective men, including officers."

The Marquis de Bouille, informed of the negligence of the governor and garrison at St. Eustatia, was induced to undertake the otherwise hopeless task of surprising and reducing that island: he sailed with 2000 picked men, in some small vessels, from Martinico; and knowing that the only practicable landing place in the island was left open and unguarded, he took his measures in such a manner as to arrive before it betimes in the night of the 25th of November. The landing was, however, so bad, the surf so high, and the sunken rocks so numerous and dangerous, that he lost his boats, and had many of his men

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. pp. 207. 208. 210.
Annual Register, January 1782, pp. 4. 194.

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drowned in the attempt. With his utmost exertions he could only land 400 men by daylight, and the means of landing more were then at an end.

Knowing the garrison to be nearly double his own number, and that all assistance from his ships and means of retreat were equally cut off, there was nothing but a vigorous attack could save himself and his troops from being either made prisoners or cut to pieces. The landing place was about two leagues from the town and fort, and the way was not only extremely difficult in all its parts, but was intersected by a defile in the hills, where a handful of men could have stopped the approach of an army. The garrison consisted of 723 men of the 13th and 15th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn.

The Marquis de Bouille's troops wore a red uniform, which contributed greatly to facilitate the enterprise. A division of the garrison were going through their exercise, in a field at some distance from the fort — the rest were dispersed among the houses in the town. A volley of small arms, fired from almost within reach of their bayonets, was the first intimation the soldiers at exercise had of their danger: several were killed, and the rest were incapable of resistance. Those in quarters hurried headlong to the fort, and clogged the drawbridge in such a manner that it could not be raised. The enemy entered pell-mell with the fugitives.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, the governor, who had been taking an early ride, returned at the instant of the surprise, and was made prisoner on horseback. The island was lost in a few minutes, without the expence of a man to the enemy.

£13,000, which the governor claimed as his property, was, by the consent of the French troops, restored to him. But a large sum, the produce of the late sales, and said to be the property of Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, became a prize to the conquerors. Their whole spoil was estimated at two millions of livres.

Colonel Cockburn was tried by a court-martial for his conduct upon this occasion, sentenced to be cashiered, and declared unworthy of serving his Majesty in any military capacity whatever — and the same was to be notified to him publicly, at the head of the regiments he had commanded in the island. The King confirmed the sentence, but ordered that part of it whereby the same was to be publicly made known to him at the head of the 13th and 15th regiments of foot, to be dispensed with.

Saba and St. Bartholomew's followed the fate of St. Eustatia.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. pp. 204. 283. Annual Register, 1781, p. 110.

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The convoy, with another large proportion of the St. Eustatia prize property, was taken by the French on its passage to England.

An act was passed, "To continue several laws relating to the opening and establishing certain free ports in the island of Jamaica — to the allowing the free importation of sago-powder and vermicelli from his Majesty's colonies in North America — to the free importation of raw hides and skins from Ireland, and the British plantations in America — to the allowing the exportation of provisions, goods, wares, and merchandize, to certain places in North America, which are or may be under the protection of his Majesty's arms, and from such places to Great Britain, and other parts of his Majesty's dominions," &c.

By an act passed in Jamaica, v. 3. act 91, any slave guilty of felony, robbery, "compassing or imagining the death of a white person, or any other capital offence," to be sent to prison by one justice, and tried by two, and five freeholders — the major part of whom, one being a justice, to give sentence of death, or such other punishment as they think proper, and to cause the same to be carried into execution. The justices may respite, not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure of the commander-in-chief is known. Two days' notice of the trial to be given to the owner, and £40, if the slave is condemned to death, and considered worth so much, to be paid by the parish.

The number of Negroes in Barbadoes, as given in by Mr. Agent Brathwaite on oath, was 63,208, being 5076 less than the year before.

Upon the 1st of August, Jamaica was again desolated by an hurricane.

The West India planters and merchants petitioned the King, complaining that a sufficient naval force was not kept in that country for the protection of the island. They declared, "That the remaining islands are still so unhappily destitute of protection, that at no moment of the war have they been exposed to more imminent danger, than in the present awful conjuncture."

Major-General Campbell succeeded St. John Dalling, Bart. as governor of Jamaica.

Wm. Brown, Esq. was appointed governor of the Bermuda Islands, upon the 3d of March, in the room of J. G. Bruere, Esq. deceased.

April the 14th, Thomas Morley, Esq. was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Leeward Caribee islands.

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.
Edwards, vol. i. p. 234. Annual Register, 1781, pp. 103. 207. 319.

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May the 9th, Thomas Shirley, Esq. took the oaths in council as captain-general and governor-in-chief of his Majesty's Leeward Caribee islands.

On the 2d of March, the colonies of Demerary and Essequibo were surrendered to Captain Pender, of his Majesty's sloop Barbuda, and Lieutenant Forrest, who had been sent by governor Cunningham, with a flag of truce, from Barbadoes, to the Dutch governor Van Schuylenburch.

The exports from Essequibo and Demerary to Holland and Zealand employed seven ships, and consisted of 1602½ hhds. of sugar, 460 tierces and 10,250 bags of coffee, and 756 bales of cotton.

Sir George Rodney having discovered that some British merchant in the West Indies had agreed to supply the French islands with provisions, ordered that no flag of truce should be allowed for the future to go to those islands, under pretence of exchanging prisoners, without a proper authority from General Vaughan or himself. The common price for a flag of truce was fifty johannes: by this illicit commerce the French got most accurate information. The Jews were deeply concerned in it.

The inhabitants of St. Christopher's were so much offended with Admiral Rodney, that all his remonstrances could not induce the governing powers at that island to supply Negroes to get the cannon and stores which had been landed at Sandy Point up to the fortress at Brimstone Hill. The consequence was, that the French found them at the bottom of the hill when they landed, and used them to reduce the fortress.

The conduct of Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan at St. Eustatia was brought before parliament, December the 4th, by Mr. Burke, who moved for an inquiry into the confiscation of property in the island, and of the sale of that property to his Majesty's enemies. The motion was opposed by Lord G. Germain.

Whilst actions were depending in the courts below to obtain damages for the seizures, Lord George said, any decision of parliament must be injurious to one of the parties. Mr. Burke replied, that to abstain from interfering, upon that account, would be dishonourable. The outrages committed were without precedent. The merchants and traders were compelled to give in an account of all their plate, jewels, and ready money, all which was declared to be confiscated. Governor Meynell was supposed to have died in consequence of his sufferings. The Dutch were banished because they were Dutch, and the Americans because they were the King's enemies. Mr. Hohen, a Jew, had been caught in the attempt to hide some money about

Bolinbroke's Voyage to Demerary, Appendix.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. pp. 21. 23. quoting Sir G. Rodney's Letters.—pp. 172. 176.
Adolphus's History of England, vol. iii. p. 370.

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his person, and was ready to attend at the bar of the house to give evidence of the treatment he had received.

The cases of Mr. Gouverneur and of Mr. Curzen were also brought forward; and Mr. Burke asserted, that the French and Americans had been supplied with stores by the British conquerors, at the rate of 50 per cent. cheaper than they used to get them from the Dutch.

Admiral Rodney said, that when he appeared before St. Eustatia, it was for the purpose of cutting off supplies from the enemy, and with the fixed resolution not to grant any terms to the inhabitants, who had a rooted aversion to us. Some of them were Englishmen, who were not ashamed to disgrace themselves and their country by assisting her enemies. Some weeks before the capture of the island, an application had been made to the inhabitants to purchase stores for the fleet. Their answer was, they had none; and yet when the island was taken, great quantities were found. Some English merchants engaged in traffic with the rebels in America, he seized and sent home, to meet the justice of the laws they had daringly offended. He thought, when the property was seized, that it would all belong to the King: it was for his country, and not for himself, that he had been acting. It was pretended that he had permitted the stores to be circuitously conveyed to the enemy: this was the very reverse of the truth. He had given orders that none should be sold, but all be sent to his Majesty's yard at Antigua, and every vessel which cleared was examined by a commissioned officer, to see that she had none on board. To insure obedience, he had deprived the ships, destined to convey them, of their provisions, save a bare sufficiency for the voyage. Instead of remaining inactive, as had been insinuated, he had planned two expeditions, one against Curaçoa, the other against Surinam, when he received advice that a French fleet of ten or twelve sail, with about seventy transports, was sailing for Martinico, and dispatched Sir S. Hood, with fifteen sail, to encounter them. His intention afterwards to fight De Grasse was disconcerted by intelligence conveyed to the French admiral: and he detailed facts which fully shewed him exempt from blame in not succouring Tobago. The attacks against his character, he said, were impotent and wicked; but he was honourably sheltered from their malignity by the approbation of a gracious prince, and a free and generous people.

Major-General Vaughan declared that he was guiltless of every charge brought against him: he had not gained one shilling by the surrender of the settlement. As to the Jews, it was manifest they had not been treated with cruelty, because he had received an address, signed by the warden and rulers of that people, in

Adolphus's History of England, vol. iii. p. 370.

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which they expressed their gratitude for the clemency and goodness which he had shewn them; and he defied his enemies to prove that he had sullied his character, either as an officer or as a private individual.

Mr. Burke's motion was rejected by a majority of 163 to 89.

Captain Lawrence Græme, of his Majesty's sloop Sylph, escorted a detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, which was sent against the French island of St. Bartholemew. On the 17th of March, it surrendered on the first summons. Its harbour had been a rendezvous for the enemy's privateers, who had annoyed the British trade considerably.

April the 12th, Thomas Shirley, Esq. was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Leeward Caribee islands, in the room of William Matthew Burt, Esq. deceased.

An act was passed to continue several laws relating to the opening and establishing certain free ports in the island of Jamaica.

There was a hurricane at Jamaica on the 1st of August: it began from the southward, and veered round to S.E.[1] Seventy-three

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 175.
Annual Register, 1781, pp. 92. 105. 110.

[1] The following characteristic description of a hurricane, and of the loss of his Majesty's ship Phœnix, was written by the first lieutenant of that ship: —

"October the 2d, spoke to the Barbadoes off Port Antonio in the evening. At eleven at night it began to snuffle, with a monstrous heavy appearance from the eastward — close-reefed the topsails. Sir Hyde sent for me — 'What sort of weather have we, Archer?' — 'It blows a little, and has a very ugly look: if we were in any other country but this, I should say we were going to have a gale of wind.' — 'Aye, it looks so very often here, when there is no wind at all; however, don't hoist the topsails till it clears a little — there is no trusting any country.' At twelve I was relieved — the weather had the same grum look: however, they made sail upon her, but we had a very dirty night. At eight in the morning I came up again — found it blowing hard from E.N.E., with close reefed topsails upon the ship, heavy squalls at times. Sir Hyde came upon deck — 'Well, Archer, what do you think of it?' — 'Oh, Sir, 'tis only a touch of the times — we shall have an observation at twelve o'clock: the clouds are beginning to break — it will clear up at noon, or else blow very hard afterwards.' — 'I wish it would clear up, but I doubt it much: I was once in a hurricane in the East Indies, and the beginning of it had much the same appearance as this; so take in the topsails — we have plenty of sea-room.'

"At twelve, the gale increasing still, we wore ship to keep as near mid-channel, between Jamaica and Cuba, as possible: at one, the gale increasing still; at two, 'harder yet — it still blows harder!' reefed the courses, and furled them; brought to under a foul mizen-staysail, head to the northward. In the evening, no sign of weather taking off, but every appearance of increasing, prepared for a proper gale of wind; secured all the sails with spare gaskets; good rolling tackles upon the yards — spanned the booms; saw the boats all made fast; new-lashed the guns — double-breeched the lower-deckers; saw that the carpenters had the tarpaulines and battens all ready for hatchways; got the top-gallantmasts down upon deck; jib-boom and spritsail-yard fore and aft; in fact, every thing we could think of to make a snug ship.

"The poor devils of birds now began to find the uproar in the elements, for

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light vessels were driven on shore, two loaded ships sunk, twenty-four ran on shore, between the Salt Ponds and Mosquito Point.

Annual Register, 1781, p. 92.

numbers came on board of us, both of sea and land kinds: some I took notice of, which happened to be to leeward, turned to windward like a ship — tack and tack — for they could not fly against it; and when they had come over the ship, dash themselves down on the deck, and never attempt to stir till picked up; and when let go again, would not leave the ship, but endeavour to hide themselves from the wind. At eight o'clock a hurricane — the sea roaring, but the wind still steady to a point: did not ship a spoonful of water. However, got the hatchways all secured, expecting what would be the consequence should the wind shift: placed the carpenters by the mainmast with broad axes, knowing from experience, that at the moment you may want to cut away to save the ship, an axe may not be found. Went to supper — bread, cheese, and porter: the purser frightened out of his wits about his bread-bags; the two marine officers as white as sheets, not understanding the ship's working so much, and the noise of the lower-deck guns, which by this time made a pretty screeching to people not used to it: it seemed as if the whole ship's side was going at each roll. Wooden, our carpenter, was all this time smoking his pipe and laughing at the doctor; the second lieutenant upon deck, the third in his hammock. At ten o'clock I thought to get a little sleep; came to look into my cot — it was full of water; for every seam, by the straining of the ship, had begun to leak; stretched myself, therefore, upon deck between two chests, and left orders to be called should the least thing happen.

"At twelve, a midshipman came to me — 'Mr. Archer, we are just going to wear ship, sir.' — 'Oh, very well, I will be up directly; what sort of weather have you got?' — 'It blows a hurricane.' Went upon deck, found Sir Hyde there: 'It blows damn'd hard, Archer.' — 'It does indeed, sir.' — 'I don't know that I ever remember its blowing so hard before; but the ship makes very good weather of it upon this tack, as she bows the sea; but we must wear her, as the wind has shifted to the S.E., and we are drawing right upon Cuba; so do you go forward, and have some hands stand by; loose the lee-yardarm of the foresail, and when she is right before the wind whip the clue garnet close up, and roll the sail up.' — 'Sir, there is no canvas can stand against this a moment; if we attempt to loose him, he'll fly into ribbands in a moment, and we may lose three or four of our people; she'll wear by manning the fore-shrouds.' — 'No, I don't think she will.' — 'I'll answer for it, sir; I have seen it tried several times on the coast of America with success.' — 'Well, try it; if she does not wear, we can only loose the foresail afterwards.' This was a great condescension from such a man as Sir Hyde. However, by sending about two hundred people into the fore rigging, after a hard struggle she wore: found she did not make so good weather on this tack as the other, for as the sea began to run across, she had not time to rise from one sea before another dashed against her. Began to think we should lose our masts, as the ship lay very much along, by the pressure of the wind constantly upon the yards and masts alone; for the poor mizen-staysail had gone in shreds long before, and the sails began to fly from the yards through the gaskets into coach-whips. My God! to think that the wind could have such force!

"Sir Hyde now sent to see what was the matter between decks, as there was a good deal of noise. As soon as I was below, one of the marine officers calls out, 'Good God! Mr. Archer, we are sinking; the water is up to the bottom of my cot.' — 'Poo, poo, as long as it is not over your mouth you are well off; what the devil do you make this noise for?' I found there was some water between decks, but nothing to be alarmed at; scuttled the deck, and let it run into the well: found she made a great deal of water through the sides and decks; turned the watch below to the pumps, though only two feet of water in the well; but expected to be kept constantly at work now, as the ship laboured much, with hardly a part of her above water but the quarter-deck, and that but seldom.

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His Majesty's ship Pelican was driven upon the Morant Quays: the crew were saved except four. His Majesty's ship Ulysses

Annual Register, 1781, p. 92.

'Come, pump away, my boys: Carpenters, get the weather-chain pump rigged.' — 'All ready, sir.' — 'Then man it, and keep both pumps going.'

"At two o'clock the chain-pump was choaked: set the carpenters at work to clear it; the two hand-pumps at work upon deck. The ship gained upon us while our chain-pumps were idle; in a quarter of an hour they were at work again, and we began to gain upon her. While I was standing at the pumps cheering the people, the carpenter's mate came running to me with a face as long as my arm — 'Oh, sir, the ship has sprung a leak in the gunner's room.' — 'Go, then, and tell the carpenter to come to me, but don't speak a word to any one else.' — 'Mr. Goodinch, I am told there is a leak in the gunner's room; go and see what is the matter, but don't alarm any body, and come and make your report privately to me.' A little after this he returned: 'Sir, there's nothing there, 'tis only the water washing up between the timbers that this booby has taken for a leak.' — 'Oh, very well; go upon deck, and see if you can keep any of the water from washing down below.' — 'Sir, I have had four people constantly keeping the hatchways secure, but there is such a weight of water upon deck that nobody can bear it when the ship rolls.'

"Shortly afterwards the gunner came to me: 'Mr. Archer, I should be glad you would step this way into the magazine for a moment.' I thought some damned thing was the matter, and ran directly, 'Well, what's the matter here?' —'The ground tier of powder is spoiled; and I want to show you that it is not out of carelessness in me in stowing it, for no powder in the world could be better stowed: Now, sir, what am I to do? if you don't speak to Sir Hyde, he will be angry with me.' I could not but smile, to see how easy he took the danger of the ship, and said to him, 'Let us shake off this gale of wind first, and talk of the damaged powder afterwards.'

"At four, we had gained upon the ship a little, and I went upon deck, it being my watch. The second lieutenant relieved me at the pumps. Who can attempt to describe the appearance of things upon deck? if I was to write for ever I could not give you an idea of it: a total darkness all above — the sea on fire, running as it were in Alps, or Peaks of Teneriffe — mountains are too common an idea; the wind roaring louder than thunder (absolutely no flight of imagination); the whole made more terrible, if possible, by a very uncommon kind of blue lightning. The poor ship very much pressed, yet doing what she could; shaking her sides, and groaning at every stroke. Sir Hyde upon deck, lashed to windward. I soon lashed myself alongside of him, and told him the situation of things below; the ship not making more water than might be expected with such weather; that I was only afraid of a gun breaking loose.—'I am not in the least afraid of that; I have commanded her six years, and have had many a gale of wind in her, so that her iron work is pretty well tried, which always gives way first — Hold fast! that was an ugly sea; we must lower the lower yards, I believe, Archer — the ship is much pressed.' — 'If we attempt it, sir, we shall lose them, for a man aloft can do nothing; besides, their being down would ease the ship very little. The mainmast is a sprung mast — I wish it was overboard without carrying any thing else along with it; but that can soon be done, the gale cannot last for ever, 'twill soon be daylight now.'

"Found by the master's watch it was five o'clock, though but a little after four by ours; glad it was so near daylight, and looked for it with much anxiety. Cuba, thou art much in our way! — Another ugly sea! — Sent a midshipman to bring news from the pumps: the ship was gaining on them very much, for they had broke one of their chains, but 'twas almost mended again. News from the pump again — she still gains! — a heavy sea! Back water from to leeward half way up the quarter-deck — filled one of the cutters upon the booms, and tore her all to pieces; the ship lying almost upon her beam-ends, and not attempting to right again. Word from below that the ship

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was dismasted. His Majesty's ship Southampton was dismasted, and driven to Wreck Reef, to leeward of Port Royal. She had

Annual Register, 1781, p. 92.

still gained on them, as they could not stand to the pumps, she lay so much along. Said to Sir Hyde, 'This is no time, sir, to think of saving the masts—shall we cut the mainmast away?'—'Aye, as fast as you can.' I accordingly went into the weather-chains with a pole-axe to cut away the lanyards; the boatswain went to leeward, and the carpenters stood by the mast: we were all ready; when a very violent sea broke right on board of us, carried every thing upon deck away, filled the ship full of water; the main and mizen-masts went, the ship righted, but was in the last struggle of sinking under us. As soon as we could shake our heads above water, Sir Hyde exclaimed, 'We are gone at last, Archer—foundered at sea!'—'Yes, sir, farewell; and the Lord have mercy on us!' I then turned about to look forward at the ship, and thought she was struggling to get rid of some of the water: but all in vain—she was almost full below. 'God Almighty! I thank thee, that now I am leaving this world, which I have always considered as only a passage to a better, I die with a full hope of thy mercies, through the merits of Jesus Christ thy Son, our Saviour!' I then felt sorry that I could swim; as by that means I might be a quarter of an hour longer dying than a man who could not, as it is impossible to divest ourselves of a wish to preserve life. At the end of these reflections, I thought I felt the ship thump, and grinding our feet: it was so. 'Sir, the ship is ashore.' 'What do you say?'—'The ship is ashore, and we may save ourselves yet.' By this time the quarter-deck was full of men that had come up from below, and, the Lord have mercy upon us! flying about from all quarters.

"The ship made every body sensible now that she was ashore, for every stroke threatened a total dissolution of her whole frame; found she was stern ashore, and the bow broke the sea a good deal, though it was washing clean over at every stroke. Sir Hyde—'Keep to the quarter-deck, my lads—when she goes to pieces 'tis your best chance.' A providential circumstance got the foremast cut away, that she might not pay round broadside to: lost five men cutting away the foremast, by the breaking of a sea on board, just as the mast went: that was nothing—every one expected it would be his own fate next. Looked for day-break with the greatest impatience: at last it came—but what a scene did it shew us! the ship upon a bed of rocks, mountains of them on one side, and cordilleras of water on the other; our poor ship grinding, and crying out at every stroke between them; going away by piecemeal: however, to show the unaccountable workings of Providence, that often what appears to be the greatest evil proves to be the greatest good, that unmerciful sea lifted, and beat us up so high among the rocks, that at last the ship scarcely moved. She was a very strong ship, and did not go to pieces at the first thumping, though her decks tumbled in. We found afterwards that she had beat over a ledge of rocks, almost a quarter of a mile without us; where, if she had struck, every soul of us must have perished. I now began to think of getting on shore; so stripped off my coat and shoes for a swim, and looked for a line, to carry the end with me. I luckily could not find one, which gave time for recollection: 'This won't do for me, to be the first man out of the ship, and first lieutenant; we may get to England again, and people may think I paid a great deal of attention to myself, and did not care for any body else—No, that won't do; instead of being first, I'll see every man, sick and well, out of her before me.'

"I now thought there was not a probability of the ship's going soon to pieces, therefore had not a thought of instant death: took a look round with a sort of philosophic eye, to see how the same situation affected my companions; and was not surprised to find the most swaggering, swearing bullies in fine weather, were now the most pitiful wretches on earth, when death appeared before them. Several people that could swim went overboard to try for the shore; nine of them were drowned before our eyes. However, two got safe; by which means, with a line we got a

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an engagement with a French frigate off Cape François. Many houses and piazzas were blown down. His Majesty's ship Thun-

Naval Chronicle, vol. xii. p. 183.

hawser on shore, and made fast to the rocks, upon which many went, and arrived safe. There were some sick and wounded on board, who could not go this way; so we got a spare topsail-yard from the chains, and got one end on shore and the other into the cabin window, so that most of the sick got ashore this way. As I had determined, so I was the last man out of the ship, which was about ten o'clock. The gale now began to break. Sir Hyde came to me, and, taking me by the hand, was so affected as to be hardly able to speak: 'Archer, I am happy beyond expression to see you on shore; but look at our poor Phœnix!' I turned about, but could not say a single word, being too full: my mind had been too actively employed before, but every thing now rushed upon me at once, so that I could not contain myself, and I indulged for a full quarter of an hour. By twelve it was pretty moderate; got some sails on shore, and made tents; found great quantities of fish drove up by the sea in holes amongst the rocks; knocked up a fire, and had a most comfortable dinner. In the afternoon we made a stage from the cabin windows to the rocks, and got out some provisions and water, lest the ship should go to pieces, and then we must all perish with hunger and thirst; for we were upon a desolate part of the coast, and under a rocky mountain, which could not supply us with a single drop of water.

"Slept comfortably this night; and the next day, the idea of death vanishing by degrees, the prospect of being prisoners, perhaps during the war, at the Havana, and walking three hundred miles to it through the woods, was unpleasant; however, to save life for the present, employed this day in getting more provisions and water on shore, which was not an easy matter, on account of decks, guns, and rubbish that lay over them, and ten feet of water besides. In the evening I proposed to Sir Hyde to repair the remains of the only boat left; and that I would venture to Jamaica myself, and, if I got safe, would bring vessels to take them all off—a proposal worth thinking of. It was next day agreed to; so got the cutter on shore, and set the carpenters to work on her. In two days she was ready; and at four o'clock in the afternoon I embarked with four volunteers, and a fortnight's provisions; hoisted English colours as we put off from the shore, and received three cheers from the lads left behind, which we returned, and set sail with a light heart; having not the least doubt, that, with God's assistance, we should soon come back and bring them all off. Had a very squally night, and a very leaky boat, so as to keep two buckets constantly bailing Steered her myself the whole night by the stars; and in the morning saw the island of Jamaica, distant about twelve leagues. At eight in the evening arrived in Montego Bay.

"I must now begin to leave off, particularly as I have but half an hour to conclude, else my pretty little short letter will lose its passage, which I should not like, after being ten days at different times writing it, beating up with the convoy to the northward, which is a reason that this epistle will never read well; for I never sat down with a proper disposition to go on with it; but as I knew something of the kind would please you, I was resolved to finish it; yet it will not bear an overhaul; so don't expose your son's nonsense.

"But to proceed. Instantly sent off an express to the admiral; another to the Porcupine man of war; and went myself to Martha Brae, to get vessels; for all their vessels here, as well as many of their houses, were gone to Moco. Got three small vessels, and set out back again to Cuba; where I arrived the fourth day after leaving them. I thought the ship's crew would have devoured me on my landing; they wisked me up on their shoulders presently, and carried me to the tent where Sir Hyde was. I must omit many little anecdotes that happened on shore, for want of time; but I shall have a number of stories to tell you when I get alongside of you; and the next time I visit you, I shall not be in such a hurry to quit you as I was the last; for then I hoped my nest would have been pretty well feathered. But my tale is forgot. I found the Porcupine had

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derer, seventy-four, Hon. Commodore Walsingham, Captain Nicholls, was lost, with all her crew. The Stirling Castle, sixty-four, Captain R. Casket, was lost on the Silver Keys, and only fifty of her crew saved. The Deal Castle, twenty-four, Captain Hawkins, was lost on Puerto Rico; and the Endeavour brig, fourteen guns, Lieutenant Woolridge, was lost on Jamaica.

On the 26th of November, the Comte de Grasse arrived at Martinico, from the Chesapeak. He had sent a squadron to St. Domingo, to escort the French trade to Europe, and expected to meet at Martinico a reinforcement of twelve sail of the line, with troops under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil. In this he was disappointed: they were intercepted by Admiral Kempenfelt.

The conseil souverain, the 8th of November, 1781, issued an arrêt interdicting persons of colour from carrying arms.

"Art. 15. of the edict of the King, of 1685, to be executed agreeably to its form and tenor. Negroes found on Sundays and holidays in the towns or environs, or on the high roads, armed with clubs, cutlasses, or other arms, without a ticket from their master mentioning the same, to be arrested and conducted to the nearest gaol; and to be condemned, by a simple order of the seneschal, within the twenty-four hours, to *receive nineteen lashes.*"

On the 24th of November, 1781, the French King issued an ordinance concerning ecclesiastical missions in the French colonies in America.

"Art. 10. The prefets apostoliques are desired to see that the

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Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 449.
Parliamentary "Further Papers," 1826, p. 55.

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arrived that day, and the lads had built a boat, almost ready for launching, that would hold fifty men; which was intended for another trial, in case I should have foundered.

"Next day, embarked all our people that were left, amounting to 250; for some had died of the wounds they got coming on shore; others by drinking rum; and others had straggled into the country. All our vessels were so full of people, that we could not take away the few cloathes that were saved from the wreck; that was a trifle, since our lives and liberties were saved.

"To make short of my story, we all arrived safe at Montego Bay; and shortly after at Port Royal, in the Janus, which was sent on purpose for us, and were all honourably acquitted for the loss of the ship. I was made admiral's aide-de-camp, and a little after sent down to St. Juan's, captain of the Resource, to bring what were left of the poor devils to Blue-fields, on the Musquito shore, and then to Jamaica, where they arrived after three months' absence, and without a prize, though I looked out hard, off Portobello and Carthagena.

"Found, in my absence, that I had been appointed captain of the Tobago; where I remain his Majesty's most true and faithful servant, and my dear mother's

"Most dutiful Son,

"—— ARCHER."

Naval Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 286.

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Negroes in each quarter receive the necessary instructions, as well as that the sacrament be administered to them; and in the event of the masters being negligent of, or preventing the same, report thereof to be made to the governor and intendant."

The same day the King issued another ordinance, concerning vacant successions in the French colonies in America, curateurs in office, executors and legatees.

"Art. 27. Under the head of articles considered as perishable, and consequently necessary to be sold, Negroes, cattle, and moveable utensils, are never to be comprised.

"28. Negroes, cattle, and moveable utensils, can, however, be sold separately from the estate to which they are attached, provided that the land and buildings do not remain unsold, and that the sale be ordered by the judge.

"29. In the event of the judges giving an order for the sale, the sentence cannot be put into execution until after having been viséed by the procureur-general, who may even appeal if he think proper."

Rear-Admiral Hood, expecting that the Comte de Grasse would return to the West Indies, left Sandy Hook on the 11th of November with seventeen sail of the line, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 5th of December, where he was joined by his Majesty's ship St. Alban's, sixty-four.

Governor Ferguson's statement of the capture of Tobago.

"The capitulation of Tobago having been published in the last gazette [1], without any part of my dispatch to the secretary

Annual Register, 1781, Public Papers, p. 143.

[1] *Capitulation of the Island of Tobago, between the Comte de Grasse, the Marquis de Bouille, and George Ferguson, Esq. and the Honourable Major Stanhope.*

"Article 1. The governor, staff, and other officers of the troops, and soldiers of the garrison of the island of Tobago, shall march out of the redoubt with the honours of war, and afterwards lay down their arms, the officers excepted.

"2. The officers and troops, with their wives and children, shall be sent to France, except such as shall obtain the French general's permission to remain in the Windward Islands on parole.

"3. The inhabitants of the island shall preserve their civil government, laws, customs, and ordinances; and the same persons who now administer justice shall be continued in their functions till the peace, as long as they conduct themselves properly. The court of chancery shall be held by the members of the council in the form established, until the peace; but appeals from the said court shall be made to the council of His most Christian Majesty.

"4. The inhabitants in general and clergy shall be protected in the enjoyment of their estates, and of every thing in their possession, as well as of the privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions. They shall have the free exercise of their religion, and the clergy shall enjoy their benefices. The free Negroes and Mulattoes shall be maintained in their liberty, but no slave shall be franchised in future without permission from the

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of state which accompanied it, it may be expected that I should give the public some account of the siege and capture of that

Annual Register, 1781, Public Papers, p. 143.

governor-general, conformable to the customs established in the French colonies.

"5. The inhabitants shall pay no other taxes to His most Christian Majesty than they paid to His Britannic Majesty. The expences attending the administration of justice, the allowances to the clergy, and other ordinary charges, to be paid by the colony. Merchandizes exported from the colony shall pay the same duties to the revenue as are paid in the French colonies. The duties on entry shall be the same. The inhabitants shall enjoy all the commercial privileges granted to the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty in his Windward Islands.

"6. The colony shall be at the expence of reconstructing the buildings which were burnt during the siege, so that the inhabitants to whom they belonged will only contribute their quota of the said reconstruction, so that the whole amount do not exceed 1200 half joes.

"7. The effects, and particularly the slaves, belonging to the inhabitants, taken during the seige, which can be recovered, shall be restored. Those which have been carried on board any of the ships belonging to the French squadron shall be landed and delivered into the hands of the provost-martial.

N.B. The vessels and effects on board of them which were taken before the island surrendered, or after, not comprehended in this article.

"8. The ships, vessels, &c. belonging to the inhabitants shall remain their private property; but English vessels owned by persons in Europe or in the English islands shall be surrendered to the French governor.

"9. The inhabitants who are absent, even those in the service of His Britannic Majesty, shall be maintained in the possession of their property, which may be managed by their attornies.

"10. The inhabitants to provide lodgings for the troops only in cases of indispensable necessity, as is the custom in the French islands; the King lodging them in general at his own expence, or in buildings that belong to him.

"11. They shall be obliged to furnish Negroes to work upon the fortifications, or in any other work relative to the King's service, to the amount of 400; and the said Negroes shall be maintained at the King's expence while they are so employed.

"12. The inhabitants shall take the oath of fidelity to His most Christian Majesty within the space of two days, under the penalty of forfeiting their property. But those who, on account of sickness, absence, or any other impediment, cannot do so within the time limited, shall have a delay allowed them.

"13. The inhabitants shall observe a strict neutrality, and shall not be forced to take arms against His Britannic Majesty nor against any other power. All arms shall be delivered up, except what shall be thought necessary for preserving order among the Negroes.

"14. The inhabitants who were not actually in the service of His Britannic Majesty shall not be reputed prisoners of war.

"15. Merchant ships coming from England, or from any other state whatsoever, belonging to the inhabitants or merchants of Tobago, shall be received into the ports of the said colony, during the space of six months, without confiscation, and shall be reputed the property of the said inhabitants or merchants—reserving after that time to the French governor the right of judging of the property of the said vessels, in consideration of the distant place from whence they shall have come. But the said inhabitants or merchants shall make a declaration to the director of the revenue of the vessels which may be, or are consigned to them, either singly or in partnership, within the space of two months.

"16. The inhabitants shall be allowed to dispose of their estates, personal or real, in the enjoyment of which they are maintained, and consequently to sell or alienate them, as they shall think fit, and they may send their children to England or elsewhere to be educated, and receive them back again.

"17. All the artillery, arms in general,

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island; and it may, perhaps, be thought the more incumbent upon me to do so, as Sir George Rodney, in his letter of the 29th of June to the Admiralty, has misstated several facts respecting that event, and insinuated that it had surrendered without making any defence.

"Early in the morning of the 23d of May, I received information that the enemy's squadron had been seen to windward the evening before, and that it was then approaching the island. I instantly dispatched Captain Barnes, of the Rattlesnake, with the intelligence to Sir George Rodney. Captain Barnes was fortunate enough to find the fleet at Barbadoes, and he delivered my dispatch on board the Sandwich, at twelve o'clock on the night of the 26th of May.

"About ten o'clock in the morning of the 23d, the squadron brought-to off Minister Point, hoisted French colours, and immediately got their troops into boats, with an intention to land at Minister Bay; but finding the sea very high, and receiving some shot from a gun at Minister Point, which would have annoyed them in landing, they returned on board. They then endeavoured to get into Rockly Bay; but the current carrying them to leeward, they went round the west end of the island. This squadron consisted of the Pluton, of seventy-four guns; the Experiment, of fifty; the Railieuse, of thirty-two; the Sensible, a flute, of thirty-two; the Eagle, of fourteen; and four sloops, under the command of the Chevalier d'Albert de Rious.

"Next morning (the 24th), the enemy effected a landing at Great Courland Bay, with very little loss. The temporary battery there, of three eighteen pounders, was almost entirely without cover, and so injudiciously situated, that ships could fire upon the back part of it, before a gun from it could bear upon them. The Pluton brought-to within 400 yards of this battery, and kept up so constant a fire, that in a very short time the party was driven from it, having been scarcely able to bring a gun to bear upon her. But a gun at Black Rock, under the direction of Major Hamilton of the militia, being at a greater distance, continued to fire upon the Pluton for a considerable time, and killed many of her men.

Annual Register, 1781, Public Papers, p. 143.

gunpowder, provisions, and all effects whatsoever belonging to the King of England, shall be given up to the general of the troops of His most Christian Majesty.

"18. The inhabitants who shall have any English soldiers or sailors in their houses, shall be obliged to give information of them in the space of four days, under the penalty of one hundred half joannes.

"Le Marquis de Bouille.
"Le Comte de Grasse.
"George Ferguson.
"H.F.R. Stanhope."

"At Tobago, June 2, 1781.

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 266.

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"Upon quitting the battery, our troops were posted on the heights, upon each side of the road leading from Courland to Scarborough, to harass the enemy in their march; but the French general, with great judgment, avoided the defile, and leaving the road, ascended the heights upon his right. He there kept his men partly concealed behind a wood, and sent a party to gain some heights, which were still above him. This advanced party exchanged a few shot with some of our regulars; but as they were at a considerable distance from each other, there were only two of our people killed.

"Upon this occasion Mr. Collow offered to set fire to his canes, to distress the enemy; but some rain which had fallen in the night unfortunately prevented their burning so rapidly as to have that effect. Mr. Collow's magnanimity, however, is not the less deserving of praise.

"As the troops were much fatigued with the hard duty they had undergone that and the preceding day, and as there was likewise reason to believe that the enemy would attempt to cut off our retreat to Concordia, the place of our rendezvous, by detaching part of their army round by Mother road, it was judged proper to carry the troops thither in the evening.

"General Blanchelande, governor of St. Vincent's, who commanded the French troops, in the meantime dispersed papers amongst the planters, expressing surprise at their deserting their houses; and informed them that their plantations would be plundered and confiscated, if they did not return to them in twenty-four hours. These, however, had no effect upon the inhabitants, who were determined to retire with me to Concordia. The general at the same time sent a flag of truce, to inform me that he had landed, with 3000 men, to conquer the island: and he offered to give any terms if I would capitulate; but his offer was rejected, and his excellency was requested not to trouble me again upon that subject. In consequence of which, he dispatched a cutter that night (the 24th) to Martinico for a reinforcement.

"Upon the 25th, the enemy took post upon the different heights in the neighbourhood of Concordia, and on the 26th they took possession of the town of Scarborough, up the hill.

"On the 27th the enemy seemed inclined to attack us. Mr. Charles Low, understanding that I was unwilling to destroy his dwelling-house and other buildings, although they afforded some shelter to the enemy, came himself and proposed to burn them, which he instantly put in execution.

"The 28th the French squadron came into Rockly Bay, having left Courland the day before. A party of twenty Negroes,

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who were sent this day, under the command of Messrs. Hamilton, M'Eller, and Irvine, to burn the remainder of Mr. Low's houses, very bravely effected that business, notwithstanding the opposition made by a large body of the enemy. Messrs. M'Eller and Irvine, and nine of the Negroes, were unfortunately wounded.

"The 29th, as well as the two preceding days, the enemy endeavoured, without effect, to draw us from our post, by exposing small parties, in marching them from one place to another.

"Early on the morning of the 30th, I received a letter from Rear-Admiral Drake, acquainting me that he was coming, with six sail of the line and three frigates, to relieve the island, and that General Skene was on board with 528 men. The joy occasioned by the expected arrival of this long-looked-for succour did not last, as we were soon afterwards informed that the whole French fleet had arrived from Martinico, in consequence of General Blanchelande's letter, dispatched the 24th at night, and had fallen in with Mr. Drake, who was thereby prevented from landing the troops, and it was supposed his squadron was taken.

"This day the enemy took possession of Mr. Cotton's house, from whence they could see every thing that passed at Concordia. They proposed that night to make a vigorous attack, and the garrison, as usual, was ready to receive them; but their guides losing the path in the dark, they returned next morning to their quarters, much fatigued, and resolved not to make another attempt until their reinforcements from Martinico should arrive.

"On the morning of the 31st, we received intelligence that the enemy's fleet was again seen to windward, having returned from chasing Admiral Drake; and at sun-set that evening we saw two French frigates and three cutters, full of troops, go into Courland Bay.

"The ground at Concordia is strong, and there is a view from it of both sides of the island, which made it a desirable post for us to possess; but the trench which had been dug there some years was almost entirely filled up, and if it had been cleared out, would have required above 2000 men to defend it. The engineers being, for these and other reasons, of opinion that it was no longer tenable against so superior a force, it was unanimously resolved, in a council of war, to retreat directly to the main ridge, where a few huts had been built, and some provisions and ammunition previously lodged. In consequence of this resolution, the garrison began to march at one in the morning of the 1st of June, and before eight they effected their retreat to Caledonia, without the loss of a man.

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" Caledonia is near the centre of the island, and from thence to the north side, across the main ridge, there is a road six miles in length, and so narrow, that two men cannot walk abreast. Upon each side there is an impenetrable forest, which extends some miles; a handful of men could undoubtedly defend this road against a powerful army. Rejoiced that the troops had got to this place, and believing they could hold out whilst the provisions lasted (of which there were a few days), I went on with the engineers, to get every thing ready for their reception at the huts.

" The Marquis de Bouille, who had arrived at Courland the evening before, with the reinforcement, having been deceived by the silence of our march, and by sentries being left after the garrison went away, sent a flag, at day-break, to Concordia, believing the troops were still there; but being disappointed, he immediately sent orders to the Marquis du Chillieu, governor of Dominica, to land at Man-of-War Bay, with 300 or 400 men; and he followed us directly himself, as far as Brother-field. Being still more disappointed, when he got there, to learn that we were four miles before him in a strong country, he instantly ordered the adjoining plantations of Nutmeg Grove and Belmont to be reduced to ashes, which was done accordingly, in hopes of making the inhabitants surrender. An order was then issued to burn four plantations more in four hours, which was to be repeated at the like interval, till the island should either be surrendered or laid waste.

" At this time the enemy required Mr. Orr to show them the road to our camp, which he positively refused. He offered to go with an officer and a flag, but he would not conduct their army. Threats of burning his house, and of putting him to death, had no effect upon Mr. Orr, although at that very instant the plantations of his neighbour were in flames. Mr. Turner, a capitulant of St. Vincent's, was then applied to; but although that gentleman's whole property was under the French government, he peremptorily refused to shew them the road, upon their attempting to push on a body of men, under protection of a flag of truce. The Marquis de Bouille was therefore obliged to send the flag without the troops.

" Upon being informed of some of those circumstances, I hastened back to Caledonia, when, to my very, very great mortification, the militia refused to hold out any longer. My duty to his Majesty, and my regard for the inhabitants, concurred in making me urge them earnestly to defend the island to the last extremity; but in vain: for, exhausted with fatigue — in despair

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at not having been relieved in the course of ten days — and seeing, at the same instant, their estates in flames, they no longer paid attention to my remonstrances. Thus circumstanced, I desired the commanding officer of the regulars to take possession of the road before mentioned with his troops, whilst I should renew my endeavours to prevail upon the militia to alter their sentiments; but that gentleman refused to obey my orders, and consulting his officers, he determined to capitulate.

" Being unable to prevent it, I left the regulars and militia to make terms for themselves, as capitulating, at that time, was perfectly against my opinion; but afterwards, seeing it was impossible to get them to hold out any longer, and the inhabitants having already agreed to some articles which I disapproved of, I interposed, and protested against any capitulation but upon the terms of Dominica.

" Count Dillon, who was empowered by the Marquis de Bouille to treat, for some time insisted that their deserters and the Negroes we had armed should be delivered up to be punished; but finding these articles would never be complied with, he gave them up, and on the evening of the 1st of June, I consented to surrender the island, upon the terms given to Dominica. The officer commanding the troops made terms for the regulars without consulting me; and he sent the officer next in command, that evening, as a hostage for his performance of them.

" The Marquis de Bouille afterwards drew out articles very different from those at Dominica, which I refused to sign; but upon some of them being altered, and the inhabitants representing to me that they were, upon the whole, better than those of Dominica, I appointed three gentlemen to examine and compare them; and as they unanimously recommended to me to sign them, as being more favourable than those alluded to, I complied with their request. The 1200 half johannes, and the furnishing 400 Negroes to the French King's works (which are not in the Dominica capitulation), were agreed to by some of the inhabitants, before I had consented to capitulate; but as the planters at large were resolved to pay their quota of those articles, and not to allow the few individuals who had subscribed to them to bear the whole loss, and as the Marquis de Bouille had agreed to allow the 1200 half johannes to be expended in reconstructing the houses which had been burnt, I admitted them into the capitulation.

" It is perhaps impossible to ascertain the number of an enemy's army, as they generally exaggerate their force before a siege, and diminish it after. The French, however, upon this

Annual Register, 1781, Public Papers, p. 143.

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occasion, advanced less than usual; for General Blanchelande, upon his landing, said he had 3000 men: and I have been informed, since the capitulation, by Mr. Fitzmaurice, the second in command, and Mr. Walsh, the major-general (adjutant-general) of his army, that General Blanchelande brought with him between two and three thousand men. The reinforcement landed by M. de Bouille was supposed to be about half that number.

"Our number under arms never exceeded 427 men, exclusive of forty armed Negroes, viz. four gunners of the royal artillery, 207 rank and file of the 86th regiment; fifteen matrosses of the island artillery, 181 rank and file of the militia, and twenty seamen.

"Sir George Rodney, in his account, generously gave us forty of the train, 300 regulars capable of doing duty, and 500 militia; and, to make the contest nearly equal, he sunk in the same account all our enemies except 900.

"Sir George observes, 'That something extraordinary must have happened to have induced Governor Ferguson to capitulate;' but I apprehend the world will think it more extraordinary, that a British admiral, with twenty-one ships of the line under his command, should allow an enemy's squadron of four ships and frigates, and a few sloops, to besiege, for ten days together, a British colony within twenty-four hours' sail of him, without either relieving the island, or endeavouring to destroy the squadron, than that an island defended by only 427 men, without even covering sufficient to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, should be unable to hold out longer than ten days, against an army of veteran troops above five times their number.

"And it will perhaps appear equally extraordinary, that the whole French fleet and army should arrive at Tobago from Martinico before the squadron from Barbadoes, although my express to Sir George Rodney sailed twenty-six hours before General Blanchelande dispatched the cutter for his reinforcements, when it is well known that the voyage from Tobago to Martinico, going and returning, is more than double the voyage from Tobago to Barbadoes and back.

"GEORGE FERGUSON.

"Jermyn Street, No. 33, September 24, 1781."

Admiral Rodney received intelligence of what had passed upon the 2d of June, and on the following day put to sea, with General Vaughan and the troops on board.

Annual Register, p. 112.

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Upon their arrival off Tobago, the island was in possession of the French, and their fleet, of twenty-four sail of the line, in sight. The British were twenty-one or twenty-two. Sir George Rodney suspected that the enemy wished to decoy him among the Granadillas, and then proceed to attack Barbadoes: he therefore did not attempt to bring him to action.

M. de Grasse, with the French fleet, now proceeded to St. Domingo, where he was joined by five sail of the line; and on the 5th of August he sailed from Cape François, with a prodigious convoy. Having seen them safe, he touched at the Havaña for money, and then, with twenty-eight sail of the line, and several frigates, made sail for the Chesapeake.

Sir Samuel Hood, with fourteen sail of the line and some frigates, left the West Indies for the Chesapeake, where he arrived upon the 25th of August.

Sir George Rodney returned to England in the Cambridge: he was sick, and that ship's rudder wanted repairing.

1782.

Upon the 11th of January, the Marquis de Bouille landed with 8000 troops at St. Christopher's, supported by the Count de Grasse, with twenty-nine sail of the line. It was the original intention of the French commander to have attacked Barbadoes, where Sir Samuel Hood, with eighteen ships of the line, was at anchor. The French hoped, by a joint cannonade and bombardment from the shore and the ships, to destroy the fleet in Carlisle Bay. Adverse winds drove the French so far to leeward, that the object was changed, and St. Kitt's attacked instead.

Sir Samuel Hood, when he heard the French had left Martinico, sailed from Barbadoes on the 14th of January, and proceeded to Antigua, where he arrived on the 21st, having been joined by the Russel, seventy-four, and Prudent, sixty-four, upon the passage. Here he took on board General Prescott and a body of troops, and sailed on the 22d, with twenty-two sail of the line: he proceeded to Basse Terre, where the French fleet were at anchor. The Alfred and another ship running foul of each other, prevented Sir Samuel from attacking the enemy at daybreak, as he had intended. The fleet lay-to for a day, while the Alfred repaired her damages, during which time a French cutter, full of ordnance-stores for the siege of Brimstone Hill, was taken by the fleet.

The Count de Grasse thought his fleet could act with more effect while "under weigh" than at anchor: he therefore stood out

Annual Register, 1781, pp. 113. 116. 126. 195.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 450.

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to sea, and formed his line of battle. At daylight on the 25th, Sir Samuel Hood pushed on, and took possession of the anchorage, which the count had quitted on the preceding evening, to the chagrin and astonishment of the French, who attacked with the greatest fury the rear of the British line. Commodore Affleck, Lord Robert Manners, and Captain Cornwallis, bore the brunt of this attack, and the French stood off again.

The Solebay frigate, repeater to the rear division, got aground off Nevis Point, and in that situation was attacked by two French frigates. Captain Everitt landed his crew, and to prevent the ship from falling into the enemy's hands, set her on fire: she blew up an hour afterwards.

At eight A.M. the next day, the British were attacked from van to rear by the whole force of the enemy. After an action of two hours, the Count de Grasse stood off again. In the afternoon he renewed the attack, directing his force against the centre and rear, more particularly. He was again repulsed, with greater damage than before. His own ship, the Ville de Paris, received eighty-four shots in her hull: the process of heeling her, to plug up the holes, was a gratifying sight to the English. The French are reported to have sent 1000 wounded men to St. Eustatia. The English lost 72 killed, and 244 wounded. From this time, the Count de Grasse kept at a greater distance.

Brigadier-General Fraser's small garrison at Brimstone Hill was reinforced by about 350 of the militia, led by Governor Shirley, and continued there during the siege. Brimstone Hill rises on the shore near Sandy Point, about four leagues from Basse Terre: it was closely invested by the French immediately on their landing. The ship which carried their heavy artillery and ordnance stores struck upon the rocks, and sunk; and the vessel which was bringing a fresh supply from Martinico was taken by Sir Samuel Hood. The French, therefore, with great perseverance, fished up great part of the artillery and stores which had been sunk, and their men-of-war brought more from Martinico. Eight brass twenty-four pounders, with 6000 shots of that weight, and two thirteen-inch brass mortars, with 1500 shells, were found by the enemy at the foot of the hill, and were used by them in the siege. They had been sent out by government for the fortress, but had not been carried up to the works, neither had the garrison any intrenching tools. The works were also very incomplete.

The Marquis de Bouille established his head-quarters at Sandy Point. The fire from the hill set fire to the town, and prevented the French from extinguishing the flames: it was entirely consumed. The trenches were opened upon the night of the 16th of January.

Upon the 28th, General Prescott, with the 69th regiment and the Antigua troops, landed from the fleet at Basse Terre, and

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. pp. 197. 199. 453.

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drove the enemy before them with great loss. About forty of the English were killed or wounded.

The next morning, the Marquis de Bouille, with four thousand men, came from Sandy Point: he found General Prescott so advantageously posted, that he did not venture to attack him, but led his men back to the siege. As no object was to be gained by continuing on shore, General Prescott reimbarked the same evening. Captain Curgenven, with a party of seamen, made an unsuccessful attempt to reinforce the garrison upon Brimstone Hill; and several officers who singly attempted to convey letters were all taken prisoners.

During the greater part of the last three weeks of the siege, twenty-three pieces of heavy cannon, and twenty-four mortars, were kept playing upon a spot of ground not 200 yards in diameter: all the works were crumbling to their base. Upon the 8th of February, the admiral had the mortification of understanding their distress by signals from the garrison, without having it in his power to render them any assistance.

The whole of one side of the works being destroyed, so as to form a perfect breach, and only 500 men left fit for duty, the commander thought it imprudent to hazard an assault. They had been summoned by the Marquis de Bouille, who threatened to burn the plantations, and renew the devastation which he had committed at Tobago. The militia in the garrison were too much interested in this menace not to press their commanders to capitulate, and the retreat of General Prescott left them without any hope of succour.

Upon the 13th they capitulated.[1] The regular troops were to be

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 200. Adolphus's History of England, vol. iii. p. 380.

[1] *Articles of Capitulation of the Island of St. Christopher's, between his Excellency the Count de Grasse, the Marquis de Bouille, Major-General Shirley, Governor, and Brigadier-General Fraser.*

"Article 1. The governor, the commander of the troops, the regular officers and soldiers, the officers and privates of militia, shall march through the breach on the fort of Brimstone Hill with all the honours of war, with drums beating, colours flying, one mortar, two field-pieces, ten rounds each, arms and baggage, and then lay down their arms at a place appointed, the officers excepted.

"2. The regular troops shall be prisoners of war, and sent to England in safe and good vessels, which shall be furnished with provisions for the voyage; but they shall not serve against the King of France until they shall be exchanged. The officers are permitted to reside in any of the islands upon their parole. The militia and armed Negroes shall return to their respective homes.

"3. The inhabitants, or their attornies, shall be obliged to take the oaths of fidelity to the King of France, within the space of one month, before the governor of the said islands; and those that are prevented from it by sickness shall obtain a delay.

"4. They shall observe an exact neutrality, and shall not be compelled to take up arms against His Britannic Majesty, or any other power. They are at liberty to retain their arms for the internal police and better subjection of their Negroes; but they are to make a return of them to the justices of the peace, who shall be responsible for any bad use that may be made of them contrary to the tenor of the present capitulation.

"5. They shall enjoy, until a peace, their laws, customs, and ordinances. Jus-

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transmitted to England until their exchange; and by a particular article, as an avowed acknowledgment of their gallantry, Governor

Adolphus's History of England, vol. iii. p. 380.

tice shall be administered by the same persons who are actually in office. All expences attending the administration of justice shall be defrayed by the colony.

"6. The court of chancery shall be held by the council of the island, and in the same form as heretofore; and all appeals from the said court shall be made to His most Christian Majesty in council.

"7. The inhabitants and clergy shall be supported in the possession of their estates and properties of whatsoever nature or denomination, and in their privileges, rights, titles, honours, and exemptions, and in the possession of their religion, and their ministers in the enjoyment of their livings. The absentees, and those who are in the service of His Britannic Majesty, shall be maintained in the possession and enjoyment of their estates and properties, which shall be managed by their attornies. The inhabitants may sell their estates and possessions to whom they shall think proper, and they are at liberty to send their children to England to be educated, and from whence they may return when they judge proper.

"8. The inhabitants shall pay monthly, into the hands of the treasurer of the troops, in lieu of all taxes, the value of two-thirds of the articles that the island of St. Christopher's and Nevis paid to the King of Great Britain, which he shall estimate according to the valuation of the revenues made in the year 1781, and which shall serve as a basis.

"9. The stores which may have been taken during the siege shall be religiously restored, and they may also be reclaimed in one of the French Windward and Leeward Islands.

"10. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to furnish the troops with quarters, except in extraordinary cases; but they are to be lodged at the expence of the King, or in houses belonging to the crown.

"11. In cases where the King's business may require Negroes to work, they shall be furnished by the inhabitants of the said islands in the number of 500, but they shall be paid at the rate of two 'bills' (bitts) per day each, and victualled at the expence of the King.

"12. The vessels and droghers belonging to the inhabitants at the capitulation shall be restored to their owners.

The vessels which the said inhabitants expected from the ports of England, or from any of His Britannic Majesty's possessions, shall be received in the said colonies during the space of six months; and they may load them to return under neutral colours, even for the ports of Great Britain, with the particular permission of the governor; and if any of the vessels expected shall stop at any of the English islands, the governor shall be authorised to grant permission for them to come to either of the aforesaid islands.

"13. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of commerce granted to the subjects of His most Christian Majesty throughout all the extent of his dominions.

"14. Whatever may have been furnished for the French army during the seige and to this day by the said islands, and the losses that the inhabitants have sustained by the burning of plantations, and by every other means, shall be estimated by a meeting of the inhabitants, and the amount equally borne by the two islands, under the head of contribution or indemnity for the expences of the war; but in such a manner, that this article shall not diminish the taxes above mentioned, which are to take place from the date of the capitulation; but the assembly of the inhabitants may apply to it the arrears of the general taxes which remain in their hands at the date of capitulation.

"15. The sailors of merchant ships, those of privateers, and other individuals who have no property in the said islands, shall depart from the same in the space of six weeks, if they are not employed in droghers, or avowed by two proprietors, who will answer for them, and means shall be furnished for them to depart for the neutral islands.

"16. The general of the French troops shall be put in possession of all the artillery, all the effects depending on the colonies belonging to His Britannic Majesty, all powder, arms, ammunition, and King's vessels, shall be given to the commander of the French troops, and an inventory of them presented to the governor.

"17. Out of respect to the courage and determined conduct of Generals Shirley and Fraser, we consent that they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, but the former may return to his government of Antigua, and the latter may continue in

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Shirley and Brigadier-General Fraser were discharged from the condition of being considered as prisoners of war. The French are said to have lost 1000 men during the siege.

The surrender of Brimstone Hill, and capitulation of the island, rendered the longer stay of Sir Samuel Hood useless and dangerous. He had seen the French destroy the batteries at Basse Terre; their proceedings indicated despair, and his hopes were raised to the most sanguine pitch: he was proportionately irritated when the surrender was made without consulting him.

The following extract is from Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood's letter, dated Barfleur, Basse Terre road, February the 7th: —

"The design of the Count de Grasse was most undoubtedly against Barbadoes, could he have got to windward; but failing of that, owing to strong easterly winds and a lee current, he bent his course to this island. The moment his views were made known to me, I quitted Carlisle Bay, and got off English harbour with all the haste in my power, where I could only hear of a formidable attack being made upon St. Christopher's, without any certain information of the enemy's sea or land force. I anchored in St. John's road; and the Prudent having joined me, I sailed, on the 23d, in the evening, with twenty-two sail of the line, and was close off the south-east end of Nevis at daylight next morning, when I directed the squadron to be formed in order of battle, with a design of attacking the enemy at anchor, if I saw it practicable to any advantage. But the signal for the line ahead was no sooner thrown out, than Rear-Admiral Drake made that for speaking with me, and brought to. I did the same, and soon learnt he only repeated the signal of the Alfred in the rear, and that that ship had run on board the Nymph, and almost cut her asunder. It was reported to me, that each had received so much damage as to be unable to keep the sea. I immediately ordered a survey on both, and was happy to find the Alfred could be put in a state for present service, in the course of the day and following night; but the Nymphe could not, I therefore shifted the troops she had on board to another frigate, and ordered her to English Harbour, where she arrived safe. This misfortune to the Alfred obliged me to remove her from being the leading ship into the centre of my line, and to place the St. Alban's in her room.

"That morning, the look-frigate ahead fell in with and took a very large king's cutter of sixteen six-pounders, but seven months

Adolphus's History of England, vol. iii. p. 380. Annual Register, 1782, p. 11.

the service of his country, being happy to testify this mark of particular esteem for those brave officers.

LE MARQUIS DE BOUILLE,
THOMAS SHIRLEY,
THOMAS FRASER, Brig.-Gen.

It is moreover covenanted, that the inhabitants of these islands, with the permission of the governor, may export their merchandise in neutral vessels for all the ports of France and America.

[Signed as above.]

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 328.

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old, and commanded by a Knight of Malta: she is named l'Espion; she came from Martinico about thirty hours before, and was full of shells and other ordnance stores. In the afternoon the Count de Grasse quitted this road, and kept a few miles to leeward of me the whole night.

"At daylight we plainly discovered thirty-three sail of the enemy's ships, twenty-nine of which, of two decks, formed in a line ahead. I made every appearance of an attack, which threw the Count de Grasse a little from the shore; and as I thought I had a fair prospect of gaining the anchorage he left, and well knowing it was the only chance I had of saving the island, if it was to be saved, I pushed for it, and succeeded, by having my rear and part of the centre engaged.

"The enemy gave a preference to Commodore Affleck; but he kept up so noble a fire, and was so supported by his seconds, Captains Cornwallis and Lord Robert Manners, that the loss and damages sustained in those ships were very trifling, and they very much preserved the other ships in the rear. The Prudent had the misfortune to have her wheel shot to pieces the first broadside, which occasioned her loss to exceed that of any other ship.

"Would the event of a battle have determined the fate of the island, I would without hesitation have attacked the enemy, from my knowledge how much was to be expected from an English squadron commanded by men, amongst whom is no other contention than who should be most forward in rendering services to his king and country. Herein I placed the utmost confidence, and should not, I fully trust, have been disappointed.

"I anchored his Majesty's squadron in a close line ahead; but Commodore Affleck having acquainted me that the Bedford had driven off the bank, I ordered her into the van.

"Next morning, about eight o'clock, I was attacked from van to rear with the whole force of the enemy (twenty-nine sail), for nearly two hours, without having the least visible impression made upon my line. The French ships then wore and stood off again, and in the afternoon began a second attack upon my centre and rear, with no better success than before; since which, the Count de Grasse has kept at a safe distance. Many of the French ships must have suffered very considerably, and the Ville de Paris was upon the heel all the next day, covering her shot holes.

"By information from the shore, the French ships have sent to St. Eustatia upwards of 1000 wounded men.

"I think my situation perfectly secure here against the enemy's present force, superior as it is; and am happy to find, by a letter I have received from Governor Shirley, that Brimstone Hill, to which his excellency retired, is in the most perfect security. I have not a thought of moving, and think the Count de Grasse will not ven-

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ture to attack me again, unless he should attempt something by fire vessels, which I am prepared against, as much as possible. If, therefore, Brimstone Hill can hold out, which I have not a doubt of, the Marquis de Bouille (who landed with 8000 men upon the island), as well as the Count de Grasse, will, I think, be glad to retire.

"When I sent an officer to Brimstone Hill, he was accompanied by General Prescott (who embarked with the 28th regiment, and two companies of the 13th from Antigua, at my request, knowing well Brimstone Hill and every part of the island), who brought the following message from that brave old soldier, General Fraser:— "That as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his assistance, he should doubtless be glad of the honour of seeing him; but that he was in no want of him or his troops." Upon my being made acquainted with this spirited message from General Fraser, I proposed to General Prescott his taking a post on shore, in the vicinity of Basse Terre, and offered to land two battalions of marines, of 700 each, rank and file, with the 69th regiment, which, with the 28th regiment, and the two companies of the 13th, would make a body of 2400 men. His answer was, he did not think it practicable to maintain a post, but was sanguine in his wishes to be put on shore with his Antigua troops and the 69th regiment. They were accordingly landed on the 28th, immediately got into action, and drove the enemy with considerable loss. He remained on shore all night, and next morning the Marquis de Bouille appeared at the head of upwards of 4000 men; but not caring to attack General Prescott, on a hill he possessed just to the eastward of Frigate Bay, where he landed, led his troops back to his encampment under Brimstone Hill; and as it then appeared to me, that no solid purpose could be answered by the continuance of our troops on shore, I submitted it to the general's consideration, whether it would not be advisable to reimbark; and he readily concurring, all were taken off that evening, without the loss of a man. The general had about forty killed and wounded in his skirmish with the Irish brigade. General Skene landed with the 69th regiment, and had his full share in putting the enemy to the rout.

"All communication being now cut off with Brimstone Hill, I thought it expedient, as did the general also, to send him and the Antigua troops back; and they sailed in the Convert and Fortune, on the 1st instant. On that day the Tisiphone joined me, and I propose shall return to England with an account of the situation of things here, which I think it of importance their lordships should know.

"I send a copy of my line of battle, and an account of the killed and wounded.

"I have much pleasure in telling you, his Majesty's ships under

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my command are very immaterially injured in their masts and yards, perfectly healthy, and the people in the highest spirits.

The Count de Grasse appeared one day with thirty-two two-decked ships (the whole of the present force in this country), and another with only twenty-nine; so that I imagine two or three are constantly watering at Old Road.

"Killed, 72. — Wounded, 244."

Sir Samuel Hood continues his report, in a letter dated February 22, 1782.

"From the very strong assurances Governor Shirley gave me of Brimstone Hill being in a state of the most perfect security, and from the spirited and encouraging message sent by General Fraser to General Prescott on the 24th of last month, I had not the smallest doubt of relieving the island, after I got possession of the enemy's anchorage at Basse Terre: and the governor having expressed a wish for an able sea officer and a few seamen, I sent Captain Curgenven and Lieutenant Hare (late of the Solebay), who were eager volunteers, with thirty men in two boats, to endeavour to throw them into the garrison in the night. The oars were muffled, and every precaution used, that not the least noise should be made to give an alarm; but upon putting the boats' sterns to the shore, volley after volley of musketry were fired at them, and they were obliged to return.

"Two nights after, the man I first sent upon the hill, and whom Captain Curgenven took with him, thought he could make his way alone to the garrison: he made the trial in a small canoe, but was forced to return, having been fired at from every part he attempted to land.

"On the same evening, Lieutenant Fahie, of the Russel, was put on shore in Red Flag Bay, on the north side of the island. Mr. Fahie, knowing every accessible path to the hill, was sanguine in his hopes of being able to reach the garrison; but after waiting two nights, found it impossible, and returned.

"Upon the signal's being made from the hill on the 8th, that the enemy's batteries had been successful in damaging the works and buildings, that the garrison was reduced, and short of ordnance-stores — I was eager to make further trials to get an officer upon the hill; and Captain Curgenven again offering his service, as well as Captain Bourne of the marines, I sent them away that evening in a small boat, towed by another, near the place they expected to land; and after being on shore about ten minutes, Captain Curgenven returned, and ordered the boats on board; but neither succeeded in reaching the garrison, and both were made prisoners in different places.

"About the time these officers left the Barfleur, Lieutenant Fahie was again landed on the north side of the island, being desirous of

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making another trial; but as he is not yet returned, and I have heard nothing from him, I conclude he was taken prisoner.

"I was extremely desirous of getting an officer into the garrison, just to say I was very confident the Count de Grasse was weary of his situation: and as the Marquis de Bouille was destroying every fort and magazine at Basse Terre, and blew up their very foundations, I was persuaded he despaired of success; and that if the hill could hold out ten days longer, the island must be saved.

"But I am much concerned to say, that Captain Robinson of the 15th regiment, in the evening of the 13th, came on board the Barfleur to inquire for General Prescott, being charged with a letter for him from Governor Shirley and General Fraser, acquainting him of their having surrendered the garrison to the arms of the French King that morning.

"The information I got from Captain Robinson is as follows:—'That he was sent to M. St. Simon, at seven in the evening of the 12th, to propose a cessation of arms. At the same hour, another officer was sent on the same errand to the Marquis de Bouille; and so eager was the marquis to get possession of the hill, that he granted all that was asked, and the terms were agreed to, at his (Captain Robinson's) return to the garrison at midnight.' I inquired if no article was stipulated for my being made acquainted with the state of the garrison before the surrender took place; and, to my very great surprise, was answered in the negative.

"On the 14th, the enemy's fleet anchored off Nevis, consisting of the Ville de Paris, six ships of 80 guns, twenty-three of 74, and four of 64: one 64 was at Old Road, and another at Sandy Point; the Triumphant and Brave had joined from Europe.

"Under this situation of things, I had no longer any business in Basse Terre road, especially as the enemy were preparing to get guns and mortars upon a height that would annoy the ships in the van; and I left it that night, unperceived, I imagine, as not one of the enemy's ships was to be seen in the morning.

"With so vast a superiority against me, I had nothing left to do, but to endeavour to join Sir G. Rodney as fast as I was able; and as it was of very great importance to the King's service that I should carry his Majesty's squadron to him in as perfect a state as possible, I judged it necessary, in order that every ship should be under sail as nearly as possible at the same moment, for the better preserving a compact body, to give directions to cut, in which Rear-Admiral Drake most readily concurred, and thought highly expedient, from the expectation there was of being attacked; the enemy's ships being not more than five miles from us, and their lights very distinctly seen.

"Except Governor Shirley's letter, and the message General Prescott's officer brought from General Fraser, of the 24th of last

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month, I never heard a syllable from Brimstone Hill, or from any one person in the island; and what is still more extraordinary to tell, the garrison, in all probability, could not have been reduced, but for the eight brass twenty-four-pound cannon, two thirteen-inch brass mortars, 1500 shells, and 6000 twenty-four pound cannon-balls, the enemy found at the foot of the hill, which government had sent out, and which the inhabitants of the island would not give a proper assistance for getting up; for the enemy's ship with the shells was sunk, and it was with difficulty more than four or five a-day could be fished up; and L'Espion, in which were all the shells that could be got from Martinico, was taken by one of my advanced frigates, close under Nevis, in the morning I first appeared off the island. I understood the terms of the surrender have been founded on the articles of capitulation agreed upon at the reduction of Dominica.

"This is all I am able to tell you for their lordships' information; and I am far from meaning in the most distant manner to suggest that the garrison could have held out a single day longer, as I am told the works and buildings were a heap of ruins, and that no further defence could be made, with the least probable prospect of success.

"I anchored his Majesty's squadron in St. John's road on the 19th after sun-set, and sailed again this noon, to seek Sir George Rodney at Barbadoes, and get a supply of water. The Fortune and Pegasus, which I left to watch the French fleet, have this instant joined, and report that thirty-six sail of the line quitted Basse Terre road yesterday morning, with upwards of fifty sail of brigs, sloops, and schooners, and steered for Martinico."

M. de Grasse had now thirty-four sail of the line, twelve sail more than the English — who, as they expected Sir George Rodney to join them, were anxious to keep their force uninjured.

Upon the night after the capitulation, the enemy's fleet lying within five miles, the English fleet slipped their cables, and put to sea, without obstruction or pursuit.

Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Christopher's: so that, of all our former possessions in the West Indies, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, only remained.

The injury done to the English settlers at St. Christopher's by the invasion was estimated at £160,000 sterling.

Sir George Rodney, with twelve sail of the line, arrived at Barbadoes the 19th of February. Admiral Hood arrived a few days afterwards, also three sail of the line from England. With this fleet, thirty-six sail of the line, Admiral Rodney cruized to windward of the French islands, from the latitude of Deseada to that of St. Vincent's, with a line of frigates still farther to windward, in the hope of intercepting a French convoy bound to Martinico. The convoy

Edwards, vol. i. p. 511. Annual Register, 1782, p. 202.

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made Deseada from the north, kept close in-shore to leeward of Guadaloupè and Dominica, and arrived safe: he therefore returned to Gros Islet Bay, St. Lucia, to water and refit — keeping a good look-out, by his frigates, upon the enemy in Fort Royal Bay, where M. de Grasse had thirty-four sail of the line, two fifty-four's, and two ships of the line, armed en flûte.[1]

At daybreak, the 8th of April, the French fleet, with a large convoy under their protection, sailed from Port Royal, to form a junction with the Spanish fleets at Española and Cuba. They had 5500 troops on board, for the attack of Jamaica.

The movements of the French were speedily communicated to Admiral Rodney by his frigates: by noon his whole fleet was clear of Gros Islet Bay, and on that night got sight of the enemy under Dominica.

At daylight, the English fleet were becalmed under that island, while the French had a commanding breeze between it and the Saints. The breeze at length reached the van of the English, who then began to close with the French centre, whilst their own centre and rear were still becalmed. The action was commenced, about nine A.M. upon the 9th of April, by Captain Burnet in the Royal Oak, seconded by the Alfred and Montague. The whole division was in a few minutes closely engaged, and continued so for more than an hour, pressed by the great superiority of the enemy. The British van brought-to, that it might not be further separated from the rest of the fleet. The French kept under sail, and when they

Annual Register, 1782, p. 204. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 462.

[1] *List of the French Fleet in Port Royal, April the 2d, 1782.*

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Le Ville de Paris	110	Le Dauphin Royal	74
L'Auguste	80	Le Magnifique	74
Le Duc de Burgogne	80	Le Reflechie*	64
Le Languedoc	80	Le Bien Aime	74
Le St. Esprit*	80	Le Sceptre	74
Le Couronne	80	Le Northumberland	74
Le Neptune	80	Le Conquerant	74
Le Triomphante	80	Le Marseillois	74
Le Zéle	74	Le Palmier	74
Le Glorieux	74	L'Ardent	64
Le Citoyen	74	L'Eveille	64
Le Souverain	74	Le Caton	64
Le Magnanime	74	Le Jason	64
Le César	74	Le Fier, armée en flûte	54
Le Hector	74	Le Minotaur, ditto	74
Le Brave	74	Le Sagittaire	54
Le Pluton	74	L'Experiment	50
Le Hercule	74		
Le Scipion	74		
Le Burgogne	74		
Le Destian*	74		

TOTAL — Thirty-six sail of the line, two fifty-gun ships, thirteen frigates, seven armed brigs, two fire-ships, one cutter.

* Out of repair.

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had passed the headmost of their opponents, tacked in succession, and formed again in the rear, to continue this mode of attack. Thus eight sail of the British were engaged by fifteen of the enemy, until the centre were able to come up.

Sir George Rodney in the Formidable, with his seconds the Namur and Duke, all ninety-gun ships, obliged M. de Grasse to keep at a greater distance during the remainder of the engagement, which continued for about an hour and three quarters afterwards. Sixteen ships in the rear of the British fleet, by the calms and baffling winds under the land, were unable to be brought into action. About twelve, M. de Grasse stood off to windward. Two of his fleet were obliged to put into Guadaloupe.

That night the English fleet lay-to, to repair their damages, and the next day both fleets kept turning to windward, in the channel between Dominica and Guadaloupe. On the 11th the enemy had got so far to windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and the body of their fleet could only be seen from the masts heads of our centre.

While the hopes of bringing them to a decisive action were thus low, two of their disabled ships, about noon, fell considerably to leeward. The signal for a general chase was renewed. The headmost of the British line would have cut them off before evening, if M. de Grasse had not borne down with his whole fleet to their assistance. This rendered a general action unavoidable; and both fleets were kept in close order during the night. The English stood to the southward till two A. M., and then tacked with their heads to the northward.

About seven in the morning, the hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks. Admiral Drake's division led into action: the Marlborough, Captain Penny, his leading ship, was particularly distinguished. Our ships, as they came up, ranged slowly and closely under the enemy's lee — so near, that every shot told.[1]

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[1] *Sir G. B. Rodney's Line of Battle, April the 12th, 1782.*

The Royal Oak to lead on the starboard tack — the Marlborough on the larboard.

Rear-Admiral Sir S. Hood's Division.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.	MEN.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Royal Oak	Captain Burnet	74	600	8	30
Alfred	——— Bayne.....	74	600	12	42
Montague	——— Bowen	74	600	12	31
Yarmouth	——— Parry	64	500	14	33
Valiant.....	——— Goodall	74	650	10	28
Barfleur	Sir S. Hood, Bart. ..... / Captain Knight	90	765	10	27
Monarch	——— Reynolds	74	600	16	33
Warrior	——— Sir J. Wallace	74	600	5	21
Belliquex.....	——— Sutherland	64	500	4	10
Centaur	——— Inglefield	74	650	Uncertain.	
Magnificent.....	——— Linzee	74	650	6	11
Prince William..	——— Wilkinson	64	500	None.	None.

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About noon, Sir George Rodney, in the Formidable[1], with the Namur, Duke, and Canada, bore directly, with all sail, athwart the

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Sir G. B. Rodney's Line of Battle, April the 12th — continued.

Sir G. B. Rodney's Division.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.	GUNS.	MEN.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Bedford	Commodore Affleck / Captain Graves	74	617	None.	17
Ajax	—— Charrington	74	550	9	10
Repulse	—— Dumeresq	64	500	4	11
Canada	—— Hon. W. Cornwallis	74	600	2	23
St. Alban's	—— Inglis	64	500	None.	6
Namur	—— Fenshaw	90	750	6	25
Formidable	Sir G. B. Rodney / Sir C. Douglas / Captain Symons / Lord Cranstown	90	750	15	39
Duke	Captain Gardner	90	750	13	61
Agamemnon	—— Caldwell	64	500	15	22
Resolution	—— Lord R. Manners	74	600	5	34
Prothee	—— Buckner	64	500	5	25
Hercules	—— Savage	74	600	7	19
America	—— J. Thompson	64	500	1	1

Rear-Admiral Drake's Division.

Russel	Captain Saumarez	74	600	10	29
Prudent	Not in the action.				
Fame	—— Barber	74	550	3	12
Anson	—— Blair	64	500	3	13
Torbay	—— Gidoin	74	600	10	25
Prince George	—— Williams	90	750	9	24
Princessa	Francis S. Drake / Captain Knatchbull	70	600	3	22
Conqueror	—— Balfour	74	577	7	23
Nonsuch	—— Truscott	64	500	3	3
Alcide	—— C. Thompson	74	600	Not stated.	
Arrogant	—— Cornish	74	600	None.	None.
Marlborough	—— Penny	74	600	3	16

TOTAL — 36 of the line — 230 killed, 759 wounded.

FRIGATES, &c.—Champion, Zebra, Alecto, Endymion, Alarm, Andromache, Flora, Alert, Triton, Eurydice.

[1] *Account of the Action by Sir C. Douglas, Captain of the Formidable on that day.*

"*Formidable, off Montserrat, April* 14.

"DEAR SIR — In consequence of Sir George Rodney's desire, and my own inclination, I haste to give you a short account of the glorious and conclusive victory of yesterday, obtained by his Majesty's fleet over that of France, and of some previous steps and occurrences belonging to it.

"On Monday, April the 8th, at eight A.M., being in the bay of Gros Islet, in the island of St. Lucia, refitting and watering with unremitting assiduity, but in momentary readiness for sailing, the signal was repeated, by the Alert in the offing, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy, that the French fleet, in great force, and numerous in transports, was coming out of Fort Royal Bay. Sir George Rodney instantly weighed, and we soon got sight of twelve or fourteen of the sternmost ships from the mast-head, standing to the northward, under the lee of Martinico, which, from their rate of sailing, must have been ships of war. We followed them all night, under as much canvas as we could in prudence carry, the wind blowing very fresh at N.E. and E. At two A.M. of the 9th the St. Alban's hailed us, and told us

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enemy's line, and broke through it about three ships from the centre, where M. de Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris.

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that the enemy's fleet was distinctly seen from the Valiant, off the north end of Dominica, she being to windward of the Formidable. We had just got sight of them ourselves, being apprised of their proximity from the frequent night signals they had made. At three we brought to by signal, the Saints bearing N. half W., and Dominica N. by E. half E. five or six leagues; the French fleet bearing from N. by E. to N. At half-past five A.M. made the signal to prepare for battle, and form the line ahead at two cables' length asunder, as also for the fleet to fill and stand on. Sir Samuel Hood, with the van division, having a fine breeze, and a glorious prospect, was at this time making sail ahead to his station. At forty or fifty minutes after nine, the French fired upon the Alfred, which she returned, and the signal for battle was displayed.

"Thus began that day's partial engagement, between his Majesty's fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, and that of France, being thirty-three or thirty-four (I speak from recollection, and information since gathered, for we had not time to count them), which robbed Great Britain of that excellent citizen and officer, Captain Bayne, of the above-mentioned ship—I say partial engagement, as most of his Majesty's fleet lay becalmed, the whole of the rear, and most of the centre division, utterly so, insomuch as never to have had it in their power to come in for any share of that fight; while the fleet of France enjoyed a commanding breeze, within the limits of which, and to windward, they kept themselves as much as possible, with scrupulous attention, and at their much-loved long cannonading distance. By this circumstance of the calm, several of the ships of Sir Samuel Hood's division had to cope with many more of the enemy than ought to have fallen to their share. We were roughly handled: the enemy, however, had nothing to boast of; but were encouraged by this success to dare, and risk a general engagement, which they had before avoided, and which proved their ruin, on the ever-sacred to fame, the 12th of April, 1782: to give you some account of which glorious day's proceeding I shall now endeavour.

"After having attempted to keep to windward, and transposed in the line of battle the van and rear divisions, because of the damages the former had sustained, to the end that our next attack might have its full vigour, if ever the enemy should give us an opportunity; on the 11th, in the morning, one of De Grasse's fleet, being of the line, was seen bearing away for Basse Terre road, where we saw another, and chased; but they got in. Soon after, two ships more of the enemy were discovered far to windward, having also suffered damage in the affair of the 9th; for one was employed in getting up his fore-yard, and the other in getting up a main-topmast. To make his Majesty master of the ships alluded to, or bring De Grasse down to leeward, and thereby draw him, if possible, into a general engagement, the signal was made for a general chase, and we all chased accordingly. In the afternoon, the Agamemnon, and some others of our weathermost ships, gained ground so fast, that the two mutilated ones began to make signals, only three or four of the body of the French fleet being in sight from our mast-head; in consequence of which signal, Monsieur de Grasse bore down *en corps*, our chasers still menacing their game, until the count's headmost ships got very near to them, when they, as well as all the rest of the fleet, were called into close order by signal, and closed accordingly.

"On the 12th, be it consigned to perpetual record in the annals of our dear much injured (and, I hope, shortly to be avenged) country, at break of day, the enemy's fleet were discovered, broad upon our lee-bow, the wind being at E.S.E., and our heads to the northward; and one of De Grasse's ships, towed by a frigate, square under our lee, with his bowsprit and foremast prostrate across his forecastle. To draw him yet further to leeward, the Valiant and Monarch, were sent in chace thereof; and my old acquaintance (of thirty-five years' standing), the high-spirited De Grasse, edged down accordingly: —Rear-Admiral Drake now, to lead with the starboard tack, pushing on with his transposed division, to secure to us the weather gage, and thereby a general and decisive battle. When the French admiral had got far enough down, for this our purpose, the signal was made to call in the Valiant and Monarch, and they took their places in the line of battle with promptitude.

"The signal for the line of battle ahead,

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Admiral Rodney, followed by the ships astern of his division, wore short round; thus doubling upon the enemy, and closing up with their centre, completed the separation of their line, and decided the fortune of the day. At the time Admiral Rodney wore, he made the signal for the van to tack, which was immediately done by Admiral Drake. The French van bore up, endeavouring to form their broken line; but the dismay and disorder of their rear was irretrievable. The Ville de Paris, after being much battered, was closely engaged by the Canada for nearly two hours; but would not strike until the Barfleur, Sir Samuel Hood, came up: her she engaged for about a quarter of an hour; and then, at sun-set, M. de Grasse surrendered to Sir Samuel Hood. When the Ville de Paris struck, there were only three unwounded men upon her upper deck — the Count de Grasse was one of the three.

The rest of his fleet made off to leeward, in the greatest confusion, closely pursued by Commodore Affleck in the Bedford, and other British ships, who kept an unceasing fire upon them until it was quite

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and for Rear-Admiral Drake to lead with his division, having been displayed some little time before; the French now also forming their line, and extending themselves on the larboard tack, to regain the weather gage, which they thought they had fully secured, because their van, from the wind having reverted to the eastward, lay up rather to windward of ours; Rear-Admiral Drake stood firmly on in close impenetrable order, the ships composing his Majesty's line of battle being drawn up at a distance of the length of one cable from one to another.

"At forty minutes after seven in the morning, the leading ships of Admiral Drake's division were fired upon by the enemy; whereupon the signal for battle, and close battle, was made. The Marlborough, our leading ship, having fetched the sixth or seventh of Monsieur de Grasse's line, by the time the foremost ship of the centre division had begun to engage. The fire was heavy, indeed, and well supported; our ships sliding down slowly, and closely, along the enemy's line, under their lee. In stemming towards them, the commander-in-chief was fired upon by the eighth or ninth of Monsieur de Grasse's line, but did not return it, the distance being too great; but began with the next, and by giving some little elevation to his guns, to good effect; still standing on in a straight line, with a full sail, and angling in upon the enemy, in order to penetrate his line of battle; which, under favour of the vigorous impression Rear-Admiral Drake had made, the smoke and the most dreadful fire of the Duke, our immediate second ahead, the Formidable keeping up a most insupportable and well-directed fire, was happily effected: between the second and third ship astern of the Ville de Paris was the point of incision, the almost silenced first and second having past our thundering starboard side almost in contact therewith, about a ship's breadth from us.

"The immediate effect which this penetration produced, was the bringing all together (almost, if not quite, in contact with each other), the four ships of the enemy, which were nearest to the point alluded to, coming up in succession. This unfortunate group, composing now one large single object to fire at, was attacked by the Duke, the Namur, and the Formidable, wearing round on her heel all at once, receiving several broadsides from each, not a single shot missing; and dreadful must have been the slaughter!

"From this moment victory declared for the juster cause; and the Count de Grasse, who defended himself with much courage, found himself separated from all his ships, which were astern of the point of incision,—never to join them again. All was now a scene of disorder and confusion throughout the enemy's fleet, from end to end. The victors stuck so close to their flying antagonists, as to leave no time to rally, or repair their damages.

"Refer to Lord Cranstoun for particulars."—*Naval Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 425.

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dark. Five sail of the French line were taken, and one (the Diadem) sunk in the action. The Hector, of seventy-four guns, was taken by Captain Cornwallis, in the Canada, and the Cæsar was taken by Captain Inglefield, in the Centaur. The Glorieux and Ardent were the others. The Ardent had been taken from the English, in the beginning of the war, off Plymouth.

In the night the Cæsar blew up. A lieutenant and some men had been sent to take possession of her. They were too few to keep the prisoners in order, 400 of whom, with an English lieutenant and fifty men, were the victims of their excesses.

As it grew dark, Admiral Rodney brought-to for the night. On the following morning he attempted to pursue the enemy; but for three days successively the fleet were becalmed under Guadaloupe. In the meantime, the greater part of the enemy, under MM. de Bougainville and de Vaudreuil, made the best of their way to Cape François. Four sail of the line got into Curaçoa.

In the English fleet, the number of killed and wounded in both actions, the 9th and 12th, amounted to 253 killed and 1050 wounded. Captain Blair of the Anson, and Lord Robert Manners of the Resolution, were killed. Lord Robert lived for some days after the action, and was carried off by a locked jaw. Captain Bayne, of the Alfred, was killed in the action of the 9th.

The French fleet were reported to have had 3000 men killed and wounded. On board the Ville de Paris, 400 were said to have been killed: thirty-six chests of money were found on board her. This ship had been a present from the city of Paris to Louis the Fifteenth, and was supposed to have cost £176,000 sterling, she was the first first-rate man of war ever taken and carried into port by any commander of any nation.

The whole of the battering-cannon and artillery intended for the attack on Jamaica, was on board the ships captured. Had the Count de Grasse succeeded in joining the Spanish fleet, the naval force of the two crowns would have amounted to sixty sail of the line upon that station.

On the 18th of April, Sir Samuel Hood was dispatched with a squadron to intercept the disabled ships off Española. The day after his departure from the fleet, in the Mona Passage, he discovered five sail of French vessels; and after a chase of several hours, the Valiant and Magnificent, two of the best sailing seventy-fours, came up with the Jason and Caton, two sixty-four-gun ships, and after a short action took them and two frigates. The third frigate escaped.

Sir Samuel Hood joined the fleet off Cape Tiburon, and Sir George Rodney proceeded with the prizes to Jamaica.

The inhabitants of that island so long marked out for war and

Annual Register, 1782, pp. 202. 211. 213.
Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 474.

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ruin, and menaced by a force hitherto unknown in the New World, not only saw themselves at once freed from all danger, but had the commander of that armament, the object of their terror, brought a prisoner into their ports, with six of the destined instruments of their destruction, with English colours above their own.

Lord Rodney carried in, at the same time, a French ship from the Isle of France to St. Domingo, with a large collection of oriental exotics, and a few plants of the real Ceylon cinnamon, which produced bark of an equal quality to any imported from India.

Admiral Pigot arrived from England to succeed Sir George, now Lord Rodney. That commander sailed from Jamaica for England in August, to enjoy his honours, instead of what his enemies expected.

This was the only bright gleam of sunshine during the whole of this miserable war. The taint of rebellion seems to have infected insignificant islands, which, without the protection of England, must immediately have passed into the hands of one of the other European powers, and the line between opposition and treason was by no means clearly defined.

If the government of England encouraged the colonists of Spain in smuggling, she was now repaid; for France and Spain encouraged her colonists in rebellion. This crooked policy upon the part of England must be attributed entirely to the influence of the merchants.

Lord Rodney should tell the story of his own action: —

"SIR, "Formidable, at Sea, 14th April, 1782.

"It has pleased God, out of his divine providence, to grant to his Majesty's arms a most complete victory over the fleet of his enemy, commanded by the Count de Grasse, who is himself captured, with the Ville de Paris, and four other ships of the fleet, besides one sunk in the action. This important victory was obtained the 12th instant, after a battle which lasted, with unremitting fury, from seven in the morning till half-past six in the evening, when the setting sun put an end to the contest.

"Both fleets have greatly suffered; but it is with the highest satisfaction I can assure your lordships, that though the masts, sails, rigging, and hulls of the British fleet are damaged, yet the loss of men has been but small, considering the length of the battle, and the close action they so long sustained, and in which both fleets looked upon the honour of their King and country to be most essentially concerned.

"The great supply of naval stores lately arrived in the West Indies, will, I flatter myself, soon repair all the damages his Majesty's fleet has sustained.

Annual Register, 1782, pp. 30. 214. — 1790, p. 126.

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"The gallant behaviour of the officers and men of the fleet I have the honour to command, has been such as must for ever endear them to all lovers of their King and country.

"The most noble behaviour of my second in command, Sir S. Hood, who in both actions most conspicuously exerted himself, demands my warmest encomiums. My third in command, Rear-Admiral Drake, who with his division led the battle on the 12th, deserves the highest praise; nor less can be given to Commodore Affleck, for his gallant behaviour in leading the centre division.

"My own captain, Sir C. Douglas, merits every thing I can possibly say: his unremitted diligence and activity greatly eased me in the unavoidable fatigue of the day.

"In short, I want words to express myself how sensible I am of the meritorious conduct of all the captains, officers, and men who had a share in this glorious victory, obtained by their gallant exertions.

"The enemy's whole army, consisting of 5500 men, were on board their ships of war: the destruction among them must be prodigious, as for the greatest part of the action every gun told; and their lordships may judge what havoc must have been made, when the Formidable fired near eighty broadsides.

"Enclosed I have the honour to send, for their inspection, the British and French lines of battle, with an account of the killed and wounded, and damages sustained by his Majesty's fleet.

"Lord Cranston, who acted as one of the captains of the Formidable during both actions, and to whose gallant behaviour I am much indebted, will have the honour of delivering these dispatches; to him I must refer their lordships for every minute particular they may wish to know, he being perfectly master of the whole transaction.

"That the British flag may for ever flourish in every quarter of the globe, is the most ardent wish of him who has the honour of being, with great regard,

"SIR,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"G. B. RODNEY."

"To P. Stephens, Esquire."

List of the French Ships taken.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.	SOLDIERS.
Le Ville de Paris	110	1500 on board during the action	—
Le Glorieux	74	750	150
Le César	74	750	150
L'Hector	74	750	150
L'Ardent	64	650	100

One sunk, name unknown.

Annual Register, 1782, p. 30.

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SIR, "Formidable, at Sea, April 14th, 1782.

"I must desire you will please to acquaint their lordships, that, notwithstanding the disposition I had made of his Majesty's fleet under my command, which were stationed to windward of the French islands, in a line stretching from the latitude of Deseada to the latitude of St. Vincent's, with a line of frigates to windward, which their lordships may perceive by the disposition of the fleet I have the honour to enclose, and which disposition was thought by every officer of the fleet to be such as to render it impossible for any convoy bound to the French islands to escape; yet, notwithstanding the vigilance of every captain and officer, the enemy found means to escape: by making the island of Deseada, and creeping close under Guadaloupe and Dominica, they arrived safe in the Bay of Fort Royal, on the 20th and 21st of March.

"Information having been given me of this unlucky event, I thought it my duty to return to the Bay of Gros Islet, St. Lucia, where I had ordered the store-ships, victuallers, and trade-bound to Jamaica, to rendezvous. On my arrival in that bay, every dispatch possible was made in refitting the fleet, and taking in stores and provisions to five months of all species, for the whole fleet; a watchful eye being kept the whole time on the French fleet in the Bay of Fort Royal, as I knew the Count de Grasse would hasten the refitting his fleet, and take the first opportunity of proceeding to the place of his destination.

"On the 5th of April, I received intelligence that the enemy were embarking their troops on board the ships of war, and concluded they intended to sail in a very few days. Captain Byron of the Andromache, an active, brisk, and diligent officer, watched their motions with such attention, that on the 8th instant, at daylight, he made the signal of the enemy's coming out, and standing to the N.W. I instantly made the signal to weigh; and having looked into the Bays of Fort Royal and St. Pierre's, where no enemy's ships remained, I made the signal for a general chace, and before daylight came up with the enemy under Dominica, where both fleets were becalmed, and continued so for some time. The enemy first got the wind, and stood towards Guadaloupe. My van division, under that gallant officer Rear-Admiral Sir S. Hood, received it next, and stood after them. At nine the enemy began to cannonade my van, which was returned with the greatest briskness. The baffling winds under Dominica did not permit part of the centre division to get into action with the enemy's rear till half past eleven, and then only the ship next to me in the line of battle. Their lordships may easily imagine the mortification it must have been to the sixteen gallant officers commanding the ships of the rear, who could only be spectators of an action in which it was not

Annual Register, 1782, p. 84.

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in their power to join, being detained by the calms under Dominica.

"The enemy's cannonade ceased upon my rear's approach, but not before they had done considerable damage to the ships of the van, and disabled the Royal Oak and Montague, and his Majesty had lost a gallant officer, viz. Captain Bayne of the Alfred, and a number of officers and seamen; but such was the steady behaviour of Sir S. Hood, and the ships of the van, that the enemy received more damage than they occasioned.

"The night of the 9th, the fleet lay to, to repair their damages. The 10th, they continued to turn to windward under an easy sail, the enemy's fleet, continuing to do the same, and always had it in their power to come to action, which they cautiously avoided, and rendered it impossible for me to force them, in the situation they were in, between the Saints and the island of Dominica.

"On the 11th of April, the enemy having gained considerably to windward, and the wind blowing a fresh and steady gale, I made the signal for a general chace to windward, which continued the whole day. Towards sunset some of the headmost ships of the fleet had approached near to one of the enemy's ships that had received damage in the late action, — and had certainly taken her, if the Count de Grasse had not bore down with his whole fleet for her protection, which brought him so near, that I flattered myself he would give me an opportunity of engaging him the next day.

"With that view, I threw out the signal for the form of sailing, and stood with the whole fleet to the southward till two o'clock in the morning, and then tacked, and had the happiness, at daylight, to find my most sanguine desire was near being accomplished, by my having it in my power to force the enemy to battle. Not one moment was lost in putting it into execution. The consequence has been such as I have had the honour to represent in my former letter of this day, and can say no more, than that too much praise cannot be given to the gallant officers and men of the fleet I had the honour to command.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard,

"SIR,

"Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

"G. B. RODNEY."

"N.B. — Lord Cranston and Captain Byron relate, that the Cæsar, one of the captured ships, soon after she was taken possession of, took fire by accident, and blew up, and a considerable number of people on board her unfortunately perished; and that Lord Robert Manners died, in his passage home in the Andromache."

Annual Register, 1782, p. 34.

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"Formidable, off Cape Tiburon, St. Domingo, April 26, 1782.

"Since my last dispatches of the 20th of April, by the Euridice, I am happy to congratulate their lordships on the capture of two more line-of-battle ships and two frigates, taken by the squadron I had detached under the command of Sir S. Hood; and enclosed have the honour to send a list of the ships taken, and a return of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships that attacked them.

"I am now, with the fleet, off Cape Tiburon, and propose leaving Rear-Admiral Sir S. Hood, with twenty-five sail of the line, or as many ships as are in a condition to keep the sea, to watch the motions of the enemy at Cape François: and shall go myself, with the crippled ships, to Fort Royal, in order to hasten their refitting, and to take care that no delay be made."

List of French Ships taken, April the 19th, 1782, by the Squadron under Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood.

SHIPS.	GUNS.	MEN.	
Caton	64	650	Exclusive of troops.
Jason	64	609	Do.
L'Amiable ...	32	290	
Ceres	18	160	

His Majesty's ship Valiant had two men killed and six wounded, and His Majesty's ship Magnificent, four killed and eight wounded.

On the 13th of March, the Santa Matilda and Santa Cecilia (two Spanish frigates), with twenty-one smaller vessels, and about 1000 troops, under the command of Don Mathias de Galvez, sailed from Truxillo, in the Bay of Honduras, and on the 15th appeared off the island of Rattan: they immediately summoned the British governor to surrender at discretion, promising the garrison all the military honours which circumstances would admit. The governor requested a delay of six hours; at the end of which time, he informed Don Galvez that he would defend himself to the last extremity.

About ten o'clock A.M. on the 16th, the two frigates began to cannonade the Forts St. George, Despard, and Dalling, which had been erected to defend the harbour. At two P.M. the garrison found the batteries untenable, spiked the guns, and retreated to four heights, on the summits of which some guns had been planted; with these a constant fire was kept up on the enemy. The Spaniards landed — took possession of the abandoned batteries — soon rendered the artillery, which had been badly spiked, serviceable — and canonaded the British posts with such effect, that before dark the governor sent two officers to propose terms for surrendering the garrison. The Spanish general answered, that if they surrendered at discretion, they should

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 490.

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meet with humane treatment; otherwise they must abide the consequences.

On the 17th, the garrison and inhabitants surrendered prisoners of war, to be sent to the Havaña, there to be exchanged, and the slaves sold. The Spaniards set fire to all the buildings, levelled all the forts and batteries to the ground, and carried off or destroyed all the guns and stores. Some of the Negroes, as soon as the Spaniards landed, began to plunder their masters, and then ran to the woods: about thirty were retaken by some Spanish soldiers. When every thing was destroyed, the Spaniards reimbarked, and proceeded to the British settlements on Black River, of which they took possession, and established themselves in considerable force. They likewise took Fort Dalling, on Cape River, and other strong posts in the country.

The Baymen, although driven from these places, were not conquered; this the Spaniards found to their sorrow, as the following dispatch from Governor Campbell shews: —

Letter from Archibald Campbell, Esquire, Governor of Jamaica, to the Secretary of State.

"My Lord, "Jamaica, October 29, 1782.

"I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, that the plan which I projected, for defeating the Spaniards in their attack upon the British settlers and Musquito Indians, at Cape Gracios à Dios, has succeeded equal to my most sanguine expectations.

"Captain J. Campbell, of the Wanks River district, who had collected 150 able Negroes for the purpose of harassing the Spanish garrison stationed at Black River, continued, with unremitting assiduity, from the 14th of July, to annoy the enemy, and narrow the limits of their posts to the eastward—till, by a judicious movement of his whole corps to the westward, he passed their centinels unnoticed, got close, on the night of the 23d of August, to Cape River Fort (lately Fort Dalling), and by a very gallant assault carried it, with the loss of two men only. Sixty-five Spaniards were killed on the spot, nine taken prisoners, mostly wounded, and about forty escaped by flight. Three brass field-pieces, three field-pieces, iron, one cohorn, and one garrison-piece, with a quantity of ammunition, and one stand of colours, fell into the hands of the assailants, who destroyed the works, and retreated to their former ground.

"This success, together with repeated skirmishes, in which the enemy met with considerable loss, contributed to render the Spaniards at Black River an easy conquest to the force then in motion against them.

"On the 28th of August, the little army formed at Cape Gracios à Dios, consisting of eighty American rangers under Major

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 492. Annual Register, 1782, p. 74.

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Campbell, 500 shore-men, free-people of colour, and Negroes, and 600 Musquito Indians, under their respective chiefs, who had elected for their leader Lieutenant-Colonel Despard (captain of the 79th regiment), reached the mouth of Plantain River, about seven leagues to the eastward of the enemy.

"On the 30th, the troops arrived at Black River Bluff, opposite to the eastern block-house, when the enemy dispatched a flag, to inquire who they were and what they wanted. A summons to surrender the Spanish posts and artillery to His Britannic Majesty's forces was sent to the commandant in reply; and after some altercation, the garrison, consisting of 27 officers, and 715 rank and file, chiefly of the regiment of Guatimala, thought fit to lay down their arms as prisoners of war, stipulating to be conducted to Omoa in the most convenient and expeditious manner.[1] With this detachment were taken one stand of colours, two twelve pounders, seven six pounders, eleven four pounders, iron, four four pounders, brass, one eight-inch howitzer, and one thousand

Annual Register, 1782, p. 74.

[1] *Articles of Capitulation proposed by Don Thomas Julia, Commander-in-Chief of Black River, to Lieutenant-Colonel Despard and Major James Lawrie, in the Service of His Britannic Majesty.*

"Art. 1. That the sacred vessels and other ornaments belonging to divine worship shall be left untouched.

"Answ. Granted.

"2. That the officers, troops, and seamen of the garrison should go forth with arms shouldered, drums beating, four field-pieces, lighted match, ball in mouth, and twenty-one rounds per man.

"Answ. The garrison of Black River shall surrender themselves prisoners of war.

"3. The garrison shall be conducted, in the vessels of His Britannic Majesty, to the port of St. Fernandez de Omoa.

"Answ. The garrison of Black River shall be conducted to St. Fernandez de Omoa in the most convenient and expeditious manner.

"4. That the officers shall be allowed their side arms and baggage, and that their servants shall be conducted with them, and that the troops shall not be plundered.

"Answ. The officers to be allowed one servant each: the rest of the article granted.

"5. All that belongs to the King shall be carried off without molestation.

"Answ. Every thing belonging to the King, comprehending cannon, arms, ammunition, military chest, provisions, and in general every thing under the description of King's stores, shall be delivered up to a commissary appointed for that purpose.

"6. It shall be permitted that a 'pettyager' may be sent to the port of Truxillo, with a sufficient passport from the commander-in-chief of His Britannic Majesty's squadron.

"Answ. A pettyager shall be permitted to go from hence on the 8th day of September, furnished with a proper passport.

Proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel Despard as a Supplement to the above.

"7. All property found at Black River, including slaves, &c. taken from the English inhabitants on the capture of the place, shall be delivered up, that they may be restored to their proper owners.

"In the above article, pettyagers, crafts, 'dorys,' &c. falling under the description of English property, are meant to be included.

"8. The British flag shall be hoisted on the eastern block-house at six o'clock in the evening of this day, when the garrison shall march out, and pile up their arms before the governor's house. The cannon, stores, &c. forts, posts, &c. belonging to that place, shall be delivered up at the same time to officers appointed for that purpose.

"9. The officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison shall not serve against His Britannic Majesty until regularly exchanged, or against any part of the Mosquito shore during the war.

"Edward Marcus Despard.
"Don Thomas Julia.
"James Lawrie."

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. vi. p. 337.

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fire-locks, which, together with the artillery in Fort Dalling, amount to thirty-one pieces of cannon, one cohorn, one howitzer, one thousand fire-locks, a quantity of ammunition, and a stand of colours.

"I have likewise the pleasure to inform your lordship, that the day after the Spanish troops laid down their arms at Black River, a polacre of sixteen guns, loaded with provisions for the Spanish garrison at that post, was taken by one of Captain Parry's squadron. This polacre had also some money on board, and 100 soldiers, as a reinforcement for Truxillo.

"The business of the shore being over, I have directed Odell's rangers to return immediately to Jamaica; and I can assure your lordship, that the British settlers and friendly Indians on that coast have for this season a fair prospect of enjoying their plantations in tranquillity; while the Spaniards, who have been at an immense expence and fatigue, have lost the fruits of their costly and laborious exertions.

"Captain Thomas, of his Majesty's ship Resource, who can inform your lordship of the state of matters in that quarter, will have the honour of presenting to you the Spanish colours taken at Cape River Fort, and the works of Black River, which I beg may be laid at his Majesty's feet.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect,
"My Lord, &c.
"ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL."

"To the Earl of Shelbourne."

February the 3d, a fire broke out at Kingston, in Jamaica, occasioned by a Negro woman ironing linen carelessly. A strong north wind blowing, in the space of seven hours eighty houses and stores were totally destroyed, and property to the amount of £500,000. A Negro girl, in the house where the fire began, was left chained to a large weight, and burnt to death.

Upon the 25th of July, Rear-Admiral Graves in the Ramillies, seventy-four, sailed from Blue-fields, Jamaica, in company with his Majesty's ships Canada, Centaur, and Pallas, with the Ville de Paris, 104; Le Glorieux, seventy-four; L'Hector, seventy-four; L'Ardent, sixty-four; Le Jason, sixty-four, and Le Caton, sixty-four, French prizes, and 100 sail of merchant vessels. For the miserable fate of part of this fleet, see note below.[1]

Annual Register, 1782, pp. 21, 22. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. p. 496.

1 The Ramillies was taken aback with her mainsail set; the consequences thereof were fatal to the lives of many, and the eventual abandonment and loss of the ship, after great exertions and great sufferings. No ship should ever "lie to" under a mainsail upon the larboard tack to the north of the line, with a gale of wind from the southward and westward, because, in the ordinary process of the gale, which is shifting suddenly to the N. W., she must be taken aback, and then the consequences

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His Majesty's ship Argo captured the Actif, French sixty-four, armée-en-flûte, with ordnance stores and 200 soldiers, bound to Martinico.

Annual Register, 1782, p. 228.

are fatal in proportion to the strength of the squall—it is utterly impossible to haul the sail up whilst it is aback—and very difficult to get the ship before the wind.

The details of this fatal instance have been given apparently with the admiral's sanction, but they are omitted because of their prolixity.

The Centaur, Captain Inglefield, was under bare poles when the squall took her; yet the ship was laid at once upon her beam ends, and the water burst through from the hold between decks. With the loss of all her masts and rudder she righted—with such extreme violence, that the guns broke loose, and the water from the hold swept every thing away between decks. The officers, who had run up naked from their beds, had not any clothes to put on in the morning, nor their friends any to lend them. By great exertions the ship was kept afloat until the 23d: on that morning all their efforts were fruitless—the ship filled fast, and was going gradually down. Many of the seamen, who had laboured without a murmur, seeing all was over, wept like children: others went to their hammocks, and called to their messmates to lash them in. A greater number were lashing themselves to gratings and small rafts, all putting on their best clothes. The water burst up the orlop deck—the cables floated to the gun-deck—the people left off baling, and the ship was left to her fate. The booms were prepared, rafts made, and the boats over the ship's side.

At five o'clock Captain Inglefield went upon deck: the master was the only officer there. Both joined some men in the pinnace, and with great difficulty shoved her clear of the ship. Mr. Baylis, a boy of fifteen, throwing himself into the sea, reached the boat, and was taken in.

Twelve were in the boat: and only these were saved of all the crew. They were without compass, quadrant, or sail. A bag of bread, a small ham, a two-pound piece of pork, a few French cordials, and two quarts of water, were their whole stock of provisions. Night was coming on, a heavy gale of wind blowing, and a heavy sea driving. Some baled, the rest sat in the bottom of the boat up to their waists in water. A blanket was in the boat: this they bent to a stretcher, and used as a sail. Next day the weather moderated, and the wind fortunately continued in the N.W. Their only hope was to make the Western Islands, then 260 leagues to the S.E.

On the fifth morning the salt water had damaged their bread. From this time the allowance was one biscuit divided into twelve equal portions, and distributed, without respect of persons, twice a day. The neck of a bottle, broken off with the cork in it, was the measure of water for each individual for twenty-four hours. A pair of sheets were in the boat, which enabled them to catch a few quarts of rain water.

To divert the attention of the people from their sufferings, every one in turn was ordered to tell a story and sing a song. On the fifteenth day the stoutest man in the boat, a quarter-master, died. On that evening they were reduced to the last day's bread, and one bottle of water. All Captain Inglefield's endeavours could not now procure a story or a song; it is more extraordinary that he should make the attempt.

On the sixteenth day, after distributing the last biscuit and water, land was seen, and on that night they arrived at Fayal.

The fate of the Ville de Paris, Captain Wilkinson, and of the Glorieux, Captain Cadogan, was ascertained thus:—A Danish merchant ship from the West Indies took a man off a fragment of wreck quite insensible, and for some time motionless. The Dane carried him to the hospital at Havre de Grasse, where he recovered, and was sent in a Russian ship to the English Admiralty. His name was Wilson: he had been on board the Ville de Paris, and when she was going to pieces clung to a piece of the wreck. He perfectly recollected that the Glorieux had foundered: he saw her go down, the day preceding that on which the Ville de Paris sunk.

The fate of L'Hector, Captain Bourchier, was tediously calamitous. She was attacked by two large French frigates, L'Eagle and La Gloire, on the 5th of September, who engaged her above three hours, and were beaten off after an attempt to board. Captain Bourchier was desperately wounded. Bad weather coming on, the ship was soon dismasted, and lost her rudder. Leaks opened in every part, and

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Don Juan de Cagigal, governor-general of Cuba, with above 5000 men, including army and navy, appeared before Providence, and summoned the governor to surrender within six hours. Colonel Maxwell had only 170 invalids to defend the island; but hoping that some British ships might come to his assistance, he for two days deferred agreeing to the surrender.

Don Juan, although fully acquainted with the weakness of the garrison, submitted to the delay; and granted, upon the 8th of May, as favourable terms, both to the garrison and inhabitants, as they could have wished for.

Upon the 29th of January, M. de Kersaint, with a squadron of frigates, arrived off the coast of Demerary. Two hundred and fifty troops, under the Chevalier d'Alais, were landed to attack the fort, which was abandoned on his approach.

On the 1st of February, Captain Tahourdin surrendered. Permission was given for the troops to be sent on their parole to Barbadoes, with their effects and domestics.

On the 5th, the French made themselves masters of Essequibo, and a few days afterwards of Berbice. Five sloops of war, a small armed vessel, and thirteen large armed merchant vessels, with about 400 prisoners and eighty pieces of cannon, were taken by the French.

The Danish West India trade employed 246 vessels, of from 80 to 120 tons burthen each.

Antigua produced 16,200 hhds. of sugar this year.

David Parry, Esq. arrived at Barbadoes as governor of the island, and left it July the 6th, 1789.

Upon the 8th of December, Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes joined Admiral Pigot at Barbadoes: he was accompanied by the Solitaire, a French sixty-four, and a small frigate of twenty-four guns, captured, on the 6th, forty leagues to windward of Barbadoes. Captain Collins, of his Majesty's ship Ruby, by superior sailing got up with the Solitaire about a quarter past one P.M. After an action of forty-one minutes, the latter struck. The Ruby had only two men wounded—her foremast and rigging were damaged. The Solitaire lost her mizenmast, had twenty-five men killed, and about

Annual Register, 1783, pp. 114. 258. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. pp. 459. 526.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 495.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, p 19. Parliamentary Papers, 1790.

the last sail was drawn under her bottom with fothering. Several of the crew died at the pumps, and part of the orlop deck fell into the hold. The men had been four days without water or spirits on the 3d of October, when a sail was seen, a friend; and to confirm the blessing, she was bearing down directly for them. It was the Hawke letter of marque, from Lisbon, bound to St. John's in Newfoundland, commanded by Captain Hill of Dartmouth. He lay by the Hector during the night, and in the morning took on board Captain Bourchier, with the remainder of her crew, above two hundred men. A considerable part of the Hawke's cargo was thrown overboard to make room for them. Fortunately they had a fair wind to St. John's; yet the last cask of water was broached the day they made the land.

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thirty-five wounded: she was commanded by the Chevalier de Borda, and had been ten days from Martinico, cruizing in expectation of falling in with one of our convoys from England.

His Majesty's ship London, ninety-eight, Captain Kempthorne, with the Torbay, seventy, and Badger sloop, on the 17th of October, off the east end of St. Domingo, fell in with the Scipion, French seventy-four, and Sybille frigate. After a running fight of eight hours, the Scipion in a disabled state attempted to anchor in a small bay, called English Harbour, in that island; but in the course of the night she was totally lost — her crew were saved. In the action she had fifteen killed and forty-six wounded. The London had seventy men killed and wounded.

On the 30th of November, provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris between England and America.

The British settlers in Honduras, who had been taken by the Spaniards in 1779, and afterwards sent to the Havaña, were suffered to return to Jamaica: many of them sought refuge among the Indians upon the Musquito shore.

By 28 Geo. III. c. 28., it is declared and enacted, "that the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by his Majesty and the parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, is thereby established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time thereafter be questioned or questionable." Thus (it was erroneously said) establishing and ascertaining a similar right, for ever, for all the dependencies and colonies of Great Britain similarly circumstanced.

1783.

On the 2d of January, Captain Graves, in his Majesty's ship Magicienne, in company with the Endymion, Captain Smith, fell in with a French convoy from St. Domingo to North America, engaged La Railleur, of fourteen guns, Captain Hebert, which vessel is stated to have struck before the Magicienne passed on to La Sybille, of thirty-two — alongside of which ship the Magicienne was dismasted, and her antagonist escaped before the Endymion came up.

The Magicienne had three officers and sixteen seamen killed and thirty-four wounded.

The Sybille had on board, besides her own complement, 350 seamen from Le Scipion, which ship was wrecked in Samana bay.

Upon the 13th of January, a convoy from Charlestown arrived at Jamaica, with 1600 troops. Upwards of 400 white families,

Annual Register, 1782, p. 229. Barlow, vol. iv. p. 379.
Colquhoun's British Empire, pp. 366. 376.
Jordan's Examination of the Slave Registry Bill, p. 56.
Memoirs of Sir Thomas Graves, K.B., Naval Chronicle, vol. viii. p. 363.

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who brought with them 4500 Negroes, came in this fleet, to settle in Jamaica.

Captain George Stoney, in his Majesty's ship Fox, thirty-two, after a short action, captured the Santa Catalina, of twenty-two guns and 163 men. The Fox had four killed in the action.

In January, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, with seventeen sail of the line, sailed from Boston for Cape François. Bad weather drove him past his port, and he arrived, on the 6th February, at Curaçoa, with thirteen ships. Three others put into Porto Cavallo; but the Bourgogne, seventy-four, was wrecked ten leagues to leeward of that port, and more than half her crew perished.

The honourable Thomas Windsor, in his Majesty's ship Fox, after an action of an hour and a half, captured the Socorro Guipuscoano of twenty-six guns, and Dama Biscayna of twenty, both bound to the Havaña, with valuable cargoes.

January the 19th, his Majesty's ship Hinchinbrook of twenty-eight guns, Captain Fish, in running into St. Anne's Bay, Jamaica, struck on a rock, and was lost: her crew and stores were saved.

A Spanish row-boat came to an anchor off the Wherry wharf, at Kingston, Jamaica, and sent four of her crew on shore for provisions. A gentleman, having some suspicion of her from her rigging, &c. went on board, and found the remainder of her crew secreted under a sail: they were immediately sent to prison. It appeared that they belonged to a schooner privateer in the offing, and came in to purchase provisions, in order to prolong their cruize.

Captain Payne, in the Leander, at midnight, on the 18th of January, engaged for two hours, to the northward of the islands, a large French ship which was supposed to be the Couronne or Pluto: she got into Puerto Rico.

The Leander was set on fire by the enemy's wads three times, and had all the men stationed on her poop killed or wounded, except Simon Smith, who, leaning over the colour chest, said, "If you please, Captain Payne, I stand in need of some assistance, as, except myself, all here are killed or wounded." The French ship had troops on board, and several of her thirty-six-pound shot were sticking in the Leander.

Upon the 17th of January, the Magicienne, of 32 guns and 220 men, arrived at Jamaica, after having had a very severe action with the Sybil French frigate, in which the Magicienne was dismasted, and had 47 men killed and wounded.

The Sybil was afterwards taken by Captain Russel, in the Huzzar: she was under jury-masts, having lost her masts after the action with the Magicienne: she carried 36 guns and 350 men. Most of

Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. pp. 530. 533. 536.
Annual Register, 1783, p. 258, Admiral Pigot's Letter to the Admiralty. — p. 259, Rear-Admiral Rowley's Letter.
Naval Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 27.

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her convoy from Cape François, with a corvette, were taken by his Majesty's ships Amphion and Cyclops.

Upon the 2d of March, Captain James King, in his Majesty's ship Resistance, coming through Turk's Island Passage, captured La Coquette of 28 guns, commanded by the Marquis de Grasse, nephew to the Count de Grasse: five of her guns had been landed upon Turk's Island: she had sailed about three weeks before, with another ship with troops on board, from Cape François, on an expedition against Turk's Island, which they reduced and fortified, leaving 350 men to garrison it.

Two days after the capture of La Coquette, the Resistance fell in with his Majesty's frigates Albemarle and Tartar, and the Drake and Barrington armed vessels, when it was resolved an attempt should be made to retake the island; for which purpose 250 men were landed under the command of Captain Dixon of the Drake, and the two brigs were stationed opposite the town, to cover the disembarkation, and to dislodge the enemy from the houses: but a battery of four twenty-four pounders and five six pounders being unexpectedly opened against them, they were compelled to retire; the Drake having seven men wounded, and the Barrington two. Captain Dixon finding it impossible to dislodge the enemy, who were advantageously posted behind a strong work, and greatly superior in numbers, drew off his men, and re-embarked them without loss. The wind afterwards blowing hard from the westward, prevented the large ships from attacking the battery as they intended.

The Danish West India trade employed only 91 vessels of from 80 to 120 tons burthen, being a diminution of 155 from the number employed last year.

When the Caribs in St. Vincent's found their fears were realised, and that the island was to be given up to the English, they retired to their lands, and for some months never ventured to come near an Englishman. During the four years in which the island was under the French power, the Caribs had committed a variety of excesses against the English inhabitants.

The planters despairing of getting clear of the Caribs, with all the zeal peculiar to self-interest, tried to engage their friendship. "They permitted them to fish in their rivers and ponds, to build huts on their estates, to raise stock, and cultivate provision-grounds, they interested themselves too frequently in indefensible causes, and shielded them from justice, when they deserved its penalties." The poorer classes of white inhabitants justly complained of these transactions as a grievance.

The methodist chapel in Antigua was completed, and preached

Annual Register, 1783, p. 259, quoting Rear-Admiral Digby's Letter. — Extract from Kingston Gazette.
Brougham's Colonial Policy, book i. sect. 3. p. 495.
Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197.

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in, for the first time, on the 8th of November. Several hundred had joined the society, the care of which rested on Mr. Baxter and Mrs. Gilbert, who, unable to draw her annuity from an estate in Antigua, left England to live upon it. Her house was open every day, for all who chose to attend her family prayers; and she had one evening in every week for the public reading of the scriptures.

Mr. Wesley was applied to, to send out some more preachers, but could not. Some Irish who were emigrating to America were driven to Antigua, in great distress: one of these was a methodist, who, with his family, were enabled, by the kindness of others of that sect, to remain in Antigua, where he became very useful to them, in exhorting and in leading of classes. Upwards of 1000 members, chiefly blacks, were soon in society.

Antigua produced 3900 hhds. of sugar this year, being 12,300 less than last year.

On the 2d of July, an order in council was issued, under provisions of an act passed the preceding month, to allow "rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa-nuts, pimento, ginger, &c. to be exported direct to the United States of America from the sugar colonies, in British ships owned and navigated according to law."

Some American refugees introduced the culture of rice into Dominica: it flourishes in the moist flat lands, and yields in great perfection.

Some American loyalists from Charlestown were convoyed to St. Lucia by his Majesty's ship Narcissus, in April.

March the 1st, Major-General Edward Mathew, Esq. was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of Grenada, and such of the Grenadines as lie to the southward of Carriacow, including that island also.

Edmund Lincoln, Esq. was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of St. Vincent's, Bequia, and the islands commonly called the Grenadines, which lie to the north of Carriacow.

John Ord, Esq. was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of the island of Dominica.

At Santiago, in Española, several buildings were destroyed, and the principal church much injured, by an earthquake.

The Cochin China rice and the tallow tree were first raised from seeds in Martinico, in 1783: they were sent to Paris from Canton, by M. Lamy.

His Majesty's ship Argo, of forty-four guns, captured Le Dauphin, armée-en-flûte, pierced for sixty guns, with ordnance and military stores on board, and 200 soldiers, bound to Martinico.

February the 18th, the Argo, off Sombrero, fell in with two large

Coke's West Indies, vol. ii. pp. 432. 436.
Sir W. Young's Common-place Book, pp. 19. 83.
Atwood's History of Dominica, p. 84. Annual Register, 1783, pp. 102. 230.
Voyage de Santo Domingo, au Cap François, p. 77.

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French frigates, just after her main-top-mast had been sprung. Both ships soon brought her to action; and as the weather was too bad for the Argo to open her lower-deck ports, Captain Butchart, after a running fight of five hours, ordered his colours to be struck. The Argo had thirteen men killed, and several wounded. On the morning of the 20th, Captain Saxton, in the Invincible, seventy-four, fell in with her, and the frigates, to windward of Porto Rico. The frigates escaped, but the Argo was retaken.

March the 18th, his Majesty's ship Santa Monica, thirty-six, Captain John Linzee, was lost on a sunken rock near Tortola: one man was drowned.

Captain Inglis, in the St. Alban's — with the squadron under his command, pursued the Amphion and Concorde French frigates from St. Christopher's to St. Eustatia, where they ran for shelter. The Amphion escaped, but the Concorde was taken.

Mr. Joshua Steele, the proprietor of three estates in Barbadoes, "took the whips and all power of arbitrary punishment from all his overseers and their white servants," created a magistracy out of the Negroes themselves; and appointed a court or jury of the elder Negroes, or head men, for trial and punishment of all casual offences: which court very soon grew respectable, and quite satisfied the humane proprietor's expectations.

By the 29th sect. of an act of the Virgin Islands, passed this year, the owners of Negroes employed as common porters are required to enter their names in a public office, and to take out for them a badge or ticket, under a penalty of £5 for the first offence, and £10 for the second: "And the slave shall, moreover, receive any number of stripes which the magistrate shall please to order."

In England, an act was passed, "to continue several laws relating to the regulating the fees of officers of the customs and naval officers in America — to the allowing the exportation of certain quantities of wheat, and other articles, to his Majesty's sugar colonies in America — to the permitting the exportation of tobacco-pipe clay from this kingdom to the British sugar colonies or plantations in the West Indies — and to the repealing the duties upon pot and pearl ashes, wood, and weed ashes, imported into Great Britain — and for granting other duties in lieu thereof."

Also, "An act for allowing the importation of goods from Europe in neutral ships, into the islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines; and of goods the produce or manufacture of the said islands, and of Tobago and St. Lucia, from thence into this kingdom, in such ships, upon payment of the British plantation duties, and to cancel certain bonds entered into for payment of the duties due thereon;

Westminster Magazine, 1784, p. 555. Beatson's Memoirs, vol. v. pp. 483. 485.
Clarkson's Thoughts on Emancipation, 1823.
Stephen on West India Slavery, p. 302. Annual Register, 1783, p. 82.

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for further continuing certain temporary acts for the encouragement of trade; and to repeal an act, made in the twenty-second year of his Majesty's reign, for allowing the importation of goods the growth of St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, into any of his Majesty's dominions in Europe or America."

Also, "An act for the further encouraging the growth of coffee and cocoa-nuts in his Majesty's islands and plantations of America.[1]

Annual Register, 1783, p. 82.

[1] *Ordinance of the General and Intendant concerning the Police of Negroes and free Persons of Colour.*

"*25th December*, 1783.

"ART. 6. No Negro or coloured person, whether free or slave, permitted to exercise the profession of physician or surgeon, nor to prepare medicines under any pretext whatever, not even for the bite of serpents, under pain of condemnation to the chain, of slaves.

"7. All persons enjoined to denounce all Negroes or other slaves, supposed to be empoisonneurs or distributors of drugs.

"Forbidding all Whites, free persons of colour, or slaves, to poison rivers, under pain of condemnation to the galleys for life, of the free coloured and slaves.

"9. Forbidding also the turning the course of rivers for the purpose of taking fish, under pain of flogging, if slaves, and the pillory during three days.

"10. Slaves deserving punishment may be chained and flogged with rods or cords by their masters; not, however, to exceed twenty-nine lashes for each offence.

"Forbidding slaves being put to the torture, under pain of confiscation of the slaves, and prosecution of the masters.

"11. A slave who strikes a white or free man, to receive corporal punishment.

"If a slave strikes his master, mistress, or their children, with contusion or effusion of blood, to be punished with death.

"12. Slaves of ten years and upwards, to receive weekly two and a half pots of farine, Paris measure, or its equivalent, two and a half pounds of beef, or three pounds salt-fish, or other things in proportion. Children, from the time of their being weaned until they shall have attained ten years, half of the above allowance. Each slave to be allowed two linen jackets, or four ells of cloth, and to be well (*fed*) under pain of prosecution of the master by the procureur du Roi, who acts ex officio, and on public reports only if necessary.

"13. Forbidding masters from granting their Negroes Saturdays to work in lieu of their allowance, under penalty of five hundred livres, on pain of prosecution as above.

"14. Forbidding masters from abandoning their slaves superannuated, or infirm from sickness, age, or otherwise. Slaves found begging away from their master's estate, to be conducted to the hospital, and fed at the master's expence, who will pay thirty sols a day so long as he allows the slave to remain there.

"15. Slaves employed in fishing to have their master's permission in writing.

"Masters who cannot write, to apply to their neighbours to give the necessary ticket in their behalf.

"17. Slaves fishing two leagues from the towns of Fort Royal and St. Pierre cannot sell their fish at the sea-side, unless to known and neighbouring inhabitants, and for their subsistence only. Fish to be carried to the towns for sale, on pain of pillory of the slave buying or selling, and one hundred livres fine against the buyer, if free.

"18. Forbidding all masters of droghers, pirogues, and canoes, to give slaves a passage or retreat without a ticket from their masters or accompanying them, under pain, should it be slaves who afford such retreat, of being flogged and pilloried; if free, of thirty days' prison and damages.

"19. Slaves detected taking possession of a vessel for the purpose of escaping, or favouring the escape of any white or black person, shall be considered as having committed a qualified theft, and as such condemned to a punishment according to circumstances.

"20. Forbidding masters to allow their slaves to straggle from their dwellings, or to send them beyond a league without a ticket containing the name of the masters as well as of the slaves. In cases of necessity during the night, it will be sufficient that the slaves should have a lantern after ten o'clock.

"21. Forbidding masters from suffering their slaves to keep private houses under pretext of working, trading, or otherwise, under pain of confiscation of the slaves and of the effects found in their possession.

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The number of Negroes in Barbadoes, as given in on oath by Mr. Agent Brathwaite, was 62,258.

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

" 22. Forbidding masters, or others hiring slaves, to permit their slaves to work on hire on their own account, that is, paying to the master a certain sum monthly, excepting slaves who are called Negrès de Journée, and are bearers of the marks herein-after mentioned, under penalty of five hundred livres for the first offence, and confiscation of the slaves for the second.

" 23. Proprietors of slaves called Negrès de Journée, to give in within a fortnight, to the commis à la police of their quarter, the number and names of such slaves, and the commis à la police will inscribe their names on a register to be kept for that purpose, under penalty of three hundred livres against the masters of such slaves as shall not have conformed to the present article.

" 24. Masters having slaves on hire, to present them to the commis à la police of their quarter, who will deliver to each of the slaves, gratis, a strip of copper, to be soldered as a bracelet on the left wrist, and to contain the No. destined for each slave, which will be also inserted on the registers of the commis à la police with the slave's name.

" 25. Forbidding slaves going out to work on hire without having one of the bracelets numbered agreeably to preceding article, under pain of flogging of the slave and eight days' imprisonment, and a fine of three hundred livres against the person for whom he was found working.

" 26. Slaves numbered as before-mentioned not allowed to work but at the place where they are inscribed, unless sent on errands, when a ticket from the master is necessary.

" 27. Masters desirous of withdrawing their slaves from hire, or of selling them, obliged, under the penalties laid down by Art. 23, to return into the hands of the commis à la police the numbered bracelets which they had received, of which note to be inserted in the register.

" 28. Forbidding slaves to exchange their numbers or to lend them to others, under pain of flogging and eight days' imprisonment against both parties.

" 29. The bracelets intended for slaves to be furnished at the expence of the crown; in the event of the slaves losing them, they are to be replaced by the masters.

" 31. Forbidding slaves to sell produce, such as wood, vegetables, fruits, and grass, either in town or country, for their own account or on account of their masters, without a written permission. Slaves may be sent by their masters to sell or to convey to their agents, coffee, sugar, cocoa, indigo, cotton, farine, and syrup, provided they are bearers of a ticket specifying the quantity of each article, under penalty of five hundred livres against the master, and twenty-nine lashes to the slave selling without the said permission. Slaves on their return to have also a ticket, which is to contain the quantity of merchandize brought, or with which they are charged. The tickets good for six days only. Forbidding slaves, under any pretext, not even with their master's permission, from selling canes, under pain of flogging.

" 32. Forbidding likewise slaves who bring to town for sale fowls, game, fruit, vegetables, or other live stock, to sell the same either on the bays or high roads, unless to inhabitants known, and who reside near the road, under pain of pillory for the slave, and one hundred livres penalty against the buyer.

" 33. A slave convicted of stealing cattle, fowls, produce, fruits, or vegetables, to be punished according to the nature of the theft, flogged by the hangman, and stamped with a fleur-de-lis. Masters to be responsible for the mischief done by the slave, and to pay the amount, or abandon the slave in payment.

" 34. Inhabitants are authorized to seize all articles found in the possession of slaves, who are not bearers of their master's permission.

" 35. Proprietors convicted of having hired their houses or chambers to slaves, either directly or indirectly, and those lending their names to that effect, subject to a penalty of five hundred livres.

" 36. Forbidding masters from suffering their slaves (excepting sawyers, caulkers, and ship carpenters) from working out of their sight, unless they be hired to Whites or free persons of colour, who will be responsible for them; forbidding also from selling merchandise in town without a ticket, which can only be valid for three days.

" 37. Forbidding all persons to permit their slaves, under any pretext whatever, to carry any kinds of merchandise for sale from one estate to another, unless they be

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The population of the Bermudas was stated by Governor Brown at 5462 Whites, and 4919 slaves. The number of free Negroes were quite inconsiderable, he remarked.

Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15.

under the charge of a white or free person, who can only have one slave with them, under penalty of five hundred livres, and confiscation of the merchandise found in their possession.

"38. Slaves arrested as runaways, and found with side or fire-arms of any description, to be punished with death. Those found with cutlasses or knives other than those called jambette (like a garden-knife) to suffer corporal punishment, even death if necessary.

"39. Slaves found on an estate to which they do not belong, without the master's permission, to receive fifteen lashes, and be sent away from it.

"40. Forbidding all keepers of public-houses from admitting slaves, or giving them wine or liquors to drink, or to eat at table, under a penalty of two hundred livres.

"41. Forbidding likewise all keepers of public-houses or grog-shops, or free persons of the town, to afford lodging to country slaves, excepting such as may be bearers of their master's orders, under penalty of five hundred and ninety livres.

"42. Slaves sent into the woods to work, also carpenters and caulkers sent to the ports of the island, to be bearers of a ticket, announcing their mission, the place and time, which is not to exceed a month, otherwise to be arrested and punished as runaways. One ticket to be sufficient for several persons, provided they be all under the orders of one commander, which is to be specified; if they lend their tickets to others, to be flogged and pilloried.

"43. Slaves sent out shooting by their masters, to be bearers of permission in writing, which are to specify the nature of the arms given to the slaves, together with the quantity of powder, which is never to exceed half a pound, under penalty of one hundred livres against the master. Forbidding also all shopkeepers from selling powder and shot to slaves without their master's order in writing, which is to be left in the possession of the shopkeeper, who will give another to the slave specifying the quantity of powder delivered. Forbidding slaves from shooting between March and end of July, under pain of flogging, and pillory for three days.

"44. Slaves found with fire-arms, powder, shot, and balls, without their master's permission, to be arrested, conducted to prison, flogged, and pilloried.

"45. Forbidding slaves from keeping arms in their houses under any pretext whatever; and if, on visiting, any should be found, the slave to be seized and put in the pillory, the master condemned to a fine of one hundred livres.

"46. Slaves arrested at night out of the town without tickets, to be conducted to prison, and the amount paid as for a runaway, according to the place where they shall have been arrested; if taken in town, and belonging to an inhabitant of the town, to be punished by flogging only, and the master fined six livres.

"47. Forbidding slaves, even bearers of tickets, carrying in the streets or roads offensive arms, such as guns, swords, cutlasses, knives, excepting knives called jambettes, under pain of the pillory, during four hours for the first offence, and flogging by the hangman for the second, and ten livres fine against the masters. Forbidding also little shopkeepers to sell any such arms to slaves.

"48. Forbidding slaves belonging to different masters from assembling on estates, at the entrance of the towns or the high roads, and in private places, under pain of corporal punishment, which cannot be less than flogging and the fleur de-lis, and even death in cases of an aggravated nature; in which cases the master who shall have permitted it to lose the value of the slaves, and the persons on whose lands the disorder shall have been committed condemned to a fine of three hundred livres.

"49. Masters who shall be convicted of having permitted assemblies of slaves, or having lent their dwellings for that purpose, without a commission from the commandant visaéd by the procureur du Roi (which is not to be permitted but seldom even during carnival, from the disorders which ensue), to be condemned as follows:—Masters who shall have given permission, to a fine of one hundred livres, and those who shall have lent or hired their houses, to three hundred livres.

"50. Slaves arrested, masked or disguised in the towns, either day or night, to be flogged, marked with a fleur-de-lis, and placed in the pillory during an hour; if found at night disguised and armed, to

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Prince William Henry was serving as midshipman under Lord Hood, on board his Majesty's ship Barfleur, in March 1783, when the news of peace reached Jamaica. His royal highness, attended by proper officers, visited Cape François and the Havaña, and was received at both places with every mark of distinction and politeness.

November the 28th, an act was passed at St. Christopher's, which states — "Whereas some persons have of late been guilty of cutting off or depriving slaves of their ears;" be it enacted, that if any possessor of a Negro or slave shall cut out the tongue, put out an eye, or slit or cut off a nose, ear, or lip, or break the arm, leg, or member of his slave, he shall forfeit £500 currency, and suffer six months' imprisonment; and if unable to pay the fine, shall suffer twelve months' imprisonment. The provost martial, or his deputy, is ordered to seize such mutilated slaves, and lodge them in gaol; and if the owner shall not within sixty days prove, "either by himself or some credible witness," that he did not wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, &c. &c. the slave shall be forfeited to the use of the island, and publicly sold. This is said by Mr. Stephen to be the first law in the British West Indies that had proceeded so far in the protection of slaves against their masters. But what does it prove of their treatment?

The return of the population of the Grenades, for this year, was 996 Whites, 1125 free Negroes, and 24,620 slaves. This is a remarkable number of free Negroes.

The preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France, and between Great Britain and Spain, were signed at Versailles on the 28th of January; and the definitive treaties between those powers, and between Great Britain and America, were signed at Paris on the 3d of September.

Memoirs of Lord Hood, Naval Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 22.
Report of the Lords of the Committee, 1789, Supplement to No. 15. — St. Christopher's, B. Stephen on West Indian Slavery, p. 439. Barlow, vol. iv. p. 4.

be condemned to more severe punishment, even death, according to the nature of the case.

"51. Forbidding slaves at all times from gambling, or assembling on the bay side or otherwise, under pain of corporal punishment — all persons authorized in this case to arrest and imprison them.

"52. Forbidding slaves to gallop horses through the streets or quays of the town, or even to mount them, on pain of receiving at the jail twenty-nine lashes, and severer punishment in case of accidental damages, to be recovered from the masters, reserved to the parties aggrieved.

"53. Forbidding Whites, free persons or slaves, to travel on the high roads, more particularly on the private roads, with lighted flambeaux, or passing cane fields with lighted segars, under penalty against the Whites and free of one hundred livres, and against slaves of twenty-nine lashes, and pillory during three hours.

"54. Slaves working in their grounds, and setting them on fire without their master's permission, to be flogged by the hangman, and put in the pillory during three days.

"55. Forbidding owners from allotting to their slaves grounds for gardens bordering on their neighbours', unless particular care be taken to keep in proper order an open space of twenty paces' distance, under pain of being responsible for all injuries sustained."— *Parliamentary "Further Papers,"* pp. 55, &c.

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The following articles relate to the West Indies, in the treaty between Great Britain and France: —

" Art. 7. The King of Great Britain restores to France the island of St. Lucia, in the condition it was in when it was conquered by the British arms: And His Britannic Majesty cedes and guarantees to His most Christian Majesty the island of Tobago. The Protestant inhabitants of the said island, as well as those of the same religion who shall have settled at St. Lucia, whilst that island was occupied by the British arms, shall not be molested in the exercise of their worship. And the British inhabitants, or others, who may have been subjects of the King of Great Britain in the aforesaid islands, shall retain their possessions upon the same titles and conditions by which they have acquired them; or else they may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think fit, and shall have the power of selling their estates, provided it be to subjects of His most Christian Majesty, and of removing their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debts, or of criminal prosecutions. The term limited for this emigration is fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. And for the better securing the possessions of the inhabitants of the aforesaid island of Tobago, the most Christian King shall issue letters patent, containing an abolition of the droit d'aubaine in the said island.

" 8. The most Christian King restores to Great Britain, the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; and the fortresses of these islands shall be delivered up in the condition they were in when the conquest of them was made. The same stipulations inserted in the preceding article shall take place in favour of the French subjects, with respect to the islands enumerated in the present article.

" 20. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the King of Great Britain shall cause to be evacuated the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done — St. Lucia, (one of the Caribee Islands), and Goree, in Africa, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The King of Great Britain shall in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done, enter again into the possession of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

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Barlow, vol. iv. pp. 380. 389.

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The necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

" 22. For preventing the revival of the law-suits which have been ended in the islands conquered by either of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the judgments pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour."

The following articles are those that relate to the West Indies, in the treaty between Great Britain and Spain: —

" Art. 2. Declares that former treaties shall serve as a basis and foundation to the peace.

" 6. The intention of the two high contracting parties being to prevent, as much as possible, all the causes of complaint and misunderstanding heretofore occasioned by the cutting of wood for dying or logwood, and several English settlements having been formed and extended, under that pretence, upon the Spanish continent; it is expressly agreed, that His Britannic Majesty's subjects shall have the right of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood, in the district lying between the rivers Wallis or Bellize, and Rio Hondo, taking the course of the said two rivers for unalterable boundaries, so as that the navigation of them be common to both nations: to wit, by the river Wallis or Bellize, from the sea, ascending as far as opposite to a lake or inlet which runs into the land, and forms an isthmus, or neck, with another similar inlet, which comes from the side of Rio Nuevo or New River; so that the line of separation shall pass across the said isthmus, and meet another lake formed by the water of Rio Nuevo or New River, at its current. The said line shall continue with the course of the Rio Nuevo, descending as far as opposite to a river, the course of which is marked in the map between Rio Nuevo and Rio Hondo, and which empties itself into Rio Hondo, which river shall also serve as a common boundary, as far as its junction with Rio Hondo; and from thence descending by Rio Hondo to the sea, as the whole is marked on the map, which the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns have thought proper to make use of, for ascertaining the points agreed upon, to the end that a good correspondence may reign between the two nations, and that the English workmen, cutters, and labourers may not trespass, from an uncertainty of the boundaries. The respective commissaries shall fix upon convenient places in the territory above marked out, in order that His Britannic Majesty's subjects employed in the felling of logwood, may, without interruption, build therein houses and magazines necessary for themselves, their families, and their effects: and His Catholic Majesty assures to them the enjoyment of all that is expressed in

Barlow, vol. iv. pp. 392. 395. 398.

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the present article, provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogating in any wise from his rights of sovereignty. Therefore, all the English who may be dispersed in any other parts, whether on the Spanish continent, or in any of the islands whatsoever dependant on the aforesaid Spanish continent, and for whatever reason it might be, without exception shall retire within the district which has been above described, in the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications; and for this purpose orders shall be issued on the part of His Britannic Majesty: and on that of His Catholic Majesty, his governors shall be ordered to grant to the English dispersed, every convenience possible for their removing to the settlement agreed upon by the present article, or for their retiring wherever they shall think proper. It is likewise stipulated, that if any fortifications should actually have been heretofore erected within the limits marked out, His Britannic Majesty shall cause them all to be demolished, and he will order his subjects not to build any new ones. The English inhabitants who shall settle there for the cutting of logwood, shall be permitted to enjoy a free fishery for their subsistence, on the coasts of their district above agreed on, or of the islands situated opposite thereto, without being in anywise disturbed on that account, provided they do not establish themselves, in any manner, on the said islands.

"7. His Catholic Majesty shall restore to Great Britain the islands of Providence and the Bahamas, without exception, in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the arms of the King of Spain.

"10. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the King of Great Britain shall cause East Florida to be evacuated three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The King of Great Britain shall in like manner enter again into possession of the islands of Providence and the Bahamas, without exception, in the space of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty."

The preliminary articles of peace between His Britannic Majesty and the states-general of the united provinces, was signed at Paris on the 2d of September, 1783. By article eight, all the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered, in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of His Britannic Majesty, as well as by those of the states-general, which are not

Barlow, vol. iv. pp. 399, 400. Annual Register, 1783, p. 319.

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included in the present treaty, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Colonel Deveaux's report to Sir Guy Carleton, of his retaking New Providence.

"I have the pleasure to inform your excellency, that on the 1st of April last, not having heard that peace was concluded, I formed, from St. Augustine, an expedition against New Providence, to restore its inhabitants, with those of the adjacent islands, to the blessings of a free government. I undertook this expedition at my own expence, and embarked my men, which did not exceed sixty-five, and sailed for Harbour Island, where I recruited for four or five days: from thence I set sail for my object, which was the eastern fort on the island of Providence, and which I carried about daylight, with three of their formidable gallies, on the 14th; I immediately summoned the grand fortress to surrender, which was about a mile from the fort I had taken. His excellency evaded the purport of my flag, by giving me some trifling informations, which I took in their true light. On the 16th, I took possession of two commanding hills, and erected a battery on each of them, of twelve pounders. At daylight on the 18th, my batteries being complete, the English colours were hoisted on each of them, which were within musket shot of their grand fortress. His excellency finding his shot and shells of no effect, thought proper to capitulate, as you will see by the inclosed articles.[1]

"My force never at any time consisted of more than 220 men, and not above 150 of them had muskets, not having it in my power to procure them at St. Augustine.

"I took on this occasion one fort, consisting of thirteen pieces of cannon, three gallies carrying twenty-four pounders, and about fifty men.

Annual Register, 1783, p. 156.

[1] *Articles between Don Antonio Claraco y Sanz, Governor of the Bahama Islands, and Colonel Andrew Deveaux, Commander-in-Chief of the expedition.*

"1. The government-house and public stores to be delivered to His Britannic Majesty.

"2. The governor, and garrison under his command, to march to the eastern fort with all the honours of war; remaining, with a piece of cannon and two shots per day, in order to hoist His Catholic Majesty's flag. Provisions for the troops, sailors, and sick in the hospital, to be made at His Britannic Majesty's expence, as also vessels prepared to carry them to the Havana, particularly a vessel to carry the governor to Europe.

"3. All the officers and troops of the garrison belonging to His Catholic Majesty are to remain in possession of their baggage and other effects.

"4. All the vessels in the harbour belonging to His Catholic Majesty are to be given up, with every thing on board the said vessels, to His Britannic Majesty.

"5. All effects appertaining to Spaniards to remain their property, and the Spanish merchants to have two months to settle their accounts.

(Signed) "Antonio Claraco y Sanz.
"A. Deveaux.
"New Providence, April 18, 1783."

Annual Register, 1783, p. 156.

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"His excellency surrendered four batteries, with about seventy pieces of cannon and four large gallies (brigs and snows), which I have sent to the Havaña, with the troops as flags: I therefore stand in need of your excellency's advice and direction in my present situation, and shall be exceedingly happy to receive them as soon as possible.

"I had letters written for your excellency on this occasion, since the middle of last month; but the vessel by which they were to have been conveyed went off and left them; therefore hope your excellency will not think it my neglect, in not having the accounts before this: &c. &c.[1]

"A. DEVEAUX,
"Colonel, and commanding
"Royal Foresters, New Providence."

"June 6th, 1783."

A proclamation was issued at St. James's, the 26th of December, 1783, allowing the produce of the United States of America to be imported "by British subjects in British-built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any port of the said United States of America, to any of his Majesty's West India islands, the Bahama islands, and the Bermuda or Somers islands;" and the produce of the islands to be exported to the United States in the same manner.

Annual Register, 1783, Public Papers, p. 158.

[1] Colquhoun, British Empire, p. 373, states, that Colonel Deveaux was said to have known of the peace.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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